Communication, Translation, and Community in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period

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Communication, Translation, and Community in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period

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Edited by
Albrecht Classen

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Introduction: An Essay on Language, Culture, and Identity: Medieval and Early Modern Perspectives on and Approaches to Communication, Translation, and Community

Abstract: Human society throughout time has always struggled hard to come to terms with its fundamental needs, that is, above all, good, functional, and productive communication. Constructive communication establishes community, which in turn is predicated on compromise, compassion, coordination, and companionship. A community without basic agreements of that sort cannot survive and will easily become a victim of devastating atomization, as western society seems to experience increasingly since the turn of the new millennium. This phenomenon was already clearly addressed in pre-modern literature and also historiography, possibly in the arts and even music. This introductory study examines the theoretical and practical implications and illustrates the issues by means of a critical discussion of particularly pertinent cases.

Keywords: Communication, community, political discourse, translation, medieval literature, didactic literature, Andreas Capellanus, Marie de France, Hartmann von Aue, Gottfried von Strassburg, Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Huon de Bordeaux*, Ulrich Bonerius/Boner, Juan Ruiz, Dante, Boccaccio, Geoffrey Chaucer, Heinrich Kaufringer

Theoretical Reflections

We cannot engage with culture and history without understanding, first of all, that one of the crucial problems in human life has always been (mis)communication, or the unwillingness, if not inability to cooperate with another person, although both might share the same/similar interest or concern. Human identity and social framework are fundamentally determined by the use of language, which also includes gestures, mimicry, touch, and sound, by which the individual can and must reach out to the others. All social interactions depend on the

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ability to communicate, whether within one's own language or across languages via translations. I will refer to translation numerous times below, and often refer then either to the actual philological translation process involving texts, or to cultural and linguistic translations in metaphorical terms. Good communication, to be sure, is the result of a solid translation effort, of decoding signals or words conveyed by the partner within a society, or from across cultural divides, within a partnership, a marriage, a monastic community, an aristocratic court, a guild, or a rural group of people. Both diplomats and public notaries, apart from poets and other writers, work with translations and are translators, both literally and metaphorically. This effort to translate from one culture or text to another, requires excellent listening skills, the sensitivity to respond appropriately, and the ability to formulate one's own thoughts, concerns, feelings, and interests without overstepping one's boundaries within the social context. The exchange of words is one thing, the follow-up with actions is another.

We could go so far as to specify that many of the negative aspects of human history have often been determined by common conflicts based on communication or lack thereof, from which have resulted just too easily aggression, hostility, and even violence – certainly a phenomenon which continues to hold sway until today. In fact, the pre-modern world was not at all better or worse in that regard than our own, and despite huge differences in other respects, such as the great influence of the Catholic Church and the strict feudal boundaries separating the various social classes, in essence people's lives have always been conditioned by fundamentally the same desires, feelings, irritations, disrespect, and, once again, (mis)communication. This implies directly that we can gain a clear assessment of a specific society or social group by way of investigating the communicative channels used and the level to which all members are equally involved.

We are human beings, that is, we use language to communicate with each other, however we might define language (also including gestures, rituals, images, and movements, etc.), but this does not mean at all that we understand each other accurately and demonstrate tolerance, even if we speak the same language because semantic differences prove to be a huge factor of confusion and failed interpretation. Moreover, a good communication might establish mutual understanding, but not necessarily community, hence not toleration or tolerance. Meanings differ, intentions are hidden, expressions are ambivalent, or individuals simply lie to achieve their goal. Of course, this very human ability to speak a highly versatile language, which clearly distinguishes us from all other creatures here on earth, irrespective of some of their capacity to exchange

of information or data, also entails an endless source of misunderstanding, conflicts, confusion, and fundamental disagreements.[1]

Virtually all medieval and early modern didactic writers, such as Thomas of Cantimpré, Thomasin von Zerclaria, Hugo von Trimberg, Freidank, Ulrich Bonerius, Christine de Pizan, etc., harshly condemned lying and warned about its dangerous consequences for all social interaction.[2] Yet, at the same time,

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1 Paul Vincent Spade, *Lies, Language and Logic in the Late Middle Ages*. Collected Studies Series, 272 (London: Variorum Repr., 1988); Emily Corran, *Lying and Perjury in Medieval Practical Thought: A Study in the History of Casuistry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), see also the contributions to *Homo mendax: Lüge als kulturelles Phänomen im Mittelalter*, ed. Ulrich Ernst. Das Mittelalter, 9 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005); *Verstellung und Betrug im Mittelalter und in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, ed. Matthias Meyer and Alexander Sager. Aventiuren, 7 (Göttingen: V & R unipress, 2015). Cf. also Dorothea Klein, "Warum man nicht lügen soll, und warum man es dennoch tut: zur Pragmatik der Lüge im Märe," *Neuere Aspekte germanistischer Spätmittelalterforschung*, ed. Freimut Löser. Imagines medii aevi, 29 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2012), 91 105; see now also Albrecht Classen, "Hate, Lies, and Violence: The Dark Side of Pre Modern Literature: Why would we care? And yet, the key rests in the past to solve our issues today. With a Focus on The Stricker (Thirteenth Century)," *Journal of Humanities and Applied Social Sciences* 5.2 (2021): 281 94; online at: http://www.hillpublisher.com/UpFile/202112/20211231163859.pdf (last accessed on April 1, 2022); id., "Neid und Hass auf den anderen: Universale Probleme in höfischen Romanen und Verserzählungen des deutschen Mittelalters. Gottfried von Strassburg, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Der Stricker und Heinrich Kaufringer," to appear in *Menschen als Has sobjekte: Interdisziplinäre Verhandlungen eines destruktiven Phänomens*, ed. Arletta Szmorhun and Paweł Zimniak (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht). As to the unique quality of human language, see now Yuval Noah Harari, *Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind* (New York: Harper, 2015). He expanded on these fundamental thoughts and reflected also on where the current con ditions will take us into the future, which particularly pertains to the situation of human lan guage: *Homo Deus: A Brief History of Tomorrow* (New York: Harper, 2017). For obvious reasons, I refrain from reflecting on the huge corpus of philosophical and linguistic studies on the very nature of language it would be endless. But see my latest article on this global issue, Albrecht Classen, "Communication and Social Interactions in the Late Middle Ages: The Fables by the Swiss German Dominican Ulrich Bonerius," to appear in *Quidditas*.
2 *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, ed. Juanita Feros Ruys. Disputatio, 15. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008. Cf. also the late medieval voice by the anonymous poet of *Des Teufels Netz* (ca. 1414); Albrecht Classen, "Death, Sinfulness, the Devil, and the Clerical Author: The Late Medieval German Didactic Debate Poem *Des Teufels Netz* and the World of Craftsmanship," *Death in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: The Material and Spiritual Conditions of the Culture of Death*, ed. A. Classen. Fundamentals of Medi eval and Early Modern Culture, 16. Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016, 277 96; for a thorough study and a solid new edition, along with a German translation of Thomas of Can timpré's treatise on bees, see now Julia Burkhardt, *Von Bienen lernen. Das* Bonum universale de apibus *des Thomas von Cantimpré als Gemeinschaftsentwurf: Analyse, Edition, Übersetzung, Kommentar*. 2 vols. Klöster als Innovationslabore, 7 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2020). Tho mas formulated in II, 26, 7 and especially in II, 26, 9 a strong condemnation of lying, urging his

human beings are in greatest need of communicating with each other, and hence they must rely, in one way or the other, on the reliability of the word, or the speech acts, on the exchange of information being trustworthy. Lying and deceiving are probably some of the worst evils in human life, and only an honest, open, mutually respectful form of communication, if possible across all kinds of barriers – gender, age, sexual orientation, race, languages, space, time, religion, ideology, etc. – empowers us to form a cohesive, constructive, collaborative, compassionate, coordinated, and cooperative community!

I have explored this topic of (mis)communication already once before in a larger monograph, *Verzweiflung und Hoffnung*, investigating the issue of human language within a social context – language is always social in its function and purpose – at that time focusing on such texts as the Old English *Beowulf*, the high medieval Latin treatise *De amore* by Andreas Capellanus, the Middle High German romances by Hartmann von Aue, the political and didactic stanzas by Walther von der Vogelweide, the Grail romance *Parzival* by Wolfram von Eschenbach, the famous romance of *Tristan and Isolde* by Gottfried von Straßburg, the didactic verse narrative *Helmbrecht* by Wernher der Gartenaere, and the apocalyptic verse narrative *Der Ring* by the Constance public notary Heinrich Wittenwiler.[3] Scholarship has not really or extensively taken note of that study despite some very positive reviews,[4] perhaps because such 'modern' approaches to medieval literature were not yet welcome at that time (2002). The fact that I published that study in German did not help that book either; international medieval scholarship is less and less capable of understanding that language, which, ironically in the present context, undermines the very purpose of humanistic investigation, and this also across languages.

However, if we fail to explain the universal relevance also of pre-modern texts, art works, music, or philosophy, then we are bound to fall into the trap of working only on museal subject matters from the Middle Ages, exhibit pieces

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readers to guard themselves against the temptation to deceive others. Even the most mighty and powerful individuals would quickly realize a drastic decline of their reputation and social es teem when caught lying. By contrast, a poor man whose words can always be trusted would al ways enjoy high public respect (vol. II, 508).

3 Albrecht Classen, *Verzweiflung und Hoffnung. Die Suche nach der kommunikativen Gemein schaft in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Beihefte zur Mediaevistik, 1 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2002). See also my very condensed article "Communication in the Mid dle Ages," *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms   Methods   Trends*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), vol. 1, 330   43.

4 *The Medieval Review* 03.05.09 (online at: https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/ tmr/article/view/15500/21618; last accessed on April 1, 2022); *The Year's Work in Modern Lan guage Studies* 64 (2002): 2003.

for the curious one, and lose the opportunity to teach some of the timeless lessons of the past for the new and future generations.[5] The central need for good communicative strategies has never gone away, so studying various communities from the past through a literary lens provides us with unique opportunities to examine the critical conditions on the ground as imagined by the respective authors or poets.

It would be not only very easy to expand on this topic by way of incorporating contemporary texts in all European languages (and beyond), but we would also gain a powerful tool in explaining the relevance of medieval literature at large for us today. After all, communication problems continue to be with us, and will not simply go away in the near future because people always tend to disagree with each other, to feel jealousy, envy, and hostility, and thus to be victims of the famous list of Seven Deadly Sins, which John Cassian had put together already in the early fifth century and which later Pope Gregory I (ca. 540 – 604) was to expound in his *Moralia, sive Expositio in Job* (*Books of the Morals*).[6]

It would be hard to find any pre-modern text, didactic or not, where the poet or author does not address in one way or the other some of those fundamental concerns regarding ethics and their transgressions, such as lying. This finds a powerful expression in numerous medieval and early modern texts which include the theme of treason, as we will observe especially in the case of the Mid-

5 Albrecht Classen, "Transdisciplinarity – A Bold Way into the Academic Future, from a Medievalist Perspective, or the Rediscovery of Philology?," *Humanities Open Access* 10: 96 (2021), Aug.; online at: https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0787/10/3/96 (last accessed on April 1, 2022); id., "Die Antwort auf die Frage nach der Zukunft liegt auch in der Vergangenheit: Neue Ansätze zu einer europäisch konzipierten Mediävistik. Oder: Wohin mit der national geprägten Philologie in Anbetracht von St. Augustin, Martianus Capella, Boethius, Thomas von Aquin oder Christine de Pizan?," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie.* Sonderheft: *Deutsche Philologie: Nationalphilologien heute* 139 (2020, appeared in May 2021): 34 – 70.
6 *The Books of the Morals of St. Gregory the Pope, or, An Exposition of the Book of Blessed Job.* Vol. III, Book XXXI (Oxford: J. Parker, 1845 – 1883); online at: http://www.lectionarycentral.com/GregoryMoralia/Book31.html (last accessed on Oct. 25, 2021). For modern scholarship on this topic, see Richard Newhauser, *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals.* Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 123 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007); Angela Tilby, *The Seven Deadly Sins: Their Origin in the Spiritual Teaching of Evagrius the Hermit* (London: SPCK, 2009); Shawn Tucker, *The Virtues and Vices in the Arts: A Sourcebook* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Press, 2015); *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: The Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins*, ed. Richard G. Newhauser and Susan J. Ridyard (York: York Medieval Press, 2012). For an excellent overview of the history of the Seven Deadly Sins, the theological background, the literary responses, and art historical visualizations, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seven_deadly_sins (last accessed on Oct. 25, 2021).

dle High German *Herzog Ernst* (ms. B, ca. 1220) or in the thirteenth-century Old French *Huon de Bordeaux* (see below).

But what social group, or class, if not society at large, would not know of lying, cheating, deception, and many other attacks against communication and community, both by individuals or even the entire collective? A horrific example from the high Middle Ages is given in the famous *Nibelungenlied* (ca. 1200), where Hagen is entirely bent on murdering Siegfried, his eternal nemesis. But the Netherlandish hero is a culprit himself of having deceived the Icelandic Queen Brunhild during the competitions for her hand in marriage, and during the second wedding night back in Worms in order to help King Gunther repress and silence this mighty woman warrior. If we ever wondered why Bishop Wolfger von Erla had commissioned the copying down of this heroic epic with its horrendous outcome, then we face here a most intriguing answer. Studying the *Nibelungenlied* illustrates what the catastrophic failure to communicate properly can entail.[7] Many other examples can be found in short verse narratives (*fabliaux*; *mæren*; *tales*, *novella*, etc.) and prose texts from the late fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries (Jörg Wickram, *Rollwagenbüchlein*, 1555, et al.), and we could actually pinpoint as one of the major purposes of literary texts the critical examination of the dangers to constructive human communication.[8]

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[7] Britta Simon, "Höfisch heroisch fragmentiert: körpergebundene Kommunikation im 'Nibelungenlied'," Ph.D. thesis, University of Washington, Seattle, 1998; Albrecht Classen, "What Could the Burgundians Have Done to Avoid the Catastrophe? The Breakdown of the Communicative Community in the *Nibelungenlied*," *Neophilologus* LXXXV.4 (2001): 565 87. For a well developed psychological reading of this epic poem, see Irmgard Gephart, *Der Zorn der Nibelungen: Rivalität und Rache im "Nibelungenlied"* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2005). For a related approach to communication, but through mimicry, i.e., smiles, see Beatrice Michaelis, "Beredtes Lächeln im *Nibelungenlied*, " *Lachen und Schweigen: Grenzen und Lizenzen der Kommunikation in der Erzählliteratur des Mittelalters*, ed. Werner Röcke and Hans Rudolf Velten. Trends in Medieval Philology, 26 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 129 38.

[8] *The* Nibelungenlied, *with the* Klage, trans. William Whobrey (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 2019); Hermann Reichert, *Das* Nibelungenlied: *Text und Einführung, nach der St. Galler Handschrift*, ed. and commented. 2nd rev. and expanded ed. (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2017); Hermann Reichert, *Nibelungenlied Lehrwerk: sprachlicher Kommentar, mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik, Wörterbuch: passend zum Text der St. Galler Fassung ("B")*. 2nd rev. ed. (Vienna: Praesens Verlag, 2019). For a major examination of this heroic epic, see Jan Dirk Müller, *Spielregeln für den Untergang: die Welt des Nibelungenliedes* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1998); for a deconstructive critique of Siegfried, see Albrecht Classen, "The Downfall of a Hero: Siegfried's Self Destruction and the End of Heroism in the *Nibelungenlied*," *German Studies Review* XXVI.2 (2003): 295 314. As to the late medieval verse and prose narratives, see now Christian Kiening and Hannes Koller, *Narrative Mikroökonomien der frühen Neuzeit: Am Beispiel von Wickrams* Rollwagenbüchlein (Zürich: Chronos, 2021); but confer also Klaus

There are countless reasons why people fight with each other, whether we think of the gender conflict, age conflict between parents and children, racial and xenophobic conflicts, etc. Language, i.e., communication, thereby tends to be the first victim, or is the very means of deception, whether we think of the tenth-century Latin heroic epic *Waltharius*[9] or the late medieval prose novel *Melusine* by Jean d'Arras (1393).[10] Of course, the situation presented in each text differs vastly, the former reflecting on war, battle, and fighting for sheer survival, the latter dedicated to the love affair between a half-human woman and her human husband. But each time the fundamental problem presented there hinges also on the failure to maintain open, honest, mutually respectful forms of communication, and we can easily unravel the essential messages contained in each text by way of focusing on the verbal exchanges, the conflicts caused by the conversations, and the duplicity and amorphousness of the language used in difficult situations. As we easily recognize here and elsewhere, the data transmitted through speech, gestures, mimicry, and other media is not fully registered, or is simply misunderstood, and when there is no process in place to verify the data, serious miscommunication sets in. This is a universal observation applying both to society at large (public) and to the individual (private).

Grubmüller, *Die Ordnung, der Witz und das Chaos: Eine Geschichte der europäischen Novellistik im Mittelalter: Fabliaux ⸺ Märe ⸺ Novelle* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2006); *Mittelalterliche Novellistik im europäischen Kontext : kulturwissenschaftliche Perspektiven*, ed. Mark Chinca, Timo Reuvekamp Felber, and Christopher Young. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie, 13 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2006); as to lying as a moral, ethical, and legal issue in the Middle Ages at large, see Emily Corran, *Lying and Perjury in Medieval Practical Thought: A Study in the History of Casuistry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); valuable also proves to be for its global approach, Dallas G. Denery II, *The Devil Wins: A History of Lying from the Garden of Eden to the Enlightenment* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015); for a specific case study, see now Albrecht Classen, "Hate, Lies, and Violence: The Dark Side of Pre Modern Literature: Why would we care? And yet, the key rests in the past to solve our issues today. With a Focus on The Stricker (Thirteenth Century)," *Journal of Humanities and Applied Social Sciences* 5.2 (2021): 281 94; online at: http://www.hillpublisher.com/UpFile/202112/20211231163859.pdf (last accessed on Jan. 17, 2022). As to Wickram's *Rollwagenbüchlein* (1555), one of the best sixteenth century German literary compilations, see now Christian Kiening and Hannes Koller, *Narrative Mikroökonomien der frühen Neuzeit: Am Beispiel von Wickrams* Rollwagenbüchlein (Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2021).

9 *Waltharius*, ed., trans., and intro. by Abram Ring. Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations, 22 (Leuven, Paris, and Bristol, CT: Peters, 2016).

10 Jean d'Arras, *Melusine: Or the Noble History of Lusignan*, trans. and with an intro. by Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm Maddox (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012).

In *Waltharius*, betrayal and dishonesty lead to the fight between, on the one hand, Gunther and his men, and, on the other, the formidable warrior Waltharius. Although they exchange words before hostility breaks out, those fail to achieve their effects, so violence replaces communication. In *Melusine*, irrespective of which version we choose (Jean d'Arras [1393], Couldrette [ca. 1400], or Thüring von Ringoltingen [1456]),[11] husband and wife always remain distanced from each other because of the secret behind Melusine's human appearance and of the taboo imposed on him. Once the secret has been lifted, the taboo has been broken, so their marriage and hence happiness come to an end because she has to leave the world of humans, while he remains there heartbroken. In each case, human communication proves to be the first victim in all those conflicts.

Human language has never been as fully functionable and understandable in communicative terms as we would like it to be because it is not as precise as mathematical or chemical formulas. Misunderstanding and conflicts have thus been the common results, and this across all cultures, religions, languages, genders, and races. People have cursed each other already in antiquity, in the early Christian Church, in early Islam, and so forth, employing a form of negative communication with the attempt to excoriate, condemn, and excommunicate the hated other.[12] As sad and frustrating as all this might sound because it could sig-

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11 Lydia Zeldenrust, *The Mélusine Romance in Medieval Europe: Translation, Circulation, and Material Contexts*. Studies in Medieval Romance (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2020).

12 Albrecht Classen, "Gender Conflicts, Miscommunication, and Communicative Communities in the Late Middle Ages: The Evidence of Fifteenth Century German Verse Narratives," *Speaking in the Medieval World*, ed. Jean Godsall Myers. Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions, 16 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 65 92; id., "Love, Marriage, and Transgression in Medieval and Early Modern Literature: Discourse, Communication, and Social Interaction," *Discourses on Love, Marriage, and Transgression in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 278 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 1 42; for an encyclopedic overview, see id., "Communication in the Middle Ages," *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms Methods Trends*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), vol. 1, 330 43; see also Roger D. Sell, *Communicational Criticism: Studies in Literature as Dialogue*. Dialogue Studies 11 (Amsterdam: Benjamin, 2011); cf. also the contributions to *The Ethics of Literary Communication: Genuineness, Directness, Indirectness*, ed. Roger D. Sell, Adam Borch, and Inna Lindgren (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins, 2013); and to *Communication and Peace: Mapping an Emerging Field*, ed. Julia Hoffmann and Virgil Hawkins. Routledge Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution (London and New York: Routledge, 2015). For a valuable study of curses in late antiquity, see now Marco Frenschkowski, "Fluchkultur: Mündliche Flüche, das *Corpus defixionum* und spätantike Sichtweisen performativer Sprache," *Antike Fluchtafeln und das Neue Testament: Materialität Ritualpraxis Texte*, ed. Michael Hölscher, Markus Lau, and Susanne Luther. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 474 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021), 47 91, with an extensive

nal that the human interactions throughout time do not seem to improve much at all, it also opens fascinating perspectives regarding the role of pre-modern literature (and art) for us today in the exploration of how we as human beings communicate, where, how, and why we fail in that regard, and what we could do to improve our communicative ethics and effectiveness.

Literary history, but also the history of religion and philosophy, thus transforms most refreshingly into a laboratory for human interactions, providing us with a theoretical space where extreme situations can be experimented with, and those can then serve as platforms to reflect on personal conditions and broader social issues. The study of medieval literature could thereby provide the necessary framework, a historical lens, for individual and public therapy, and this also in terms of communication.[13]

As much as the Middle Ages as a subject matter in historical, literary, social, economic, religious, anthropological, art-historical, etc. terms have been questioned and debated for a long time,[14] as much can we now also realize and accept one of the central functions of literary works from the past, serving as critical mirrors of human behavior. Studying examples of communicative situations from the past allows us to examine indirectly our own situation and thus to gain deeper insights into certain social and ethical patterns that are still in place today and constitute fundamental problems until now.[15] Stunningly, when we consider a wide range of medieval literary texts, they easily allow us to translate

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bibliography on the study of curses. As he concludes, "Sprache ist in allen antiken Religionen auch in diesen Fällen niemals nur 'Bedeutung', die auf etwas weist: Sie ist selbst Tat und Wirk macht" (85; Language in all ancient religions is never only 'meaning,' which refers to something. It is, by itself, an action and an affective power). See also Alexandra Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust in Medieval Religious Polemic* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007).

13 David C. Kydd and Emanuele Castano, "Reading Literary Fiction Improves Theory of Mind," *Science* 342 (2013): 377 80. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1239918 (last accessed on April 1, 2022); see also the contributions to *Cognitive Sciences and Medieval Studies: An Introduction. Re ligion and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Juliana Dresvina and Victoria Blud (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2020); Lorenza Lucchi Basili and Pier Luigi Sacco, "Fictional Narratives as a Lab oratory for the Social Cognition of Behavioral Change: *My Ajussi*," *Humanities Open Access* 10.4 (120) (2021), online at https://www.mdpi.com/2076 0787/10/4/120/htm (last accessed on April 1, 2022).

14 *Making the Medieval Relevant: How Medieval Studies Contribute to Improving our Understand ing of the Present*, ed. Chris Jones, Conor Kostick, and Klaus Oschema. Das Mittelalter. Perspek tiven mediävistischer Forschung. Beihefte, 6 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2020).

15 See the contributions to *The Relevance of The Humanities in the Twenty First Century: Past and Present*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Special issue of *Humanities Open Access*, June 2020 https://www.mdpi.com/journal/humanities/special issues/pas pre (last accessed on April 1, 2022)

them so that we can fathom the universal messages contained in them, messages that prove to be uncannily applicable to us today because the issue with communication continues to be deeply influential in all human societies, especially when it breaks down, which subsequently can cause infinite harm. What poets and philosophers had to say about wisdom, for instance, often rings very true until today and promises to provide us with critically important insights into our own social and personal conditions.[16] Of course, we must never forget the different social-historical, religious, and mental-historical conditions, but a sensible translation handles those challenges constructively, without eliminating them.

Language, however, has always been a difficult medium, as our common experience is simply that the information or messages we want to share do not get across as accurately as we would like it to be the case. Modern email exchanges are highly fraught with misunderstandings since we send them out so fast and furiously, whereas an ordinary conversation supported by good listening skills, even an epistolary exchange as it was still quite common, say, ca. twenty years ago, used to be of high value. But even letters can confuse the recipient, and so can messengers and diplomats, as Jacques Merceron in his monograph on messengers and the contributors to the volume edited by Horst Wenzel have clearly outlined.[17]

Both original texts and translations contribute to the same process of communicating from one person to another, from one culture to another, building ever-growing communities of intellectuals. According to Marco Agnetta and Larisa Cercel,

> Every text can be understood as part of a performance that has a unique and unrepeatable character thanks to its connection to the presentation and reception situation: a text is read (aloud), staged, declaimed or solemnly spoken, sung, etc. in different ways. Every text reception is also a unique event that is affected by a wide variety of variables. In this regard, the eminently hermeneutic activity of the translator can also be understood as an intercultural performance in which the role of the source text recipient and the role of the target

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16 See now my book, *Wisdom from the European Middle Ages: Literary and Didactic Perspectives: A Study, Anthology, and Commentary* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2022).

17 Jacques Merceron, *Le message et sa fiction: La communication par messager dans la littérature française des XIIIe et XIIIe siècles*. University of California Publications. Modern Philology, 128 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, CA, and London: University of California Press, 1998); *Gespräche Boten Briefe: Körpergedächtnis und Schriftgedächtnis im Mittelalter*, ed. Horst Wenzel. Philologische Studien und Quellen, 143 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1997).

text recipient converge. This leads to a language product that shows clear traces of this in dividual performance. Different translators, that is to say, perform in different ways.[18]

Marco Agnetta emphasizes in his own contribution:

> the idea that one should not see texts as artifacts detached from the world of life, but as partaking of the performances thanks to which individuals and collectives define them selves in everyday life. Texts, as Stolze (2003: 174) points out, are an integral part of a highly dynamic "Mitteilungsgeschehen" [event of exchange of data or information]. Translations can be seen as 'communicative events' in two ways: as a dialogue between the original text and the translator, and also as an interaction between the translator and the recipients via the target text. At issue, this essay argues, is the key notion of performativity.[19]

In fact, as the contributors to this volume indicate, translation is a form of performance (Beata Piecychina), builds perspectives across cultures and languages (Radegrunde Stolze), involves much creativity because no good translation can

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18 Quoted from the abstract online. *Text Performances and Cultural Transfer / Textperformances und Kulturtransfer*, ed. Marco Agnetta and Larisa Cercel. Translation Studies (Bucharest: Zeta Books, 2021); https://zetabooks.com/all titles/text performances and cultural transfer textper formances und kulturtransfer/ (last accessed on Oct. 25, 2021). See now also the contributions to *Engaging with Translation. New Readings of George Steiner's* After Babel, ed. Marco Agnetta, Lar isa Cercel, and Brian O'Keeffe. Translation Studies (Bucharest: Zeta Books, 2021). I do not intend to engage with translation studies at large here; this would balloon into a vast research review inappropriate for the current context. Nevertheless, as we will observe subsequently, all commu nication is somehow interlinked with translations, and those, in turn, create a form of commu nity.
19 Quoted from the abstract of his own contribution to *Text Performances and Cultural Transfer* (see note 18), "Zur Translation als Performance mit Texten" (9 32; here 9; https://zetabooks. com/wp content/uploads/Agnetta 2021 intro.pdf [last accessed on April 1, 2022)). He draws, in particular, from the insights developed by Erika Fischer Lichte, *Performativität: Eine Einführung*. Edition Kulturwissenschaft, 10 (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2012); see also Edith Grosssman, *Why Translation Matters* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010); *Wissenstransfer und Translation. Zur Breite und Tiefe des Übersetzungsbegriffs*, ed. Alberto Gil and Robert Kirstein. Hermeneutik und Kreativität, 3 (St. Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 2015); Brian O'Keefe, Brian (2018): "Reading, Writing, and Translation in Gadamer's Hermeneutic Philosophy," *Philos ophy and Practice in Translational Hermeneutics*, ed. John Stanley, Brian O'Keefe, Radegundis Stolze, and Larisa Cercel (Bucharest: Zeta Books, 2018), 15 45. There is an entire legion of rel evant studies pertaining to translations, translation studies, and related aspects. For a good comprehensive coverage, see the contributions to *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, ed. Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha. 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2009); and to *The Oxford Handbook of Translation and Social Practices*, ed. Sara Laviosa and Meng Ji. Oxford Handbooks Online (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020). Translation is also addressed numer ous times by the various contributors to the present volume.

work when texts are rendered into another language word for word (Alberto Gil; cf. also Lavinia Heller and Larisa Cercel respectively), and achieves a performative hermeneutics, rendering a religious message into a human language below the divine sphere (Brian O'Keeffe). Most important, as Marco Agnetta underscores, "bei aller Planung [ist] das Übersetzen ein Prozess des Erwägens, (Neu)Verhandelns und Entscheidens, letztlich also eine Tätigkeit, deren Ausgang sich nicht von vornherein klar bestimmen lässt" ("Zur Translation als Performance mit Texten" [see note 18], 21; despite all planning, translation is a process of consideration, [new] negotiation, and deciding, hence ultimately an activity the outcome of which cannot be determine from the outset. Translating amounts to bringing together an active producer and a passive receiver, and both must establish a common ground, as in the overlapping area of two domains in a Venn diagram, or a form of communication which is the critical basis for making translation to a success.[20] As Agnetta emphasizes, the translator "lässt sich vom Original und zeitgleich von den zielsprachlichen Formulierungskonventionen bestimmen, andererseits bestimmt er aber immer auch, in welchem Maße er sich diesen Bindungen unterwirft" (22; allows the original to determine him/her, and at the same time submits to the conventions of formulation of the target language.

At the same time, s/he always decides as well to what extent s/he accepts those binding principles). It thus makes good sense when Jasmin Pfeiffer observes, "texts are usually part of larger communicative and cultural contexts which frame our interactions with them ... [Our reading experience] take[s] part in the constitution of meaning and thereby [can] alter our interpretation of the text." She then asks in her contribution "how fiction extending beyond the borders of the 'original' text, and including other artifacts, can offer new interpretive dimensions."[21]

A Few Remarks on Translation

Intriguingly, much of medieval literature was more or less the result of translations, although the term would have to be defined rather flexibly, with each poet pursuing his/her own approach in that process, some staying close to the original or relying on considerable freedom in the process. Consequently, we are cer-

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20 Erika Fischer Lichte, *Performativität: Eine Einführung*. Edition Kulturwissenschaft, 10 (Biele feld: transcript Verlag, 2012), 76, 87.
21 Jasmin Pfeiffer, "Lektüre und Performativität: Materialitäten fiktionaler Texte zwischen Se mantik und Sinnlichkeit," *Wissenstransfer und Translation* (see note 19), 359 78; here 359.

tainly poised to gain deeper insights into the pre-modern literary discourse if we understand this performative element of all translations, which in turn are predicated on communication. After all, no translation, from whatever language, culture, or period, can ever claim to be exactly like the original. All translations represent forms of conversations, debates, and reflections, leading over to new forms of communication.

The Middle High German poet Hartmann von Aue demonstrated these two strategies when he translated Chrétien de Troyes's *Erec* and then *Yvain*, using a more independent approach in the first, and a rather pedantic approach in the second case.[22] Maud Burnett McInerney, in her recent study on Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* (ca. 1155–1160), draws on theories of translation and temporality to analyze the *Roman de Troie* and its context. "It reads the text against Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* to argue that Benoît participates in the Anglo-Norman invention of a new kind of history. It demonstrates how the *Roman de Troie* participates in the invention of romance time, even as it uses its queer characters to cast doubt upon genealogical fantasies of romance."[23]

If the issue of translation from one language to another was already such a thorny and complex issue at that time, how much more did the phenomenon of falsification or deliberate changing an original text impact the reception? One of the most dramatic cases illustrating the danger resulting from creating falsified letters, indirectly an assassination attempt, proves to be the anonymous Middle High German romance *Mai und Beaflor* (ca. 1290) where the jealous mother of Count Mai makes her son believe that his young wife Beaflor had committed adultery by sleeping with two priests during his absence and has hence delivered, as a divine punishment, a wolf child.[24]

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22 See, for instance, *Un transfert culturel au XIIe siècle: Erec et Enide de Chrétien de Troyes et Erec de Hartmann von Aue*, ed. Patrick L Del Duca. Collection Centre d'études sur les réformes, l'humanisme et l'âge classique (Clermont Ferrand: Presses universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2010); cf. also Rita Copeland, "The Dream of Chivalry: A Study of Chrétien de Troye's 'Yvain' and Hart mann von Aue's 'Iwein'," *Romance Philology* 38.2 (1984): 256 60.

23 Maud Burnett McInerney, *Translation and Temporality in Benoît de Sainte Maure's Roman de Troie*. Gallica, 47 (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2021). The quote is taken from the publisher's website at https://boydellandbrewer.com/9781843846154/translation and temporality in benoit de sainte maures iroman de troiei/ (last accessed on Nov. 2, 2021). She argues that the adoption of the Troy material in medieval Europe was a massive translation process creating a new cul tural framework for the courtly world.

24 *Mai und Beaflor*. Herausgegeben, übersetzt, kommentiert und mit einer Einleitung von Al brecht Classen. Beihefte zur Mediaevistik, 6 (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2006); for a recent study, though it does not quite address the topic pursued here, see Astrid Bußmann, "Im

There are many subsequent implications, confusions, and tragic events, and it takes the protagonist a long time and major efforts to overcome their separation and to join in union again. This late medieval verse narrative underscores the extent to which epistolary writing had already assumed major political significance, although this came along with the great danger of manipulation. We would call it 'fake news' today, which is an equally, if not even more damaging undermining of all and everything we believe to know. Once mutual trust and reliability have been weakened or even destroyed, all other social, ethical, even moral and religious structures are bound to collapse as well. That is, the trust in language, in communication, and in translation is undermined and corroded, and thus the sense of community is in great peril as well.

Failed Attempt and Self-Delusion: The Case of Juan Ruiz's *El libro de buen amor*

Another great case, differently conditioned but similarly determined by an ironic perspective regarding intrahuman relations, would be the Spanish *El libro de buen amor* by Juan Ruiz (ca. 1330) which misleadingly suggests that the focus of the work would rest on how to achieve true love, whereas in reality the entire treatise proves to be a deliberate hodgepodge of various types of discourses, all of which, however, are deeply anchored in the question of how to establish a functioning type of communication. Not surprisingly, however, the narrator presents to us from the beginning a rather startling scenario which makes us wonder immediately whether humans will ever learn to speak to each other in a constructive, harmonious, and efficient manner. Language is not uniform or straightforward per se; instead, it easily proves to be opaque, ambivalent, even deceptive, and false. This is demonstrated in an early episode contained in this complex narrative which we can discuss here by itself without taking the larger context into consideration.[25]

Bann der Inszenierung   Lachen, Weinen und Schweigen in der verzögerten Anagnorisis von *Mai und Beaflor*," *Lachen und Schweigen: Grenzen und Lizenzen der Kommunikation in der Erzählliteratur des Mittelalters*, ed. Werner Röcke and Hans Rudolf Velten. Trends in Medieval Philology, 26 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 101 28. For the wider literary historical context of this narrative, see Nancy B. Black, *Medieval Narratives of Accused Queens* (Gainesville, Tallahassee, et al.: University Press of Florida, 2003).

25 Juan Ruiz, *The Book of Good Love*, trans. by Elizabeth Drayson Macdonald, ed. Melveena McKendrick (London: J. M. Dent, 1999). There are many solid editions available; see, for instance, Juan Ruiz Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Alberto Blecua. Letras hispánicas,

The Romans are said to be in great need of establishing laws, and they request to receive them from the Greeks. In all likelihood, the poet refers to religious teachings, as the subsequent exchange indicates, but the Greeks at first refuse to help because they regard the Romans as uncouth, hence unlearned and thus unworthy of the desired instructions. Only if the latter would be able to demonstrate in a debate that they would be worthy of those laws, would they agree to share the instructions with them. Since both sides speak different languages, the debate is to be carried out with the help of signs.

While this appears to be promising for the Romans, they do not have anyone among themselves who might be able to win such a debate, which indicates that they would not really be worthy of receiving the laws, as the Greeks surmise. In their desperation, the Romans pick a ruffian, "un vellaco Romano" (51, 2), trusting that God would come to his rescue. They puff him up with splendid clothing and promise to fulfill any of his wishes if he were only to stand up to the Greek contestant, whatever he might do to live up to the challenge.

What happens next is simply astonishing because the two men appear to understand each other very well, responding to each other with the expected signs. The Greek, highly respected by all, at first shows only a finger, which the ruffian responds to by way of holding up three fingers. Next, the Greek presents the palm of his hand, to which the Roman replies by using his fist. All this proves to be sufficient for the Greek sage, who confirms that in light of the exchange with his opponent, he believes that the Romans command sufficient knowledge and wisdom to receive the law, i.e., religious instructions in Christianity. For the Greek, the conversation took this course:

At first, he had indicated with his one finger that there is only one God. The three fingers symbolized the expansion of that statement, since it indicated: "He was three persons in on" (159, 4). Next, using his palm of his hand, the sage person implied that everything was under God's control and that people ought to submit under Him. The Roman's sign, however, corrected his own comment, expanding on it and deepening it: "He held the world in His power" (60, 2). For the Greek, this simple exchange was clearly understandable, so he acknowledges

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70 (Madrid: Ed. Cátedra: 1992); id., *El Libro de buen amor*. Biblioteca de Grandes Escritores (Din slaken: IberiaLiteratura, 2015); id., *El Libro de buen amor*, ed. Raymond Smith Willis (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015). For critical studies, see the contributions to *A Companion to the "Libro de buen amor"*, ed. Louise M. Haywood. Colección Támesis, A 209 (Rochester, NY: Tamesis, 2004); and to *A New Companion to the "Libro de buen amor"*, ed. Ryan D. Giles and José Manuel Hidalgo. Brill's Companions to Medieval Literatures and Cultures, 2 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021). The issue of 'communication,' however, does not emerge in either volume, at least not in the way as the present volume intends to do.

that the Romans have, as demonstrated by his opponent, a good command of the Christian theology: "'... I realized that they truly deserved the Laws'" (60, 4).

However, the ruffian interpreted the signs in very different terms, and we can thus realize easily the depth of miscommunication between both, especially because hand gestures and signs can have many different meanings. For him, the show with one finger was a clear sign of aggression, a threat to poke out his eye, whereupon he had held up two fingers with which he would destroy his eyes, and the thumb to break his teeth. The open palm of the hand signaled to him that the other wanted to hit his ears, and his response was to show his fist, threatening to give the other such a punch into his face that he would never forget the pain again.

The narrator then concludes with a proverb allegedly commonly formulated by old women: "'No evil word is spoken, if it is not thought to be evil'" (64, 2), which underscores the importance of intention behind every spoken word. At the same time, as he also points out, if something is well understood, then a conflict is also avoidable, which implies that each person needs to reflect carefully on his/her own words and how to interpret those uttered by the others. Communication thus proves to be a considerable challenge, so he begs his audience's patience with his work behind which "subtle teaching" ("sotil", 65, 2) awaits the reader/listener. Only wise interpreters would be able to grasp fully what the messages about true love would entail ("Razones encubiertas," 68, 1), but the danger still lurks for the audience because "Where you fear it is false, it speaks the deepest truth" (69, 1), that is, "mayor verdat."

Subsequently, the poet develops his very long discourse on love, using many different narrative genres, but we are never fully sure what he might mean since we are constantly exposed to eliding, if not elusive messages and duplicitous statements. But this is the protagonist's own destiny in his constantly failing efforts to win his lady's love. Ironically, when he sends a messenger to her, she does not respond but accepts the messenger as her lover (113). Upon further ruminations, he concludes that love itself "always speaks falsely" (161, 4) because it creates deception and makes people assume things as they only seem to be. This thus casts all communication into granular light and questions its validity insofar as the individual tends to believe what s/he wants to accept as true. Quite fittingly, the narrator also emphasizes at one point: "callar a las de vegadas fase mucho prouecho" (1408, 4; Sometimes keeping silent is the best thing), obviously because confusion and misunderstanding can be avoided thereby.

Ruiz targets here foolish people who do not understand what meaningful speech would entail: "When the fool thinks he is speaking well and correctly / and thinks his deeds will serve and please, / he is speaking badly, foolishly, causing trouble and displeasure" (1408, 1–3). However, this is spoken by the

old go-between, and, as is so often the case in the *Libro de buen amor*, not fully to be trusted. Nevertheless, the subsequent fables convey deep wisdom and meaningful truth, such as "The Fable of the Lion and the Mouse" (350–54), but it all depends on the context and the intention with which they are told, especially within this episode with the old woman Trotaconventos and the lady debating the value and justification of love. People are always subject to the Seven Deadly Sins, which are listed at the end of the book, and the poet then leaves his audience guessing what to make of all of that, revealing the impossibility of human language conveying the full truth:

> I have written you a short text, but the gloss
> is anything but, I think; it is substantial holy verse,
> where every story has another meaning
> in addition to the one affirmed by elegant discourse.
>
> It is a book full of advice on holiness,
> but also a brief breviary of play and jest.
> I will now punctuate it with a full stop and close my bookcase.
> May it be short, entertaining and like an electuary to you.
>
> (Stanzas 1631–32)

We are, essentially, left with nothing, and are forced to face the many evils and harm "that men and women bring upon each other with their / deceit, and to show extraordinary verse and tales to ordinary folk" (1634, 3–4). And yet, Ruiz still conveys a profound insight about language as such, with communication and translation, all of which easily escapes our epistemological grasp and proves to be highly slippery and deceptive, just as the individual might want to use it for his/her own purpose. Little wonder that in the Humanities we continue to debate and argue about literary works like the *Libro de buen amor* since they require our constant attention, and mirror at the same time our intellectual challenges in our interactions with other people.[26]

Communication, however, is not possible without translation, both in a concrete, linguistic fashion, and in metaphorical, spiritual terms. And in many cases, translations have been instrumental in establishing new cultural dimen-

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[26] See now Veronica Menaldi, "Enchanting Go Betweens: Mediated Love Magic in the *Libro de Buen Amor* and Iberian Grimoires," *A New Companion to the* Libro de Buen Amor, ed. Ryan D. Giles and José Manuel Hidalgo. Brill's Companions to Medieval Literatures and Cultures, 2 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021), 75–88. Oddly, the dimension of communication is not fully addressed there.

sions.[27] Little wonder that the Mediterranean, above all, with its bordering countries, was one of the crucial nodal points in the entire process shaping the high and late Middle Ages.[28]

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27 Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (1999; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Natalia Blum Barth, "Übersetzte Literatur: Tendenzen welt literarischer Zirkulationsprozesse," *literaturkritik* 11 (2021), online at: https://literaturkritik.de/ public/rezension.php?rez id=28394 (last accessed on April 1, 2022). She observes, in particular: "Die Übersetzung eines literarischen Textes trägt nolens volens zum Homogenisierungsprozess der Literatur bei. Seine hybride Beschaffenheit ist eine der wichtigsten Voraussetzungen dafür. Selbst wenn sie erfüllt wird, gibt es keine Garantie, dass der Text zur Weltliteratur gehören wird. Er ist auf dem Weg dahin, aber ob er das Ziel erreicht, kommt auf die Definition der Weltliteratur an" (The translation of a literary text contributes *nolens volens* to the process of homogenization of literature. Its hybrid character is one of the most important conditions for that process. Even if it becomes fulfilled, there won't be a guarantee that the text will belong to world literature. It is on its way toward that goal, but the question whether it will get there depends on the definition of world literature). See also Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading*, trans. from the English by Chris tine Pries (2013; Constance: Konstanz University Press, 2016), 124. As to the great translation movement in Baghdad, see Maha Baddar, "Texts that Travel: Translation Genres and Knowl edge Making in the Medieval Arabic Translation Movement," *Travel, Time, and Space in the Mid dle Ages and Early Modern Time: Explorations of Worldly Perceptions and Processes of Identity Formation*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 22 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 95 119; cf. now Muhsin J. Al Musawi, *The Arabian Nights in Contemporary World Cultures: Global Commodifications, Translations, and the Culture Industry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

28 *Texts in Transit in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. Tzvi Y. Langermann and Robert G. Morri son (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016); for the early medieval ex change between Greeks and Arabs, see Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco Arabic Translation Movement in Bagdhad and Early 'Abbasid Society (2nd 4th/8th 10th Centu ries)* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998); cf. also the contributions to *The Ancient Tradi tions in Christian and Islamic Hellenism: Studies on the Transmission of Greek Philosophy and Sci ences Dedicated to H. J. Drossaart Lulofs on His Ninetieth Birthday: Proceedings of the Third Symposium Graeco Arabicum, Held at the University of Leiden on March 26 28, 1991*, ed. Gerhard Endreß and Remke Kruk. CNWS Publications, 50 (Leiden: Research School CNWS, School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies, 1997); *Vermitteln übersetzen begegnen: Transferphä nomene im europäischen Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit; interdisziplinäre Annäherungen*, ed. Balázs J. Nemes and Achim Rabus. Nova mediaevalia, 8 (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2011). See also *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory*, ed. Emma Campbell and Robert Mills (Woodbridg: D. S. Brewer, 2012); *Translations médiévales: Cinq siècles de traductions en français au Moyen Age (XIe XVe siècles), étude et repertoire*, ed. Claudio Galderisi. 3 vols (Turnh out: Brepols, 2011). Fundamental also prove to be the contributions to *The Medieval Translator: The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*, ed. Roger Ellis (Cambridge: D. S. Brew er, 1989); Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); *Text, Transmis sion, and Transformation in the European Middle Ages, 1000 1500*, ed. Carrie Griffin and Emer

Discourse, Dialogue, and Communication on Love in Andreas Capellanus's *De amore*

Love as a personal and a public issue has always been associated with community, communication, and translation (in concrete, specific terms as well as metaphorically). We would not go entirely wrong if we acknowledged this dialectical phenomenon also for the older treatise on love by Andreas Capellanus, *De amore* (ca. 1180/1190), where the narrator's attempts to define and explain love, and to illustrate the best ways an individual can or should talk with his beloved, only appear to be serious, whereas in reality the outcome of all those many different dialogues, legal statements, rules and regulations pertaining to love are, at the end, contradicted and rejected after all. Whatever might be the full truth in Book One and Book Two, Book Three reneges on and undermines, which creates, altogether, a dialectic of rhetorical attempts without full basis in truth, or rather, it exposes the falsity of believing in the existence of absolute truth in matters of love and human discourse.

As much as Andreas Capellanus presents specific cases of love conversations, as much does he parody, satirize, and devalue them at the end.[29] As much as we are confronted with continuous dialogues, debates, and instructive narratives, which often result in specific lists of laws pertaining to love, ultimately, we are left with nothing because Book Three contradicts everything which had been stated before. There, the narrator radically condemns love outside of the bonds of marriage and accuses women at large of being disingenuous, unethical, immoral, and seductresses who cannot be trusted. As the mentor tells his disciple, Walter, "If you wish to practice the system, you will obtain, as a careful reading of this little book will show you, all the delights of the flesh in fullest measure; but the grace of God, the companionship of the good, and the friendship of praiseworthy men you will with good reason be deprived of, and you will do

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Purcell. Cursor mundi, 34 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018); *Translation in Europe During the Middle Ages*, ed. Elisa Borsari (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2020). See also Domenico Pezzini, *The Translation of Religious Texts in the Middle Ages: Tracts and Rules, Hymns and Saints' Lives*. Linguistic Insights, 69 (Bern, Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2008). The research literature on this topic is truly legion, which is quite understandable since translation affects virtually all areas of human knowledge.

29 Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, with intro., trans., and notes by John Jay Parry. Records of Civilization in Norton Paperback Editions (1941; New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1969). For the critical edition, see Andreas aulae regiae capellanus, *De amore Libri tres*. Text nach der Ausgabe von E. Trojel. Übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen und einem Nachwort versehen von Fritz Peter Knapp (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006).

great harm to your good name, and it will be difficult for you to obtain the honors of this world" (211).

Andreas, at least his mouthpiece, voices greatest concern about the danger of love and strongly suggests to his disciple that a close and thorough reading of this book would help him understand the true dangers in the world of love. Despite his own intensive effort to explain everything he knows about love and women, the narrator finally turns his back to it all and advises Walter to avoid "practicing the mandates of love, and labor in constant watchfulness so that when the Bridegroom cometh He may find you wakeful" (212).

This stands in obvious contrast to his own words in the preface: "I know clearer than day that after you have learned the art of love your progress in it will be more cautious, in so far as I can I shall comply with your desire" (27). Although Capellanus indicates that it would be inappropriate for a wise person to engage with the topic of love, he himself admits of having had sufficient experience (27), and then he proceeds in giving extensive insights into the matter of love and how lovers ought to communicate with each other.

In fact, at the end of Book Two, the final rules of love are promulgated and established as a firm set of laws by which all ladies and knights ought to behave. We are even told that those rules are then spread across the world and communicated to all people who are concerned with love, that is, to all adults: "Every person who had been summoned and had come to the court took home a written copy of the rules and gave them out to all lovers in all parts of the world" (186). Even though not explicitly stated as such, the ultimate means to achieve love is identified as communication, and if the future lovers follow the rules as outlined here, they would be able to count on achieving happiness in love as well. However, as we have already realized, Book III turns all that upside down and destroys all hopes for the achievement of love by means of communication because now all those rules are apparently no longer of any value (187).

Even though the first two books are determined to a large extent by dialogues between a man and a woman, each time in a different social relationship, those dialogues never lead to the happy conclusion and the blooming of love. Only the little Arthurian tale at the closure of Book Two seems to project a happy outcome. With Book Three then destroying all premises of the previous two books, we suddenly also face the denial of the value of those debates and hence the rejection of the communicative interaction between the men and women. By contrast, as the preface and the comments in Book Three indicate, true friendship rests only between Andreas and his disciple Walter. They both seem to exchange honest feelings of respect of and liking for each other, so their communication operates well, but this certainly at the cost of heterosexual love at large.

Within Book One and Two, we also encounter many other dialogues, but despite the mutually respectful tone of voice, there is never a good outcome, at least not for the men because the women refuse to submit to their pleading.[30] As much as Andreas plays with the role of the objective observer and teacher, he proves to be deeply involved in the matter of love and speaks with the voice of an authority figure who employs here deliberately dissimulation and disingenuousness to profile and challenge the foundation of all communication, especially in the world of courtly love.[31]

Even if the language used in this treatise, or in the much more satirical *Libro de buen amor*, is characterized by its opaqueness, it is still language with which the poet tries to convey a message. But there are many topics which language, based on words, written or oral, cannot express, whether we think of mysticism or the esotericism of philosophy, of courtly love or the love of God. Nevertheless, throughout the entire pre-modern period, the effort to come to terms with the apophatic or ineffable never came an end, as both the most famous and minor poets indicated.

Late Medieval Communicators: Dante, Chaucer

Dante Alighieri (1265 – 1321) strongly appealed to his audience to pay close attention to the deeper meaning of his words in *Inferno* IX, 61 – 63: "O you who have sound understanding, / mark the doctrine that is hidden under / the veil of the strange verses!"[32] For him, as for many of his contemporaries, the literary work was not just entertainment, i.e., pure fiction, but a medium to convey deeper truth, so the poet was a communicator and mediator between the secular audi-

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30 See Knapp's comments as to the social cultural background (see note 29), 618 20. See also Peter L. Allen, *The Art of Love: Amatory Fiction from Ovid to the* Romance of the Rose. Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 59 78; John W. Baldwin, *The Language of Sex: Five Voices from Northern France Around 1200*. The Chicago Series on Sex uality, History, and Society (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 16 20, 58 60, et passim.

31 Knapp, commentary (see note 29), 623 30.

32 Here quoted from Chauncey Wood, "The Author's Address to the Reader: Chaucer, Juan Ruiz, and Dante," *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture*, ed. Patrick J. Gallacher and Helen Damico (Al bany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 51 60; here 52. Wood offers the following rumi nation: "while meaning is available on the veiled level, it is nevertheless veiled, so it is not avail able to everyone rather it is accessible only to one kind of reader and not to another … . In a sense, then, to ask the reader to switch levels while reading a medieval poem is only a partial interruption, for apprehension continues changed but unbroken" (53 54).

ence and the divine. By the same token, Geoffrey Chaucer (ca. 1343–ca. 1400) signals to us in the *envoi* of the *Nun's Priest's Tale:* "Taketh the moralite, goode men. / For Seint Paul seith that al that writen is, / To oure doctrine it is ywrite, ywis; / Taketh the fruyt, and lat the chaf be stille."[33]

Of course, every writer and every poet throughout history has trusted in the power of his or her words and reached out to the audience, appealing to their sense of admiration for the magnificence of the creative word. The struggle between orality and literacy, however, which dominated the early Middle Ages,[34] was won by the book culture, and the triumph of the written word has reverberated throughout the Western world ever since.[35]

Intriguingly, the public discourse of courtly love – at least in the vernacular – as it began in Southern France in the early twelfth century, was as much focused on the power of the poetic word as on love itself, and a worthwhile hypothesis might be that the theme of courtly love was developed primarily as a venue for the exploration of new vehicles to exert cultural and intellectual influence and to determine the direction of society at large outside of the confines of the Latinate Christian Church.[36] As Brian Stock once observed, "Aspects of human relations that were once thought to deal with reality were now consid-

33 Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 4630   33. See also the contribution to this volume by Jane Beal.

34 Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), emphasizes the emergence of a literate culture by the end of the eleventh century. C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950   1250.* Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), attributes this shift from oral to written to the loss of the charismatic teacher type at the cathedral schools and the here tofore unknown degree of urgency to rely upon textbooks.

35 For a collection of pertinent studies on this topic, see *The Book and the Magic of Reading in the Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Garland Medieval Bibliographies (New York and London: Garland, 1998).

36 Kathryn Kerby Fulton and Denise L. Despres, *Iconography and the Professional Reader: The Politics of Book Production in the Douce Piers Plowman.* Medieval Cultures, 15 (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); as to dialectical thinking that determined the pro gression of the literary discourse, see Constance Brittain Bouchard, *"Every Valley Shall Be Exalt ed": The Discourse of Opposites in Twelfth Century Thought* (Ithaca and London: Cornell Univer sity Press, 2003), esp. 57   75. In more than one way, the reflections in this introduction and the subsequent contributions represent the continuation of the investigations carried out at the first international symposium on Medieval and Early Modern Studies, held at the University of Ari zona, April 2003, see the volume which resulted from it: *Discourses on Love, Marriage, and Transgression in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*, ed. Albrecht Classen (see note 12).

ered to deal only with words; hence a literature sprang up, not only glossing and supplementing textually interrelated forms of behavior, but also substituting, as literature, for patterns of life no longer thought to have validity."[37] This literature was part of a larger discourse community, and this community energetically worked toward establishing rational principles, logical strategies, and communicative operatives for the maintenance, improvement, and ultimately the perfection of their society. Our interest today in medieval words of love and hence in the poets' love of words is fundamentally grounded upon the inquiry of the extent to which humans can expand their potential, not through physical force, but through the power of the word. The example of the thirteenth-century Old French *Roman de Silence* by Heldris de Cornuälle, where the knight Cador and his beloved Euphemie struggle hard to find each other and to reveal their true feelings by means of words, underscores this phenomenon well, as the narrator comments at the end: "There was no more miscommunication between them."[38] Love could thus be identified as the greatest communicative operative in human life, which hence would explain well the enormous outpouring of courtly love poetry since ca. 1100 (troubadour poetry, William IX, etc.) and hence the emergence of The Twelfth-Century Renaissance.

But communication also pertains, probably even most centrally, to spiritual matters, that is, to the relationship between the individual and the divine. Sermon literature would have to be considered here above all, especially because the relevant research has made huge progress in that regard during the last decade.[39] But we discover, behind much of the entertainment literature of that era –

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37 Brian Stock, *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past* (1990; Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 46.

38 I have borrowed almost the entire paragraph with some adjustments from my Introduction "The Quest for Knowledge Within Medieval Literary Discourse: The Metaphysical and Philosophical Meaning of Love," *Words of Love and Love of Words in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 347 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 1–51; here 2–4. As to the quote, see Heldris de Cornuälle, *Le Roman de* Silence, trans. Regina Psaki. Garland Library of Medieval Literature, Series B, 63 (New York and London: Garland, 1991), 33, v. 1155; for the Old French version, "Il n'ont mais entr'als nule error," see *Silence: A Thirteenth Century French* Romance, newly ed. and trans. with intro. and notes by Sarah Roche Mahdi. Medieval Texts and Studies, 10 (East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press, 1992), p. 54. I have discussed the final exchange between these two lovers in the form of their kiss in a new study, "The Kiss in Medieval Literature: Erotic Communication, with an Emphasis on *Roman de Silence*," to appear in *International Journal of History and Cultural Studies*.

39 See, for instance, *Fasciculus morum: A Fourteenth Century Preacher's Handbook*, ed. and trans. by Siegfried Wenzel (University Park, PA, and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989); *Predigt im Kontext*, ed. Volker Mertens, Hans Jochen Schiewer, Regina D. Schiewer,

fabliaux, *mæren*, *novelle*, *tales*, *exempla*, etc. – the same effort, though masked by the humor and comedy, to reach out to the audience, to convey messages, to discuss about values and ideals, and thus to establish an exchange that leads to a mutual learning process and to the creation of a narrative community, as Brian Stock already identified it a few years ago.[40] At the same time, we have to be careful not to rely too heavily on the term 'communication' as an herme-neutical instrument for just too many different purposes, as the contributors to *Literarische und religiöse Kommunikation in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* seem to have done.[41] It could be used in an inflationary fashion for the study of virtu-ally any aspect in human affairs as reflected by medieval poets, whether we think of rhetoric, theology, sermons, the worship of the Virgin Mary, allegory, or the quest for the construction of the own identity. Of course, the celebration of the Eucharist was fundamental for all Christian communities, and it continues to be so, especially because the individual is thereby invited to participate in the spiritual union with the Godhead, that is, communion paired with communica-tion, as Michael Stolz formulates it.[42] But studying medieval codices, the hybrid-ity of a sacred relic, hagiographies, the scandalous nature of some *fabliaux*, etc. within the context of communication waters down the concept, making it almost meaningless and which I would claim to be a major shortcoming of that volume.

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and Wolfram Schneider Lastin (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013); *The Art of Cistercian Persuasion in the Middle Ages and Beyond: Caesarius of Heisterbach's* Dialogue on Miracles *and Its Reception*, ed. Victoria Smirnova, Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, and Jacques Berlioz. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 196 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015); Siegfried Wenzel, *The Sermons of William Peraldus: An Appraisal.* Sermo, 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017); Meister Eck hart, *The German Works: 56 Homilies for the Liturgical Year.* 2. *De Sanctis*, intro., trans., and notes by Loris Sturlese and Markus Vinzent. Eckhart: Texts and Studies, 12 (Leuven, Paris, and Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2020); *Pastoral Care in Medieval England: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. Peter D. Clarke and Sarah James (London and New York: Routledge, 2020). For a solid summary of this genre, see Robert W. Zajkowski, "Sermons," *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms Methods Trends*, ed. Albrecht Classen. 3 vols. (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), Vol. 3, 2077 86. The international research on this topic and genre is legion.

40 Stock, *Listening for the Text* (see note 37).

41 *Literarische und religiöse Kommunikation in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit: DFG Symposion 2006*, ed. Peter Strohschneider (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009). The term 'com munication' appears often here, but the volume really serves only as a broadly conceived plat form for a vast range of topics pertaining to medieval and early modern religion, literature, and philosophy.

42 Michael Stolz, "Kommunion und Kommunikation: Eucharistische Verhandlungen in der Lit eratur des Mittelalters," *Literarische und religiöse Kommunikation in Mittelalter und Früher Neu zeit* (see note 41), 453 505; esp. 464.

Of course, virtually all literary and also non-fictional texts aim at an audience and thus intend to communicate with them. If we argued poignantly that this would be the central focus of this volume, we would carry the proverbial owls to Athens or the coals to Newcastle. Instead, the issue must be, to make good sense here, the community itself with which an author communicates and the exploration of how this communication operates, either effectively or ineffectively. What do the words achieve which an individual utters, and how does the community thereby gain a solid foundation? Of course, this entails both a universal response and more concrete medieval and early modern perspectives. After all, if we can utilize the literary-historical examples for a critical analysis of our own language use within a communicative context, then we can easily grasp the critical value of these pre-modern texts for our own intellectual growth today, whether we think of Wolfram von Eschenbach, Heinrich Kaufringer, Geoffrey Chaucer, Fernando de Rojas, William Shakespeare, or Aphra Behn.

Late Medieval Language Communities

The pre-modern speech communities were probably somewhat different from our own today, and yet, all humans operate with speech and rely on it to convey information, either very personal or public/factual. All speech acts are both linguistic and content-specific, so our analysis of them provides a springboard for larger investigations about how society operates, both then and today.[43] The medieval and early world was clearly marked by the existence of social and spiritual communities, both in cities and at court, in monastic orders (*Klosterlandschaft*) and in confraternities.[44] Guilds and beguine groups made greatest

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43 See the contributions to *Speaking in the Medieval World*, ed. Jean Godsall Myers. Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions, 16 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003); *Language and History, Linguistics and Historiography: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. Nils Langer, Steffan Davies, and Wim Van denbussche. Studies in Historical Linguistics, 9 (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2012); *Moving Words in the Nordic Middle Ages: Tracing Literacies, Texts, and Verbal Communities*, ed. Amy C. Mulligan and Else Mundal. Acta Scandinavia, 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019).

44 Sarah Ann Long, *Music, Liturgy, and Confraternity Devotions in Paris and Tournai, 1300 1550*. Eastman Studies in Music (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2021), studies, above all, the confraternities in Paris and Tournai, focusing on their rituals, musical performan ces, chants, devotional manuscripts, and religious practices. Although situated in two separate cities, there existed, as she observes, strong networks between both. See the review by Brianne Dolce online in *The Medieval Review* (22.02.06). See also the contributions to *Confraternities in Southern Italy: Art, Politics, and Religion (1100 1800)*, ed. David D'Andrea and Salvatore Marino.

efforts to establish firm rules and principles for their organizations, and this also applied to rural entities (villages). All of those organizational activities were, by default, predicated on communication, both oral and written, and they were commonly the results of intensive negotiations and decision-making processes.[45] We can also count the large number of pilgrims traversing medieval and early modern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean as a community, irrespective of language differences, since they all had very similar or even identical goals, used badges recognizable everywhere, and probably supported each other to a certain extent. In addition, while the Catholic Church dominated all of medieval Europe and beyond, there were countless religious groups organized around their own leaders and ideals.[46]

Today, we still have available large documentary data confirming the degree to which all those social entities collaborated and exchanged with each other and at the same time demarcated themselves in contrast to outsiders or other groups. Recent historiography has, for instance, focused increasingly on notaries and chanceries, i.e., on professional organizations charged with legal aspects which required intensive communication, and this both within an urban community, for instance, and outside. Whenever the internal and external communication broke down or was threatened from inside or outside, then the communal bonds also frayed, splintered, and collapsed. In all likelihood, however, our own world today, globally speaking at least, does not seem to differ fundamentally from that situation in the pre-modern era. Our investigation could hence

Essays and Studies, 52 (Toronto: Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies, 2022). It was not yet available at the time when I composed this essay.

45 See now the contributions to *Entscheidungsfindung in spätmittelalterlichen Gemeinschaften*, ed. Wolfgang Eric Wagner. Kulturen des Entscheidens, 8 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2022). One fundamental problem here is, of course, that all of human life is constantly determined by the decision making process, which hence makes the focus as pursued here to a rather banal matter; see my review to appear in *Mediaevistik 35*.

46 Ann Marie Rasmussen, *Medieval Badges: Their Wearers and Their* Worlds. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021), 12 13, et passim. As she rightly points out, badges were communicative messengers, or media, signaling that their wearers belonged to the same category of people, had carried out a pilgrimage, and thus believed in the power of the saints and of sacred spaces (17). She also addresses pilgrim fraternities, 93, 98. Cf. further Hanneke Van Asperen, *Silver Saints: Prayers and Badges in Late Medieval Books.* Nijmegen Art Historical Studies, 26 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021); Stephan Bruhn, *Reformer als Wertegemeinschaften: Zur diskursiven Formierung einer sozialen Gruppe im spätangelsächsischen England (ca. 850 1050).* Mittelalter Forschungen, 68 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2022).

move from here into many different thematic directions because all social history is predicated on the existence on a community.[47]

We should also not forget that all religious groups, whether Christian, Jewish, or Muslim, were predicated on the strong sense of a community as it had emerged over a long period of time through the collective effort of hermeneutic strategies to comprehend their Scriptures, so all three Abrahamic faiths were based on a foundational text, or texts, and made sure throughout time that its

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47 As to guilds and craftsmanship seen through the lens of social networks (including the ex change of technical know how, at least in northern Europe), see the contributions to *Crafts and Social Networks in Viking Towns*, ed. Steven P. Ashby and Søren M. Sindbæk (Oxford and Phil adelphia, PA: Oxbow Books, 2020). For the culture of urban sociability and networking see, for instance, the contributions to *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 4 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009); and to *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: The Spatial Turn in Premodern Studies*, ed. Albrecht Classen, with the collaboration of Christo pher R. Clason. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 9 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2012); for the concept of the *Klosterlandschaft*, see now the studies as sembled in the volume *Klosterlandschaft Niedersachsen*, ed. Arnd Reitemeier (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2021). For the history of beguines, see Walter Simons, *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200 1565*. The Middle Ages Series (Phila delphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 2001). In fact, we could probably examine most aspects of the pre modern world through the lens of communities, communication, collaboration, etc. See now the contributions to *The Roles of Medieval Chanceries: Negotiating Rules of Political Communication*, ed. Christina Antenhofer and Mark Mersiowsky. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Lit eracy, 51 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021). See also the contribution to the present volume by Nere Jone Intxaustegi Jauregi investigating the role of notaries in the Basque territories. A workshop at the University of Mainz, Nov. 5 6, 2021, furthered these perspectives more in depth: "Tagungsbericht (report about the symposium): New perspectives on civic administration in 15th century towns", 05.11.2021 06.11.2021 Aberdeen und digital, H Soz Kult, 08.01.2022, online at https://www. hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte 9242 (last accessed on Jan. 6, 2022). A very dif ferent yet meaningful approach to this whole issue is the question of what late medieval com munities did to establish a police force, a fundamental factor to maintain law and order. See now Gregory Roberts, *Police Power in the Italian Communes, 1228 1326*. Premodern Crime and Punishment (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019). For a local perspective, see Hans Kirsch, *Sicherheit und Ordnung betreffend: Geschichte der Polizei in Kaiserslautern und in der Pfalz 1276 2006*. Studien zur pfälzischen Geschichte und Volkskunde, 1 (Kaiserslautern: His torischer Verein der Pfalz, 2007); for the early modern period, see Thomas Simon, *"Gute Po licey": Ordnungsleitbilder und Zielvorstellungen politischen Handelns in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Stud ien zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte, 170 (Frankfurt a. M.: Klostermann, 2004); see also the contributions to *Kriminalität in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit: soziale, rechtliche, philosophische und literarische Aspekte*, ed. Sylvia Kesper Biermann and Diethelm Klippel. Wolfenbütteler For schungen, 114 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007). There is a legion of further research on crime, punishment, the police, laws, prisons, legal courts, executions, etc.

members were constantly involved in the comprehension of the religious messages, embraced the central theological concepts, and perceived the world though a commonly shared perspective.[48] Religion thus proves to be one of the major ideologies binding people together in a communicative community, which in turn relies heavily on the principles of translation, both in the concrete technical sense of the word (Bible translations, Qur'ān translations, interpretations of scholastic texts, analysis of the liturgy, etc.) and in metaphorical terms, i. e., the translation of the spiritual message of God into something understandable for the laity.

Boccaccio's Message About the Literary Discourse

We discover an excellent example for the problematic nature of language and its impact on the community in one of Boccaccio's tales contained in his *Decameron* (ca. 1350). Of course, we would be hard pressed to identify any one of his texts in which he would not address this issue in one or the other way, as all great storytellers do. But the very first tale invites a particularly convenient gateway to comprehend the duplicity and contradictory nature of language.[49] We are regaled

48 Reinhold Rieger, "Neue theologische Hermeneutik im 15. Jahrhundert," *Das 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Günter Frank, Franz Fuchs, and Mathias Herweg. Melanchthon Schriften der Stadt Bretten, 15. Stuttgart Bad Cannstatt: frommann holzboog, 2021), 403 35. See now also the contributions to *Religious Connectivity in Urban Communities (1400 1550): Reading, Worshipping, and Connect ing Through the Contiuum of Sacred and Secular*, ed. Suzan Folkerts. New Communities of Inter pretation, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021); see also my review in *sehepunkte.de*, online, 22.2 (2022), online at: http://www.sehepunkte.de/2022/02/35984.html (last accessed on April 1, 2022).
49 Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. with an intro. and notes by G. H. McWilliam. Sec. ed. (1972; London: Penguin, 1995); for a critical edition, see *Decameron*, ed. Vittore Branca. Sixth rev. and corrected ed. (1980; Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1987). There are many other good editions as well, but here I quote from Branca's which proves to be the most reliable and critically trustwor thy. For an excellent online platform with a text edition, translation (by J. M. Rigg, 1903, which is still one of the best despite its antiquated language), commentary, etc., see http://www.brown. edu/Departments/Italian Studies/dweb/ (last accessed on June 7, 2020). Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. with an intro. and notes by G. H. McWilliam. Sec. ed. (1972; London: Pen guin, 1995). There is much modern research on Boccaccio; see, for instance, Giuseppe Mazzotta, *The World at Play in Boccaccio's Decameron* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986); Pier Massimo, *Adventures in Speech: Rhetoric and Narration in Boccaccio' Decameron*. Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996); Alessandro Archangeli, *Recreation in the Renaissance: Attitudes Towards Leisure and Pastimes in European Culture, c. 1425 1675* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Valerio Ferme,

with the story of a highly dubious person, the so-called Saint Ciappelletto, who is characterized from the beginning as an utterly evil man with a fantastic ability to talk his way out of any problem he might find himself in, irrespective of the nature or type of his crimes, deceptions, lies, or inventions. For instance,

> He would take a particular pleasure, and a great amount of trouble, in stirring up enmity, discord and bad blood between friends, relatives and anybody else; and the more calamities that ensued, the greater would be his rapture. If he were invited to witness a murder or any other criminal act, he would never refuse, but willingly go along; and he often found himself cheerfully assaulting or killing people with his own hands. (26).

But then, while on a business trip to France upon behalf of a Florentine merchant, he falls ill and is visited by an old and pious friar who then takes his confession. However, Ciapelletto lies so outrageously about himself, and makes such enormous claims about his supposedly holy lifestyle that the poor and frail friar cannot do anything but to believe his every word, whether about having always been an absolute virgin (31) or an honest business man. For instance, asked whether he had ever deceived anyone as merchants tend to do, as the friar formulates it, Ciapelletto admits that he once accepted a payment for a loan which

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Women, Enjoyment, and the Defense of Virtue in Boccaccio's Decameron. The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); see also the contributions to *"Umana cosa è aver compassione degli afflitti": raccontare, consolare, curare nella narrative europea da Boccaccio al Seicento.* Special issue of *Levia Gravia: quaderno annuale di letteratura italiana* (Alessandria: Ed. dell' Orso, 2015); Guido Ruggiero, *Love and Sex in the Time of the Plague: A Decameron Renaissance.* I Tatti Studies in Italian Renaissance History (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021). See also Pia Claudia Doering, *Praktiken des Rechts in Boccaccios "Decameron": die novellistische Analyse juristischer Erkenntniswege* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2020). Currently, each day in the *Decameron* becomes the topic of a separate edited volume; see, for instance, *The Decameron Sixth Day in Perspective*, ed. David Lummus (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021). Most useful is now *The Decameron: A Critical Lexicon. Lessico Critico Decameroniano*, ed. Pier Massimo Forni and Renzo Bragantini. English edition by Christopher Kleinhenz, trans. Michael Papio (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval & Renaissance Studies, 2019), where the issue of communication is also addressed numerous times. See especially the study by Francesco Bruni, "Communication," *The Decameron* (57 78), who emphasizes Boccaccio's profound training in rhetoric, which was not unusual for any learned person in the pre modern era. But Bruni goes much further into details as there are many scenes in the *Decameron* determined either by communication or miscommunication, much depending on the individual's ability to grasp the deeper meaning of words or of entire messages. Many times, as he notes, there are instances of narrative incongruity, misreadings of information, contradictory statements, and faulty interpretations. But, as Bruni emphasizes, Boccaccio did not yet rely on allegory for the narrative development in *Decameron*, though he would later totally embrace it in his *Genealogie deorum gentilium*.

was a few pennies over what had been owed to him. He admits his 'guilt,' though he also claims that he then had given away that extra money to a beggar (32). One of his greatest guilts, he said, had been that he had spat one day in church without thinking much about it, which the old friar smiling dismisses as a simple trifle (32). In fact, he completely accepts the dying man as a totally contrite person and honors him greatly for his true piety, and he also disregards Ciapelletto's final confession that as a boy he had once cursed his own mother (33–34). Nothing is true in this dying man's confession, but the friar believes him every word and pays him greatest respect as a living saint.

Their conversation runs smoothly, they both seem to understand each other perfectly, with Ciapelletto creating a most amazing fictional account about himself as a most pious, devout person. The two brothers who had housed him and who had overheard his 'confession' to the monk can only marvel about the outrageousness of his lies, especially because he knows of his imminent death and the certainty of soon meeting his creator. "Seeing, however, that he had said all the right things to be received for burial in a church, they cared nothing for the rest" (35).

The friar, on the other hand, completely deceived and ignorant of Ciapelletto's cruel game of deception, makes every effort to get him venerated as a saintly man by the entire monastery (35). But not only has the by then dead man pulled the wool over the friar's eyes, the latter soon convinces through his sermon the entire community of the marvels he had heard from him. No one has any doubts about these accounts, and so this master liar is buried with the greatest respect and devotion, worshipped by the entire community. Moreover, miracles are then said to have even happened at his grave, and the narrator concludes that those miracles "continue to work [...] on behalf of whoever commends himself devoutly to this particular Saint" (36).

As the narrator Panfilo concludes, however, it might have well been that Ciapelletto had, indeed, suddenly changed his mind: "Nor would I wish to deny that perhaps God has blessed and admitted him to His presence. For albeit he led a wicked, sinful life, it is possible that at the eleventh hour he was so sincerely repentant that God had mercy upon him and received him into His kingdom" (36). In other words, Panfilo suggests that there might have been a chance that despite all of his lies, this newly created 'saint' was indeed more saintly than we might have assumed, especially because the friar was so deeply convinced of the truth of his words and because miracles indeed then happened at the grave. "And if is the case, we may recognize how very great is God's loving-kindness towards us, in that it takes account, not of our error, but of the purity of our faith, and grants our prayers" (37).

Thus, Ciapelletto's astounding and very trustworthy lies – a hilarious paradox which sheds much light on the intricacies and ambivalence of human language as such – turned into miracle accounts, and since everyone believed them, those transformed into a new truth. Narration thus has made itself independent from the narrator and takes over the control of the people who happily accept the bait and subscribe to it without any qualms because it conforms so well to their own needs to have a saint amongst their own.

What does that tell us about communication, however, and why did Boccaccio place this story as the first one of the entire collection, it being the first of one hundred stories? After all, it sets the tone for the *Decameron*, it provides a model, we might say, for all the other ones, and underscores the importance of narration to explain life itself, whether based on truth or on fiction. As the queen of the first day, Pampinea, outlines, extolling the beauty and value of storytelling, it is "an activity that may afford some amusement both to the narrator and to the company at large" (23). The company needs entertainment, needs distraction from the pandemic in the city, and thus transform their idle time into meaningfully spent hours telling and listening to stories, even though the very first one seems to undermine the validity of all narrations. Or, maybe, it confirms the absolute value of all fiction and highlights that truth, in terms of material facts, would not matter so much as long as there is a good intention underneath the narration. Did Ciapelletto really lie, or did he fantasize so much that he began to believe his own words?

In fact, we find ourselves immersed in the same quandary as in the previous cases, with language conveying some information, but not necessarily truth. Hence, we are required to investigate further what Boccaccio might have intended, and yet cannot go that much further here because each individual story contained in the *Decameron* and the many conversations among the storytellers would require intensive discussions all by themselves and also critical reflections on the many opinions formulated by Boccaccio scholars.[50] Of course, the story is predicated on anti-clericalism, poking fun at the gullible friar, and so at the equally gullible audience who simply believe the preacher's words about the recently deceased. As much as we know that everything related by him is nothing but a huge lie, as much the words all by themselves appear to carry truth because miracles then happen at the great sinner's grave.

Panfilo refuses to decide on his own what was right and what was wrong with this terrible sinner who suddenly seemed to have turned into a penitent ex-

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50 *The Decameron First Day in Perspective: Volume one of the Lecturae Boccaccii*, ed. Elissa B. Weaver (Toronto, Buffalo, NY, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

traordinaire. We know that Ciapelletto faced certain death, and only intended to receive an honorable burial in a church, and this despite an endless list of crimes and sins he had committed throughout his life. By resorting to a highly sophisticated show of contrition, he seemed to have convinced both the friar and himself of the veracity of his words, as much as they were all certain lies.

This then leads over to the next story, told by Neifile, about the Jew Abraham whom his Christian friend Jeannot de Chevigny tries to convince to abandon his faith and to convert to Christianity. While resisting all those requests for a long time, Abraham finally decides to test the Christian Church himself and goes to Rome, where he observes the worst hypocrisy possible, crime and sinfulness committed by the highest-ranking members of the clergy. Although this would have been enough to convince him never to turn his back to Judaism, Abraham does, and so he accepts Christian baptism because "it is evident to me that their attempts are unavailing, and that your religion continues to grow in popularity, and become more splendid and illustrious. I can only conclude that, being a more holy and genuine religion than any of the others, it deservedly has the Holy Ghost as its foundation and support" (41).

For our purposes, suffice it here to conclude that Boccaccio, very similar to Geoffrey Chaucer, Heinrich Kaufringer, or much later Marguerite de Navarre, deeply recognized the fundamental value of human language as an effective and consequential social medium, as faulty and deceptive as it might be. Behind all lies there still rests some truth, even if the liar does not display any awareness about it. Language makes us human, and so it transforms the horrible sinner Ciapelletto into a pious person, after all, and the friendship between Abraham and Jeannot brings it about that the former accepts the Christian faith because behind all the hypocrisy and sinfulness of the Roman clergy there is still the higher ideal and value of language itself, the communicative community, and the hope that the performance of human words might achieve the desired results of establishing some sense of truth and veracity which promises to bind all people together.

Whether we might have to associate Boccaccio with the Italian Renaissance or not – this probably pertains more to his later works, and not his *Decameron* – we can be certain that the playful and experimental operation with language places him directly into the same tradition as Andreas Capellanus and Juan Ruiz, if not many other medieval intellectuals who have left us their intriguing and sophisticated treatises and poems. To investigate this astounding phenomenon to a greater depth, we would also have to examine Matfre Ermengaud's Occitan *Breviari d'Amor* (ca. 1288) or William of Ockham's *Quodlibetal Questions* (edited and published in 1324–1325), according to whom 'truth' and 'falsity' are "connotative

terms that signify the same thing in contrary ways."[51] In fact, many medieval poets and philosophers pursued more or less similar epistemological quests and engaged with these fundamental questions concerning language, communication, and community, as the contributors to *Words of Love and Love of Words* have already convincingly illustrated by applying particular lenses in their investigations.[52] Reflecting on Abelard's famous *Sic et Non*, as examined by Bonnie Wheeler, I had suggested: "The need to utilize words to come to terms with the most powerful inner feeling humankind has ever experienced, erotic love, reverberates throughout almost all medieval narratives and lyrics dealing with the relationship between, on the one hand, man and woman, and, on the other, the human creature and the Godhead."[53]

Translation as a Communicative Metaphor

This then leads us over to the next stage of our investigation, translation, a major philological and hermeneutic process in all cultures and all periods. Language is to a large extent an effort to translate, both from one language to another and from one person to another. We do not even need to consider the problems separating languages from one another, such as Latin and Middle High German; already the efforts by individuals within one community to understand each other constitute enormous challenges, both in the past and the present.[54] In the premodern period, there was a clear awareness of main languages versus dialects, as the late thirteenth-century didactic poet Hugo von Trimberg formulated it explicitly in his famous *Der Renner*, a massive volume addressing many different aspects in human life, and so also the use of dialects (vv. 22265–70).[55] Concom-

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51 Michelle Bolduc, "Transgressive Troubadours and Lawless Lovers? Matfre Ermengaud's *Bre viari d'Amor* as a Courtly *apologia*," *Discourses on Love, Marriage, and Transgression in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*, ed. Albrecht Classen (see note 12), 65 83; for William of Ockham, see my introduction, 75.

52 *Words of Love and Love of Words in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Albrecht Class en (see note 38).

53 Albrecht Classen, "The Quest for Knowledge Within Medieval Literary Discourse: The Meta physical and Philosophical Meaning of Love," *Words of Love and Love of Words in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (see note 38), 1 51; here 8 9.

54 Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages* (see note 28).

55 Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, ed. Gustav Ehrismann. Vol. III. With an epilogue and addi tions by Günther Schweikle. Deutsche Neudrucke. Reihe: Texte des Mittelalters (1909; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1970); for critical comments, though not necessarily pertaining to the phe nomenon of language as discussed by Hugo, see Jutta Goheen, *Mensch und Moral im Mittelalter:*

itantly, the use of Latin by the intellectual elite marked a strong linguistic boundary separating them from the ordinary lay people. But in many regions of premodern Europe, bi- and even trilingualism was a very common phenomenon, such as in England or Hungary. The latter case was the focus of a thorough study by Janós M. Bak,[56] whereas the former case was studied by Harry Peters,[57] to mention just a few of the recent scholars dedicated to this topic.

The phenomenon of multilingualism has particularly attracted much attention, maybe because the modern world is witnessing an unprecedented migration of people of many different tongues, which causes huge conflicts particularly in western countries poorly prepared for this influx and mixing of languages, cultures, religions, and entire communities.[58] Already the Middle Ages knew of the presence of various languages in one and the same territory, whether we think of the Iberian Peninsula, Bohemia, Southern Italy, etc.[59] The presence of a Jewish population in the various countries where they were tolerated – they were expelled from England in 1290, from France first in 1306, then again in 1394, and from Spain in 1492, for instance – always entailed the coexistence of Hebrew with one of the vernaculars. We know of many other multilingual situations and could even assume that the pre-modern world was much more flexible in handling various languages within the same community than the early modern society.[60]

Geschichte und Fiktion in Hugo von Trimbergs 'Der Renner' (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buch gesellschaft, 1990); Rudolf Kilian Weigand, *Der 'Renner' des Hugo von Trimberg: Überlieferung, Quellenabhängigkeit und Struktur einer spätmittelalterlichen Lehrdichtung.* Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter, 35 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2000); Tobias Bulang, *Enzyklopädische Dichtungen: Fallstudien zu Wissen und Literatur in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit.* Deutsche Literatur, 2 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011).

56 Janós M. Bak, "A Kingdom of Many Languages: Linguistic Pluralism in Medieval Hungary," *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Communication and Miscommunication in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Cul ture, 17 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 165 76.

57 Harry Peters, "John Gower Love of Words and Words of Love," *Words of Love and Love of Words in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Albrecht Classen (see note 38), 439 60.

58 Jonathan Hsy, *Trading Tongues: Merchants, Multilingualism, and Medieval Literature.* Inter ventions: New Studies in Medieval Culture (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2013).

59 *Zwischen Babel und Pfingsten: Sprachdifferenzen und Gesprächsverständigung in der Vormo derne (8. 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Peter von Moos. Gesellschaft und individuelle Kommunikation in der Vormoderne, 1 (Vienna, Zürich, and Berlin: Lit, 2008).

60 Albrecht Classen, "Polyglots in Medieval German Literature: Outsiders, Critics, or Revolu tionaries? Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan*, Wernher the Gardener's *Helmbrecht*, and Oswald von Wolkenstein," *Neophilologus* 91 (1) (2007), 101 15; *Medieval Multilingualism: The Franco phone World and Its Neighbours*, ed. Christopher Kleinhenz and Keith Busby. Medieval Texts

Several scholars have, for instance, investigated the multilingual situation in the Nordic countries, even though the Icelanders, for instance, were rather isolated and might not have been so much in need of foreign languages. However, they were traveling far and wide, trading and waging war, buying and selling slaves from very distant lands, and were thus, due to their high level of mobility, probably more accustomed to acquiring new language skills than the literary or historical testimony might indicate.[61] The Saga literature often remarks on the protagonists' almost global travels, and how they interacted with people in Scotland, Ireland, England, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Lapland, but then also Germany, Italy, and even the Byzantine Empire, and there are hardly any comments on linguistic difficulties. In other words, we can assume that a considerable degree of multilingualism existed, even though authors did not comment on it particularly.[62]

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and Cultures of Northern Europe, 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in Medieval England: C. 800 c. 1250*, ed. Elizabeth M. Tyler. Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011); *Mehrsprachigkeit im Mittelalter: Kulturelle, literarische, sprachliche und didaktische Konstellationen in europäischer Perspektive; mit Fallstudien zu den "Disticha Catonis"*, ed. Michael Baldzuhn and Christine Putzo (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2011); *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066 1520): Sources and Analysis*, ed. Judith A. Jefferson. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Oliver M. Traxel, "Languages," *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen. 3 vols. (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), vol. 2, 794 835; *The French of Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Jocelyn Wogan Browne*, ed. Thelma Fenster and Carolyn P. Collette (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK; Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer, 2017); Amelie Bendheim, "'Zehen sprach hab ich gebraucht': Mehrsprachigkeit in der mittelalterlichen Literatur als kulturelle Repräsentation und performative Kommunikation," *Zeitschrift für interkulturelle Germanistik* 10.1 (2019): 11 31 (mostly a summary of previous research).

61 Marianne E. Kalinke, "The Foreign Language Requirement in Medieval Icelandic Romance," *The Modern Language Review* 78.4 (1983): 850 61; Ian McDougall, "Foreigners and Foreign Languages in Medieval Iceland," *Saga Book of the Viking Society* XXII (1986 1989): 180 233; Kurt Braunmüller, "Receptive Multilingualism in Northern Europe in the Middle Ages: A Description of a Scenario," *Receptive Multilingualism: Linguistic Analyses, Language Policies and Didactic Concepts*, ed. Jan D. ten Thije and Ludger Zeevaert. Hamburg Studies in Multilingualism, 6 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Pub. Co., 2007), 25 48; Ludger Zeevaert, "Receptive Multilingualism and Inter Scandinavian Semicommunication," *Receptive Multilingualism*, 103 36; Katherine Thorn, "'The Limits of My Language Mean the Limits of My World': Multilingualism in Medieval Iceland," M.A. thesis, University of Iceland, 2016; online at https://skemman.is/bitstream/1946/24044/1/The%20Limits%20of%20Language.pdf (last accessed on Oct. 28, 2021).

62 Albrecht Classen, "Multilingual Awareness through Travel," *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature* 61.1 (2007): 84 96; id., "Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time," *Neophilologus* 97.1 (2013): 131 45; id., "Multilingualism in Medieval Europe: Pilgrimage, Travel, Diplomacy, and Linguistic Challenges. The Case of Felix Fabri and His

To say the least, we must acknowledge that the medieval and early modern world was not at all completely cordoned off as to the use of languages, at least among the middle and upper classes. Granted, peasants hardly ever have had the opportunity to learn foreign tongues; instead they have normally been confronted by various dialects, simply a different type of linguistic challenge within their own social environment. But virtually all intellectuals, and also burghers (merchants) in the medieval cities, were deeply interested in, if not simply required, to learn a foreign language, either as part of their educational training (in that case: Latin), or as a result of economic needs since merchants had to communicate with their customers far and wide.[63]

Some of the best confirmations of multilingualism can be found in medieval literary texts. Marie de France, for instance, in the prologue to her *lais* (ca. 1190), emphasizes that she could have drawn from Latin sources, but that she then preferred to rely on Old Breton stories for her own creations. Her reasons are not that her knowledge of Latin might be lacking. However, many other people had already turned to those classical sources and had utilized them for their own translation efforts (Prologue, 28–33). Turning to the oral poems from the old days, which had been composed to be remembered by posterity, she believes to contribute more meaningfully to the creative process of narration: "I have heard many of them told; / I do not wish to leave them aside or forget them" (39–40). In the introductory section of "Guigemar," she goes one step further and praises those sources: "The stories I know to be true, / from which the Bretons made the lais, / I will tell you quite briefly" (19–21). The issue, hence, was not whether she had the linguistic skill, but whether she could create some novelties with her 'translations,' that is, her adaptations and versification of those oral poems for her own purposes. In short, Marie was a polyglot in her own way and utilized those oral sources as inspiration for her own creativity, superior even to her Latin sources.

Contemporaries," *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Communication and Miscommunication in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 17 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 279–311; id., "Multilingualism and Multiculturalism in the Pre-Modern Age: Medieval Welsh and Icelandic Literature in a Literature Survey Course. Interdisciplinary Approaches on a Pan-European Level," *Leuvense Bijdragen* 102 (2018–2020): 357–82; id., "Unexpected Exposures to Multilingualism in the Late Middle Ages: A Global Perspective by Travelogue Authors: *Der Niederrheinische Orientbericht*, Georgius of Hungary, and Johann Schiltberger," *International Journal of Culture and History* 9.1 (2022); online at: https://www.macrothink.org/journal/index.php/ijch/article/view/19078 (last accessed on April 1, 2022).

63 Bernhard Bischoff, "The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 36.2 (1961): 209–24.

Many other poets also referred openly to their sources and thus revealed the extent to which they were familiar with other languages. Famously, Gottfried von Straßburg discussed intensively the various older versions of *Tristan and Isolde* until he found the one that proved to be the most reliable. Although he explicitly underscored his own intention to "bring pleasure to noble hearts, to choose hearts that are one with mine" (5), he also admitted that he had to search far and wide to discover who had told this story correctly until he finally hit upon the version by Thomas of Brittany, who was "the master of this material and read about the lives of the nobility in the books of Britain, which he passed on to us" (5). At first, Gottfried had searched for the original version in various French and Latin sources, but only when he had hit upon the manuscript containing the one by Thomas, did he know that he had discovered the original, which then allowed him to render it into Middle High German: "I now present [it] freely to noble hearts, that they might occupy themselves with its contents" (5).[64]

For Gottfried, however, linguistic challenges do not seem to exist since he does not engage with any language barriers for himself; instead, his focus rests on love, loyalty, affection, devotion, honor, and other values characterizing those who belong to the community of those who have a noble heart. At the same time, his young protagonist Tristan proves to be a true polyglot, both when he is kidnapped by the Norwegian merchants (use of French for key terms in the game of chess) and later at King Mark's court where he demonstrates his perfect command of many languages, whether Norwegian, Irish, German, Scot, Danish (53), not to mention French and also Latin (48 and 53).[65] By

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64 For a good modern English translation, see now Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan and Isolde* with Ulrich von Türheim's *Continuation*, ed. and trans., with an intro. by William T. Whobrey (Indianapolis, IN, and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 2020). For a critical edition and modern German translation, see Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan*, ed., trans., commentary, and epilogue by Rüdiger Krohn (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1980); see his commentary, vol. 3, 22‒23, for verses 150 ff. For an extensive discussion of the prologue and the relevant research, see Tomas Tomasek, *Gottfried von Straßburg* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 2007), 124‒74.
65 Albrecht Classen, "Polyglots in Medieval German Literature: Outsiders, Critics, or Revolutionaries? Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan*, Wernher the Gardener's *Helmbrecht*, and Oswald von Wolkenstein," *Neophilologus* 91.1 (2007): 101‒15. http://www.springerlink.com/content/nr77476775221421/fulltext.pdf (last accessed on April 1, 2022). The game of chess at aristocratic courts and elsewhere was also commonly a medium for intense conversations, debates, and exchange of ideas, maybe even across racial, religious, and generational lines, as beautifully illustrated by the miniatures in the famous book on chess and other board games created for the Castilian King Alfonso X el Sabio, the *Libros de ajedrez, dados y tablas* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1987), such as fols. 17v, 18r, 24v, 25v, etc. An entire team of scholars discusses the manuscript in the volume accompanying the facsimile.

means of Irish, for instance, he is fully capable of operating without any difficulties in Ireland, receiving medical treatment from Queen Isolde and later, after his return, wooing for Princess Isolde's hand on behalf of his uncle, King Mark. Moreover, at the end of the romance, we hear of him roaming throughout various countries, striking friendships with different princes, but language barriers do not seem to exist for Tristan.

However, in contrast to the previous examples, the protagonist does not succeed in establishing a social home for himself as he keeps traveling around, without having a firm goal. His only focal point continues to be the Irish princess, but he cannot stay with her despite their deep love for each other, which ultimately transforms the polyglot and globetrotter, so to speak, into an exile and forlorn soul, longing for his love and being prevented from joining with her because of the social constraints.

In Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (ca. 1205), we learn specifically of how the poet drew from his French source, Chrétien de Troyes's *Perceval* (ca. 1180), though it is evident that Wolfram vastly expanded on it and changed it considerably.[66] Especially the books 3–12 do not find any correspondence in Chrétien's work, but instead, Wolfram appears to have drawn from other Middle High German and Old French sources, such as the *Bliocadran* prologue (a pre-sequel to Chrétien's *Perceval*) and the so-called *Gauvain* continuation, apart from a variety of Middle High German texts. He also included lists of Arabic terms, which the Grail messenger Cundrie presents (astrology and alchemy), but it remains uncertain to what extent Wolfram was really informed about Arabic.[67] Whatever his familiarity with that language and the science formulated in it might have been, he certainly invited his audience to reflect on the significance of foreign languages and their effectiveness in building a global community.[68] Little wonder perhaps that he hence also included the mysterious reference to the completely unknown source for the Grail story by the Provencal Kyot, who in turn

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[66] Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival* and *Titurel*, trans. and notes by Cyril Edwards. Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004/2006).

[67] Heiko Hartmann, *Einführung in das Werk Wolframs von Eschenbach*. Einführungen Germanistik (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2015), 55   56; he summarizes briefly previous research.

[68] Arthur Groos, *Romancing the Grail: Genre, Science, and Quest in Wolfram's* Parzival (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), 170   83; see also Paul Kunitzsch, "Die Arabica im *Parzival* Wolframs von Eschenbach," *Wolfram Studien* 2 (1974): 9   35; see also the extensive commentary by Eberhard Nellmann in Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*. Nach der Ausgabe Karl Lachmanns revidiert und kommentiert von id., trans. Dieter Kühn. Bibliothek des Mittelalters, 8.2 (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1994), 421.

had learned about it from the Syrian Flegetanis, who in turn had discovered it through his study of the stars. As the narrator highlights:

> Kyot was called *la schantiure* he whose art has not spared him from so singing and speak ing that plenty still rejoice at it. Kyot is a Provencal, he who saw this adventure of Parzival written down in heathen tongue. What he told of it *en franzoys*, if I am not slow of wit, I shall pass on in German (Book 416, here p. 176).[69]

Even though it would seem very unlikely that this Kyot actually existed, Wolfram certainly projected with this reference a fictional community across languages and cultures. As Joachim Bumke noted:

> Durch die Rückführung auf die französische Dichtung Kyots und auf deren Quellen, die ara bische Sternkunde des Flegetanis und die lateinischen Anjou Chroniken gewinnt das ei gene Werk eine historische Dimension, die in auffälliger Weise der Geschichte des Grals en tspricht.[70]

> [By way of tracing the story back to the French composition by Kyot and its own sources, the Arabic astronomy by Flegetanis and the Latin Anjou chronicles Wolfram's own work gains a historical dimension which notably corresponds with the history of the Grail.]

Another excellent example for the close connection between knowledge of a foreign language and community building can be found in Rudolf von Ems's remarkable and rather unusual *Der guote Gêrhart* from ca. 1220 where the protagonist, a Cologne merchant, demonstrates astounding linguistic abilities and concomitantly an extraordinary character as a role model also for the aristocratic

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69 Hartmann, *Einführung* (see note 67), 23 24; Albrecht Classen, "Noch einmal zu Wolframs 'spekulativer' Kyôt Quelle im Licht jüdischer Kultur und Philosophie des zwölften Jahrhunderts," *Studi Medievali* XLVI (2005): 281 308. See also Fritz Peter Knapp, "Der Gral zwischen Märchen und Legende," id., *Historie und Fiktion in der mittelalterlichen Gattungspoetik: Sieben Studien und ein Nachwort* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1997; orig. 1996), 133 51; Michael Stolz, "Kyot und Kundrie: Expertenwissen in Wolframs 'Parzival'," *Wissen, maßgeschneidert: Ex perten und Expertenkulturen im Europa der Vormoderne*, ed. Björn Reich, Frank Rexroth, and Matthias Roickh. Historische Zeitschrift, Beiheft, N.F., 57 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012), 83 113. Very useful also prove to be Ulrike Draesner, *Wege durch erzählte Welten: intertextuelle Verweise als Mittel der Bedeutungskonstitution in Wolframs Parzival*. Mikrokosmos, 36 (Frankfurt a. M., Bern, et al.: Peter Lang, 1993), and Gertrud Grünkorn, *Die Fiktionalität des höfischen Romans um 1200*. Philologische Studien und Quellen, 129 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1994).
70 Joachim Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach*. 8th completely rev. ed. (Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 2004), 247; Hartmann, *Einführung* (see note 67), 24.

world.[71] First, he reaches the Moroccan shore on his way back from an extensive mercantile trip far into the Middle East. The encounter with the local castellan Stranmûr quickly develops into a strong friendship between both men who immediately recognize each other's great character qualities. Of course, Strânmur does not know German, and Gêrhart is unfamiliar with Arabic, but both have a good command of French and can thus communicate well, never to experience any misunderstandings (1314–1430). They treat each other with great respect and even admiration, and find themselves in good terms, both personally and politically, and eventually also agree on a highly unusual barter.

Gêrhart's ship is fully loaded with most precious goods ready to be sold at any market, but probably back home in Cologne. Strânmur, on the other hand, holds as captives a Norwegian princess, her maids, and a group of English lords who had unfortunately been driven with their ship into this Moroccan harbor. For the castellan, that was a great opportunity because he expects to secure a high ransom for these high-ranking individuals, but he also faces the difficulty that their home countries are so far away, making his outreach to the family members there almost impossible.[72] To solve his dilemma, he offers to barter those captives for all of Gêrhart's goods, a deal which the latter eventually accepts despite considerable hesitations for a number of good reasons. In that process, however, he meets the English lords and talks with them in English since they do not know French or German (1981–86). With the Norwegian princess, he talks in French (2155–62), and can thus easily establish a very friendly conversation with her. Ultimately, Gêrhart agrees to the castellan's business offer

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71 See now my *An English Translation of Rudolf von Ems's* Der guote Gêrhart (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2016); I have engaged with the relevant research there in great er detail.

72 Albrecht Classen, *Freedom, Imprisonment, and Slavery in the Pre Modern World: Cultural His torical, Social Literary, and Theoretical Reflections.* Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 25 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2021), 160 66. I have expanded on that fur ther, see: "Piracy, Imprisonment, Merchants, and Freedom: Rudolf von Ems's *The Good Gêrhart* (ca. 1220): Mediterranean Perspectives in a Middle High German Context; with Some Reflections on the Topic of Imprisonment in Other Medieval Narratives," *Incarceration and Slavery in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: A Cultural Historical Investigation of the Dark Side in the Pre Modern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Studies in Medieval Literature (Lanham, Boulder, New York, and London: Lexington Books, 2021), 261 83; for the relevant research on captivity, slavery, and related topics, see there. But cf. also the historical studies by Daniel Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea: Slavery, Communication, and Commerce in Early Modern Spain and the Mediter ranean* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), addressing primarily the sev enteenth century; and Hannah Barker, *That Most Precious Merchandise: The Mediterranean Trade in Black Sea Slaves, 1260 1500.* The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

and can thus liberate all those miserable prisoners. He later allows the English lords to return home without paying for their ransom, and he takes the princess with him home to Cologne, hoping that her father would eventually react and try to free her, but that never happens.

Instead, Gêrhart then tries to marry her to his son, when suddenly the long-lost fiancé appears, the English prince Willehalm, whom the merchant happily accepts and allows to resume his marriage plans, although his own son is deeply chagrined about this loss for himself. Subsequently, Gêrhart takes the couple back to England where he manages to solve a dangerous internecine strife among the nobles over who should succeed to the royal throne after the king's death. Returning Willehalm to them, he thus solves all conflicts and establishes peace and happiness in England, but he refuses to be rewarded and remains a humble individual everyone deeply admires.

All that matters here is that the poet projected a true polyglot, a German merchant, capable of speaking fluently French and English, which makes it possible for him to establish harmonious social contacts across linguistic and religious divides. In fact, this protagonist creates new communities in spite of traditional religious tensions and hostility both because of his profound inner value system and because of his enormous linguistic abilities. Whereas Tristan in Gottfried von Strassburg's eponymous romance made use of the many different languages for his personal goals to pursue trickery and deception, first for himself, later for his love with Isolde, Gêrhart employs his linguistic competence for social, political, and economic goals, building bridges across the world. To be sure, Rudolf von Ems portrayed him as an early global player *avant la lettre*.

Comments by Geoffrey Chaucer and Others

Of course, medieval and early modern writers were completely open to and interested in translations, but we can now add that the intimate exchange with the various sources in different languages facilitated a powerful community of intellectuals across Europe and far beyond, as perhaps best represented by Geoffrey Chaucer (d. ca. 1400) who was deeply influenced by French, Latin, and Italian literature, as scholars have demonstrated already for a long time.[73] While he

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73 See, for instance, Piero Boitani, *Chaucer and Boccaccio.* Medium Aevum Monographs, ns., 8 (Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literatures, 1977); Charles Muscatine, *Chaucer and the French Tradition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1975); R. A. Shoaf, *Dante, Chaucer and the Currency of Word: Money, Images, and Reference in Late Medieval Poetry* (Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books, 1983); *Chaucer and the Italian Trecento*, ed.

traveled to France on commission several times, he reached Italy not until 1372, where he stayed until May 1373, visiting Genoa and Florence. In 1378, Chaucer traveled to Milan, to the court of Bernabò Visconti to solicit political and military support for the English war against France. Moreover, Chaucer had many opportunities to enjoy contacts with Italian bankers and wealthy merchants located in London, which certainly involved not only economic transactions, but also led to many cultural and literary exchanges.

As Helen Fulton now summarizes the phenomenon: "What is striking about Chaucer's use of his Italian sources is the way in which he distributes the borrowed material throughout his work, smelting it, combining it with other elements and then refashioning it into new gold of his own making."[74] She warns us, however, not to rely too much on the term 'translation' because Chaucer was much more creative in his adaptation process to render his Italian, French, or Latin sources simply word by word. Fulton suggests, rather, the concept of "re-mediation" (5) insofar as the poet operated quite flexibly and followed his own literary path when using these inspirations. He was, after all, as William T. Rossiter has now identified, a member of an intellectual elite operating across Europe in ambassadorial functions combining political, economic, and also military issues with the literary and artistic discourse.[75] In fact, most medieval writers or poets demonstrate a certain degree of bi- or multilingualism and proudly referred to their various sources, whether in Latin, French, Italian, or in some local dialects (Marie de France).

Originality was, after all, not a stated ideal; and if a poet had a chance to demonstrate his/her learnedness, then s/he certainly referred to the sources drawn from. And the entire European Christian clergy was certainly bilingual (Latin and a vernacular); the same applied to the Jewish scholars, the rabbis, many of whom might have been tri- or quadrilingual (Hebrew, Yiddish, Latin, and a vernacular). Merchants were required to have a good command of various languages so that they could sell their products on foreign markets. Countless

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Piero Boitani (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Howard Schless, *Chaucer and Dante: A Revaluation* (Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books, 1984); Karla Taylor, *Chaucer Reads the Divine Comedy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1989); Warren Ginsberg, *Chaucer's Italian Tradition* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2002); Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy* (2009); William T. Rossiter, *Chaucer and Petrarch*. Chaucer Studies, 41 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010).

74 Helen Fulton, "Introduction: Chaucer Imagines Italy," *Chaucer and Italian Culture*, ed. eadem. New Century Chaucer (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2021), 1 15; here 5. Cf. also the other studies in this valuable volume.

75 William T. Rossiter, "Chaucerian Diplomacy," *Chaucer and Italian Culture* (see note 74), 17 44.

scholars traversed much of Europe, speaking both Latin and their own vernacular. And many Jewish merchants and rabbi were famous for their multilingual abilities which made it possible for them to travers both Europe and Asia as far as China.[76]

Middle English as a language thus stood shoulder to shoulder with the various Romance languages, and both Chaucer and his colleagues thereby formed a fairly close-knit community drawing both from classical literature and the contemporary works especially by the triumvirate of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch. It would be fascinating to explore to what extent Chaucer's own works might have influenced his French or Italian contemporaries, but we are still far away from understanding this possible reverse impact. That Chaucer himself often hides his sources and resorts to irony and satire to experiment with the ideas borrowed from French, Italian, or Latin works without taking a firm stand, is not surprising considering his commonly acknowledged brilliance as a weaver of many different narrative threads.[77]

William Langland and Translations – such as of the Qur'ān

It also deserves to be mentioned that William Langland included, without ever pausing for particular explanations, both Latin (Bible) and French verses in his famous *Piers Plowman* (ca. 1370), which mirrors the trilingual condition of late medieval England.[78] The nobility mostly spoke Anglo-Norman, the rural population was limited to Anglo-Saxon, and the clergy resorted to Latin, with many cross-overs and combinations on the higher level of the educational

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76 For an example, see Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Kitāb al masālik wa'l mamālik* (ca. 885; Book of Roads and Kingdoms), in: *Ibn Fadlān and the Land of Darkness: Arab Travellers in the Far North*, trans. trans. Paul Lunde and Caroline Stone (London: Penguin, 2012), 111. I thank Fidel Fajardo Acosta for alerting me to this source.

77 Teresa A. Kennedy, "From Imitation to Invention: Chaucer's Journey from *The House of Fame* to the *Nun's Priest's Tale*," *Chaucer and Italian Culture* (see note 74), 217 40.

78 William Langland, *Piers Plowman: The A Version*. A New Translation with Introduction and Notes by Michael Calabrese (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2020); see also my review in *Mediaevistik* 34 (forthcoming). There are, of course, many other editions and translations; the one by Calabrese is characterized by his deliberate effort to appeal to modern and young readers with no knowledge of Middle English, medieval Latin, or Old French.

scale.[79] This does not mean, of course, that the population on the British Isles remained linguistically sharply divided; just as in other parts of Europe, the late Middle Ages witnessed a constant process of standardization to the detriment of dialects and specialized languages, though Latin remained, and so also on the Continent, the *lingua franca* for the intellectual elite.[80]

As Jeanette Beer and her contributors have extensively demonstrated, translation from one language to another was a very common method of studying science and medicine, and creating literary texts.[81] As two contributors to our volume indicate, both diplomats (Chiara Melchionno) and public notaries (Nere Jone Intxaustegi Jauregi) were commonly tasked with handling various languages and thus to translate between their customers and the officials, or worked particularly to build political bridges between different courts or governments. Moreover, medical doctors commonly handled different languages in order to deal with various recipes and medical products (see the studies by Chiara Benati and David Tomíček).

Translation constitutes, and this very much until today, an essential aspect of all culture, especially because it constantly builds bridges between languages and people.[82] Already in the high Middle Ages, numerous Christian scholars en-

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79 *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. D. A. Trotter (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000); *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in Medieval England: c. 800 – c. 1250*, ed. Elizabeth M. Tyler. Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

80 *The Beginnings of Standardization: Language and Culture in Fourteenth Century England*, ed. Ursula Schaefer. Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature, 15 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, Bern, et al.: Peter Lang, 2006).

81 *A Companion to Medieval Translation*, ed. Jeanette Beer (Leeds, Arc Humanities Press, 2019); see also Eugenio Refini, *The Vernacular Aristotle: Translation as Reception in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*. Classics After Antiquity (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); cf. also Irene Salvo García, "'Que l'en seult balaine clamet': Linguistic Commentary and Translation in the Middle Ages (Ca. Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries, Spain and France)," *Médiévales* 75.2 (2018): 97–116. For older studies on translation, see *Translatio Litterarum ad Penates: Das Mittelalter übersetzen – Traduire le Moyen Âge*, ed. Alain Corbellari and André Schnyder, together with Catherine Drittenbass and Irene Weber Henking (Lausanne: Centre de Traduction Littéraire, 2005). As to the specific efforts to translate the works by Aristotle and the impact of that work on the history of Italian culture from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, see now Eugenio Refini, *The Vernacular Aristotle: Translation as Reception in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*. Classics after Antiquity (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020). He emphasizes that translators "are readers as much as readers are translators" (13). And: "Aristotle is read, translated, transformed and appropriated, giving shape to the multiple meanings that his reception creates over time" (16). See the review by Octavian Gabor in *The Medieval Review*, online, 22.02.25, who poignantly selected these two quotes.

82 *The Medieval Translator: The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*, ed. Roger Ellis (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989); *Translators Through History*, ed. Jean Delisle and Judith

deavored to translate the Qur'ān into Latin, but not because they were particularly interested in Islam. Instead, they understood that they would not be able to missionize among Muslims without a solid knowledge of their holy scripture. Those efforts continued well into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and actually ever since, and we can identify them as important bridge-building strategies, irrespective of the often rather 'colonizing' intentions behind them.[83]

Sadly, of course, despite many efforts to make all kinds of Holy Scriptures available in other languages, whether the Torah or the Bagavad Gita, religious tensions have continued until today, probably because faith is such a powerful ideology and easily leads to exclusive claims to the disadvantage of everyone

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Woodsworth. Benjamins Translation Library, 13 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995); *Translation and the Transmission of Culture Between 1300 and 1600*, ed. Jeanette Beer and Keneneth Lloyd Jones. Studies in Medieval Culture, XXXV (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University, 1995); *The Medieval Translator*, ed. Roger Ellis. Vol. 5 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998); *The Oxford Hand book of Translation Studies*, ed. Kirsten Malmkjær and Kevin Windle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); cf. also Rosalynn Voaden and Michael Alexander. *The Theory and Practice of Trans lation in the Middle Ages*. Medieval Translator, 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003); *Translation in Europe During the Middle Ages*, ed. Elisa Borsari (see note 28). As Borsari points out: "Translation ac tivity during the Middle Ages is the cornerstone of all posterior literary production to this day. It would be impossible to speak of the history of literature without considering that translation, in its attempts to spread and transmit wisdom, was the basis for the development and the im provement of the Romance and other European languages" (7). The literature on this topic is ex pansive. See also above.

83 Here and throughout the entire volume, I prefer the spelling 'Qur'ān in contrast to the spell ing often used in other publications. See now the valuable contributions to *The Latin Qur'an, 1143 1500: Translation, Transition, Interpretation*, ed. Cándida Ferrero Hernández and John Tolan. The European Qur'an, 1 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2021); cf. also *Frühe Koran übersetzungen: Europäische und außereuropäische Fallstudien*, ed. Reinhold F. Glei. Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium, 88 (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2012); cf. Ulisse Cecini, *Alcoranus Latinus: Eine sprachliche und kulturwissenschaftliche Analyse der Koran übersetzungen von Robert von Ketton und Marcus von Toledo*. Geschichte und Kultur der Iberi schen Welt, 10 (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2012); see also Reinhold F. Glei, "Die Polemik des 'Christli chen Abendlandes' gegen Judentum und Islam," *Pluralistische Identität: Beobachtungen zu Herkunft und Zukunft Europas*, ed. Dirk Ansorge (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesell schaft, 2016), 68 83; see also his new study, "Dixit apostoli. The Word By Word Principle in Latin Translations of the Qur'an," *The Latin Qur'an, 1143 1500* (2021; see above), 57 69. Note worthy also proves to be Andrew Gray, "Translations of the Qur'an and other Islamic Texts be fore Dante (Twelfth and Thirteenth Century)," *Dante Studies* 125 (2007): 79 92; Ulli Roth, "Juan of Segovia's Translation of the Qur'an," *Al Qantara* 35.2 (2014): 555 78; Bruce B Lawrence, *The Koran in English: A Biography* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017); Jesse D. Mann, "Throwing the Book at Them: Juan de Segovia's Use of Qur'an Revista?," *Española de Filosofía Medieval* 26.1 (2019): 79 96. For more details, see the contribution to this volume by Najlaa Aldeeb, with a focus on seventeenth century efforts in England.

else. True religion, however, and this represents my personal opinion, is predicated on a strong sense of toleration and then even tolerance. The famous 'Ring Parable' in Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* (1779) has said it all,[84] and it is so powerful also for us today and in the future because the Jew Nathan understands so profoundly that the differences between religions can only be overcome by narration, first of all, and then by mutual respect, and finally by love for humankind.[85] The Humanities have always been a form of 'translating,' which carries many different meanings, both philological and legal, linguistic and social, but ultimately it builds community across all barriers throughout time and space.[86]

Communication and the Humanities

We could claim that one of the purposes of this volume is thus to contribute to the goal of building and improving world community, here mostly from a historical and literary perspective. Human civilization essentially relies on communication, which is only possible if there are open processes of translation, which altogether form a community. In short, this volume, drawing from a variety of different cases, situations, languages, historical conditions, etc., wants to contribute to the essential efforts by all fields within the Humanities to improve the lives of all people by way of shedding light on what makes a community work properly and harmoniously. It all begins with good communication, and it ends with good communication. This is, however, a challenge which even post-modern society has not yet fully learned, if we are not even slipping backwards at the current moment, with the various political fractions refusing to talk to each other, with entire societies demonstrating an unwillingness to listen to

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84 There is a whole library of research dedicated to this famous play by Lessing; see, for instance, *Lessing Handbuch: Leben — Werk — Wirkung*, ed. Monika Fick. 3rd. rev. ed. (Stuttgart and Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2010). For a convenient introduction, plot summary, and bibliography of modern editions and translations, see the English website, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nathan the Wise. However, the German complement, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nathan der Weise, actually proves to be much more detailed and better researched (both last accessed on Oct. 27, 2021).

85 Albrecht Classen, *Toleration and Tolerance in Medieval and Early Modern European Literature*. Routledge Studies in Medieval Literature and Culture, 8 (New York and London: Routledge, 2018; paperback, 2021); id., *Religious Toleration in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: An Anthology of Literary, Theological, and Philosophical Texts* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2020).

86 See, for instance, the contribution to this volume by Nere Jone Intxaustegi Jauregi, dealing with early modern notaries in the Basque countries.

others, with our world failing increasingly to translate other cultures and hence literatures (values, ideals, ethical and moral concepts, etc.) into our own.

The many struggles in the pre-modern world, as studied by the contributors, powerfully underscore the ever-ongoing efforts and endeavors by people at all social strata and in all cultural contexts to come to terms with each other, ethically, morally, politically, and linguistically. Life has never been easy, but those who know how to communicate well with others, or are at least willing to give it a try, have always been in an advantageous position to thrive and to help others in that process. The many examples from medieval literature, history, and sciences discussed in this volume promise to shed important light on the great need, if not the existential prerequisite, for people throughout time to learn better to communicate and to create linguistic bridges to other languages and cultures.

Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, medieval and early modern literature knows countless examples where the very opposite of all communication and translation efforts is the case, with traitors, liars, deceivers, cheaters, and criminals operating highly effectively to achieve their nefarious, greedy, and highly selfish ends (see, for instance, the anonymous *Huon de Bordeaux*, mid-thirteenth century; see below). This is best expressed in the famous *Reinhart Fuchs* by Heinrich der Glîchezâre from the late twelfth century (ca. 1192, or even after 1197), where the fox always manages to cause harm to the other animals and who knows how to trick the lion king so much that he can eventually kill him. European authors well into the sixteenth century engaged with the same material, whether we think of Pierre de Saint-Cloud's French version from 1176 (*Roman de Renart*), the anonymous *Ecbasis captive* and Magister Nivardus's *Ysengrimus* (both middle of the twelfth century), Willem die Madoc maecte's Dutch *Van den vos Reynaerde* (mid-thirteenth century), the English translation by William Caxton, *The Historie of Reynart the Foxe* (1481), or the Low-German *Reinke de vos* (1498; reprinted 1510 and 1517; and then eleven more times until 1610). Johann Wolfgang von Goethe created his own version, the *Reinecke Fuchs*, in 1793, published in 1794, which he had based on the edition by Johann Christoph Gottsched (1752).[87] Evil triumphs here, the community at court collapses, and open and

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[87] Heinrich der Glîchezâre, *Reinhart Fuchs: Mittelhochdeutsche und Neuhochdeutsch*, ed., trans., and commentary by Karl Heinz Gottert (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1976); Massimo Bonafin, *Le malizie della volpe: Parola letteraria e motivi etnici nel* Roman de Renart. Biblioteca Medievale, Saggi, 22 (Rome: Carocci editore, 2006); Hannah Rieger, *Die Kunst der 'schönen Worte'*: *Füchsische Rede und Erzählstrategien im Reynke de Vos (1498)*. Bibliotheca Germanica, 74 (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2021); for two excellent overviews of the many different versions and responses until the modern time, see (in English) https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reynard the Fox#Roman de Renart, and (in German) https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Re

honest communication are the victims of the fox's endless rhetorical strategies and manipulations.

Serendipitously, just when I completed these reflections to introduce this new volume, the first critical edition of Thomas of Cantimpré's major treatise on bees appeared in print, his *Bonum universale de apibus*, composed sometime around 1263 and 1270. Here we encounter a highly influential study of the ideal form of communal leaving, as best exemplified by bees. Although Thomas had primarily the communities of Dominicans in mind, the examination of how bees collaborate for the better of their entire people sheds important light on medieval ideals of community, with a clearly defined hierarchy, mutual agreement and support, and a shared ideal about what the community is to achieve collectively.[88] Of course, the author fully subscribed to the medieval concept of monarchy and feudalism, but he perceived his world as open to realizing order and harmony as long as the individual subjects accepted the Christian faith and operated just as the bees do. The king, if dignified and honorable, receives complete support and aid from his people, and he in turn takes care of their needs, as the first book emphasizes, above all. Thomas presented a powerful social model, characteristic of the Middle Ages, and as such it illustrated some of the ideals of community in the pre-modern period.

He had certainly not in mind to project the ideals of a democracy, which would be a very anachronistic concept pertaining to the pre-modern world.[89] Instead, the *Bonum universale de apibus* outlines concrete steps how the individual members of a monastic community ought to submit under the general rules of their Order and use the example of the bees as a model for their own behavior. Community has always been existentially important, a *conditio sine qua non*, and as we will see in the subsequent contributions, without a properly functioning communication, none of those social ideals could be achieved.

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ineke Fuchs (both last accessed on Jan. 11, 2022). This is accompanied by a good bibliography and numerous links to the various original texts.

88 Julia Burkhardt, *Von Bienen lernen. Das* Bonum universale de apibus *des Thomas von Can timpré als Gemeinschaftsentwurf: Analyse, Edition, Übersetzung, Kommentar.* 2 vols. Klöster als Innovationslabore, 7 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2020); see also my review in *Mediaevistik* 35 (forthcoming).

89 However, as I recently discovered, throughout the medieval period, the notion of 'freedom' was not really unknown, and we can identify certain regional groups which espoused political concepts surprisingly similar to 'democracy,' such as the Icelanders, the Frisians, Pommerani ans, Bohemians, and Swiss. Albrecht Classen, *Freedom, Imprisonment, and Slavery in the Pre Modern World: Cultural Historical, Social Literary, and Theoretical Reflections.* Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 25 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2021).

Ironically, however, the very opposite approach was pursued by the medical doctor and social-economic thinker, the Dutch author Bernard Mandeville, who in his English-language treatise *The Fable of the Bees* (1705, 1714, 1724, etc.) advocated for selfishness, strong individualism, capitalistic thinking *avant la lettre*, and private property, arguing that vices were the essential drivers of this world.[90]

Translation, here broadly defined, adds, of course, to the entire complex insofar as it makes possible the transmission of ideas from other cultures, languages, religions, and social systems. I would like to conclude with the concept that the struggles in the past for a functioning communicative community continue to stay with us, though in slightly different contexts. Medievalists and Early Modernists are hence in an ideal situation when they try to come to terms with problems in our own world because they have available the historical dimension and can draw most valuable insights, if properly translated, both linguistically and philosophically.

The Unusual Case of *Huon de Bordeaux*

When we briefly address this thirteenth-century Old French *chanson de geste*, or romance, much depending on the generic definition we might prefer to use, we will have the additional opportunity to gain further insights into the global discussion of communication, truth, lying, deception, and community. Although the text has survived only in three manuscripts (and one fragment), it witnessed an astounding popularity far into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for a variety of reasons.[91]

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90 Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees: Or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits. With An Essay on Charity and Charity Schools. And a Search into the Nature of Society. The fifth edition. To which is added, A vindication of the book* (1705; 1714; London: Tonson, 1724), which was reprinted many times over the following century; for a digitized version of the 1724 edition, see https://books.google.com/books?id=vNQGAAAAcAAJ&pg=PP7#v=onepage&q&f=false (last accessed on Jan. 18, 2022). Cf. Richard I. Cook, *Bernard Mandeville*. Twayne's English Authors Series, 170 (New York: Twayne, 1974); M. M. Goldsmith, *Private Vices, Public Benefits. The Social and Political thought of Bernard Mandeville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); E. G. Hundert, *The Enlightenment's Fable: Bernard Mandeville and the Discovery of Society*. Ideas in Context, 31 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

91 For the critical edition, see *Huon de Bordeaux: Chanson de geste du XIIIe siècle, publiée d'après le manuscrit Paris BNF fr. 22555*. (2003). Ed. and trans. William W. Kibler and François Suard (Paris: Champion, 2003); for an English translation, which proves to be excellent, see *Huon of Bordeaux*, trans. Jones, Catherine and William W. Kibler. Medieval & Renaissance Text Series (New York and Briston: Italica Press, 2021); *Le Huon de Bordeaux en prose du*

There is, above all, the highly negative treatment of King Charlemagne, who displays tyrannical characteristics, especially against young Huon, certainly an increasingly common theme in late medieval literature.[92] Then, the protagonist has to journey to the Orient (or at least to various Muslim countries) and overcome a number of life-threatening challenges; he is regularly, but not always, helped by the king of the fairies, Auberon, whose magical powers are unparalleled and simply astounding, him being free from the constraints of time and space, being almost an equal to God Himself; and having the ability to read people s minds and to foresee the future, and all this without any association with the devil or any other demonic forces.

Huon de Bordeaux, however, is centrally determined by the presence of traitors, especially at Charlemagne's court. Since the king is weak and unstable, undecisive and open to all kinds of manipulations, those traitors have a fairly easy time carrying out their evil plans. Even Huon's own brother, Gerard, later commits treason against Huon out of sheer greed and lust for power. In fact, the protagonist would have almost been executed upon Charlemagne' s order despite all of his enormous efforts to fulfill his exorbitant demands if Auberon then had not come to his rescue once again, exposing the traitors and getting them hanged instead of Huon. The protagonist's own words no longer count in Charlemagne's mind, and their communication is fatally broken because the king is consumed with hatred of the young prince, which the various traitors fan into flames every time an opportunity arises. Without Auberon's decisive involvement, the ruler and his barons/vassals would not be able to overcome their profound social disconnect from each other.

As the poet indicates throughout the romance, betrayal, deception, lying, and maligning critically undermine the well-being of any close-knit society.

XVème siècle, ed. William W. Kibler, Jean Louise G. Picherit, and Thelma S. Fenster. 2 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1980); cf. also *Huon de Bordeaux*, ed. Pierre Ruelle (Brussels: Presses Universitaires de Bruxelles, 1960); for subsequent versions, see Barbara Anne Brewka, "*Esclarmonde*, *Clarisse et Florent*, *Yde et Olive I*, *Croisant*, *Yde et Olive II*, *Huon et les géants:* Sequels to 'Huon de Bordeaux': An Edition" Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, 1977. For the most recent discussion of this narrative, see Albrecht Classen, "Huon de Bordeaux," *Literary Encyclopedia*, Dec. 30, 2021 (3302 words), online at: https://www.litencyc.com/php/sworks.php?rec=true&UID=40688 (last accessed on April 1, 2022).

92 Albrecht Classen, *Charlemagne in Medieval German and Dutch Literature*. Bristol Studies in Medieval Culture (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2021); id., "The Myth of Charlemagne: From the Early Middle Ages to the Late Sixteenth Century," peer reviewed online article at http://www.charlemagne icon.ac.uk/further reading/articles/; or: http://www.charlemagne icon.ac.uk/wp con tent/blogs.dir/332/files/2016/01/Classen 2016 The Myth of Charlemagne.pdf (last accessed on April 1, 2022).

Even Huon once utters a lie, pretending to be a Muslim in order to trick one of the four porters guarding bridges leading to the court of Emir Gaudisse (5551–53), which would have almost destroyed his good friendship with Auberon. Even the communication between the king of the fairies and the protagonist does not work so well because the latter betrays the former's trust almost regularly. Only because Auberon harbors such a profound love for the young man and hence forgives him over and over again against his own previous pledges, does their relationship survive, does their social interaction flourish.

Overall, as the romance strongly suggests, only truth, of course, can create community, build good communication, and solve most conflicts both in private and in public. Auberon immediately knows that Huon had lied, so there is no way for the protagonist of hiding. At the same time, on the public stage, all those traitors presented here, both at Charlemagne's court and in the Orient, are ultimately exposed and then receive their deserved punishment. Neither family bonds nor political alliances prevent treason, and we could thus read Huon de Bordeaux, like many other contemporary texts, as a major literary platform to examine the consequences of miscommunication and the destruction of any kind of community, poignantly identified as treason.

Those are strong messages from the late Middle Ages, but they resonate with us as well, maybe even more than ever before considering the downfall of political culture and the public discourse in the twentieth-first century, and this both in West and East, resulting in a growing atomization of post-modern society.[93] Of course, we also would have to keep in mind the very traditional outlook regard-

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93 Michel Maffesoli, *The Time of the Tribes: The Decline of Individualism in Mass Society.* Theory, Culture & Society (London: Sage, 1996); Justin P. DePlato and Alex C. Minford, *America in Decline: How the Loss of Civic Virtue and Standards of Excellence Is Causing the End of Pax Americana* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2021); Glenn Diesen, *The Decay of Western Civilisation and Resurgence of Russia: Between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft.* Rethinking Asia and International Relations (London and New York: Routledge, 2019). There are many recent studies that deplore the collapse of democratic principles and ideals in the present era. Of course, there have been scores of doomsday prophets, believers in the imminent apocalypse, and cultural pessimists; foremost, among them Oswald Arnold Gottfried Spengler (1880 1936) with his *The Decline of the West* (*Der Untergang des Abendlandes*; 1918 and 1922); see Arthur Herman, *Propheten des Niedergangs: der Endzeitmythos im westlichen Denken* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1998). In the late Middle Ages, not surprisingly, there was also a strong sense of decline and decay; see Albrecht Classen, "The Crisis of Spirituality in the Late Middle Ages: From the Twelfth Century to the Protestant Reformation; with an Emphasis on the *Reformatio Sigismundi* (1439)," *Global Journal of Human Social Science* 19.2 (2019): 7 16, online at: https://globaljournals.org/GJHSS Volume19/2 The Crisis of Spirituality.pdf; see also the contributions to *The Crisis of the 14th Century: Teleconnections Between Environmental and Societal Change?*, ed. Martin Bauch and Gerrit Jasper Schenk. Das Mittelalter. Beihefte, 13 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2020).

ing Huon's future relationship with Charlemagne, who had deviously operated against him numerous times. King Auberon, however, strongly urges the protagonist to respect his lord under any circumstances: "... I forbid you, on pain of death, / To have any further conflict with the king. / He is your lord, and you must be faithful to him" (10763–65). The concepts of feudalism and vassalage are not to be touched, and yet there is also strong criticism against Charlemagne as a tyrannical ruler throughout the narrative – a quite common motif in late medieval literature, philosophy, and religion.

We can thus conclude, pulling together the various argumentative strands, that according to the anonymous poet of *Huon de Bordeaux* and many of his contemporaries, community can only be upheld and expanded if both sides of the power divide respect each other, if the words uttered publicly are trustworthy and reliable, and if each person acknowledges the privileges and obligations of the other in their social-historical context. In that narrative, Charlemagne obviously carries a lot of responsibility for the breakdown of their communication and the collapse of courtly community, which carries a particular load of guilt because of his role model and representative function for all of his people.

The Relevance of the Past for the Present

What else can we learn about these three huge interlocking topics in pre-modern literature and culture? We know that they all depend on each other and function through collaboration in abstract terms. But what was the situation on the ground, in social and economic history? How did poets and other writers engage with the notion of community and its corollary, communication? Translation will always stand in the background of all explorations of the relationship between community and communication, but it will not be addressed overly explicitly in this volume. Finally, we will realize how much all of human cultural history is constantly determined by the ongoing struggles to establish constructive communities, which has always been possible primarily due to good communication, good translation of values and ideals, compassion, compromise, and coordination.

Unfortunately, which makes the present volume uncannily timely and hopefully also relevant, in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, but also already before that, increasingly post-modern societies have witnessed a catastrophic fraying of the social cohesion, the growth of an atomization among the members of many communities, the increasing disconnect between individuals and groups, and, worst of all, the drifting apart of factions, fractions, organizations, church groups, associations, and political parties, and this to a point at which the mass-

es, the mob, and violent hate groups arise and appear on the streets of many cities, fighting against the government, society, minority groups, etc. The year 2021, for instance, was the most deadly one in the history of the United States, both as a result of COVID-19 and, tragically, massive shootings and murders across the country, often due to stress, mass psychosis, drug abuse, and other fatal factors.[94]

Populism, the modern catch-word, appears like a feverish frenzy which brings about a toxic infiltration destroying consensus, hence community, and the shared sense of values. The horrifying hatred directed against the press, the media, and then even against sciences and medicine as the arch-evil of everything people are discontent with, which ultimately can only hurt those who vocalize that hatred, constitutes a self-destructive force the post-modern world is fending with, quite helplessly, as a toxicity destroying ourselves.[95] I would not argue that pre-modern societies were in a much better shape in that regard,[96]

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94 See, for instance, https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/covid helped make 2021 the dead liest year in u s history;   https://time.com/6166281/coronavirus overdoses 2021 deadliest year/ (both last accessed on April 13, 2022).

95 Sabine Leutheusser Schnarrenberger and Gunna Wendt, *Unsere gefährdete Demokratie. Wie wir mit Hass und Hetze gegen Politiker und Journalisten umgehen* (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 2022). I would like to thank the publisher for letting me have a PDF of the book prior to its publication. Both authors are highly respected public figures in Germany. As Leutheusser Schnarrenberg laudably proclaims: "Es braucht die demokratische Kultur des von gegenseitiger Wertschätzung getragenen diskursiven Umgangs, der wieder gelernt und vermittelt werden muss. Und die bed rohten Politiker, Journalisten und ehrenamtlichen Helfer brauchen Mut, Rückgrat und vor allen Dingen Unterstützung" (12; We need the Democratic culture of a discursive engagement deter mined by mutual respect. That culture needs to be learned and taught again. And the threatened politicians, journalists, and political volunteers need courage, a moral spine, and above all sup port). The two authors then conclude, which mirrors our very current situation, and yet can also apply to the pre modern world: "Das alles ist kein gänzlich neues Phänomen, aber gepaart mit einer weltweiten Pandemie unvorstellbaren Ausmaßes und dem Verlust des gewohnten, normal en Lebens ist daraus im digitalen Zeitalter eine dynamische Welle geworden, die die Demokratie zwar nicht in eine grundsätzliche Krise stürzt, aber ein nicht zu unterschätzendes Gefährdung spotenzial birgt" (224; All that is not a completely new phenomenon, but paired with a global pandemic of an unimaginable dimension and the loss of the ordinary, normal life, it has trig gered in this digital age a dynamic wave which, though it does not create a fundamental crisis for democracy, contains a potential of risk which should not be underestimated). See also Alan Arwine and Lawrence Mayer, *Identity Politics as an Alternative to Conservatism and Social De mocracy: The Emergence of Neo Volkism in Advanced Western Societies* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2011); Georg Schmid, *The Treachery of the Elites: On Political Discontent*. Studies in Philosophy, History of Ideas and Modern Societies, 22 (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2021).

96 For the critical conflicts in medieval times involving the public versus the Church, above all, see Charles W. Connell, *Popular Opinion in the Middle Ages: Channeling Public Ideas and Atti*

especially if we reflect on the enormous conflicts and strife during the Reformation age, leading up to the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). The Middle Ages were certainly also filled with violence and disruptures everywhere, and the various communities were often threatened both from within and from outside.[97] However, our attempts to examine communication, community, and translation from pre-modern perspectives will empower us to study the issues more objectively and *sine ira et studio*. Ultimately, hence, once we have learned the lessons from the past, we might be in a much better position today and in the future to come to terms with our own problems and to attempt to solve them by focusing on these three concepts which are constitutive for all of human society.

How This Volume Came About

The following contributions, most of them based on one of my international symposia held at the University of Arizona, Tucson, May 8–9, 2021, offer a wide range of approaches, examining magical charms, medical treatments and physicians' relationships with their clients, literary reflections, and historical and art-historical documents pertaining to social groups, the treatment of minor-

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tudes. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 18 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016). As he observes: "Public opinion operates at many levels at all times, but it comes to our attention most fully during times of crisis. When events that affect the greatest number, and/or threatened or are perceived (or made to perceive) as a threat to the common good, it becomes necessary to seize control of rumor and news in order to shape opinion" (283). This seems to apply in a shockingly prophetic measure to our own current situation in the era of Trumpism in the USA and the COVID 19 pandemic all over the world, with much social unrest, protest, and rebellion against any traditional authority, including the sciences and med icine.

97 Cf. the contributions to *Violence in Medieval Courtly Literature: A Casebook*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Routledge Medieval Casebooks (New York and London: Routledge, 2004); and to *Crime and Punishment in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Mental Historical Investigations of Basic Human Problems and Social Responses*, ed. Albrecht Classen and Connie Scarborough. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 11 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2012); *Krisen, Kriege, Katastrophen: Zum Umgang mit Angst und Bedrohung im Mittelalter*, ed. Christian Rohr, Ursula Bieber, and Katharina Zeppezauer Wachauer. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, 3 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2018); *Christianity and Violence in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period: Perspectives from Europe and Japan*, ed. Fernanda Alfieri and Takashi Jinno (Berlin, Munich, and Boston: Walter de Gruyter De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2021); see now Frank Meier, *Gewalt und Gefangenschaft im Mittelalter*. Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Forschung (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2022). The literature on this topic is really legion, and this for very good reasons.

ities, and political conflicts, and all that under the umbrella of the key concepts of communication, community, and translation. After the completion of the symposium, I invited several colleagues who had not had a chance to participate to add their own research since it appeared to be rather apropos for this project.

Readers will notice that there are hardly any specific studies of translations in the pre-modern age (see the exception with Chiara Benati's contribution), which is mostly intentional because, as I have pointed out before, here that concept is primarily understood in metaphorical terms, as much as the philological side of translation matters as well, of course. But translation emerges everywhere in pre-modern literature as a trope, as a strategy, as a concept, and as a worldview insofar as the medieval poets commonly regarded themselves as conveyors of truth garnered from their classical and other sources (see the contribution to this volume by Jane Beal). To help the readers, and also to reflect myself carefully on the many different arguments presented, I will subsequently offer brief summaries and add, whenever it seems useful, additional references or comments, trying to embed each individual piece within the wider context addressed by this volume.

Thus, I would like to suggest to the readers to consult the summaries in conjunction with the actual contributions because here I engage critically with the authors' arguments while trying to add further information and to flesh out some points as much as possible. I could not avoid the problem, if that's the right term, that there is a certain imbalance among the papers; some are virtually double the length of others. But they all contribute in a very meaningful way to the exploration of the same topic around those three terms, communication, community, and translation, and this from many different disciplinary perspectives and ranging from the early Middle Ages to the eighteenth, and in one case even the nineteenth century.

Summaries

As scholars of the early Middle Ages can easily confirm, heroic poetry commonly served to establish bonds among the audience, to communicate with all members of society about the fundamental values and ideals, and to strengthen the critical concepts essential for the maintenance and further development of the community (*Beowulf*, "The Hildebrandslied," *El Poema de Mío Cid*, etc.). The same phenomenon can be observed in early medieval Arabic poetry, such as in the case of Abū Tammām's "Ode on the Conquest of Amorium" (838 C.E.), a highly celebrated work by this famous Abbasid bard. Despite considerable criticism against his 'modernist' approach, Tammām founded a new poetic

tradition inspiring his audiences, especially members of the Caliphate court, to subscribe to the military-political system as it emerged particularly after the battle of Amorium in which the Abbasid forces decisively crushed the Byzantine army. This gave the poet and then his listeners great cause for celebration and adulation of the ruler who had bestowed so much honor and pride upon his people through this military success.

As **Asmaa Ahmed Youssef Moawad** discusses in her paper, which is the lead-in into the volume, the poet was most successful in appealing to the Caliph Al-Mu'tasim Billah (833–842 C.E.) and the ruling class within the Abbasid empire, providing them with poetic expression of an emerging 'national' and certainly political pride. This ode, among other works by Abū Tammām, stands out for its many rhetorical and narrative strategies with which the poet managed to recreate a new sense of community in which the members were bonded together through an intense form of literary communication. While he achieved much of his success through his panegyrics on the Caliph and his victory in the battle of Amorium, his ode itself offered much public inspiration to support this leader and to conceive of a new Abbasid identity.[98] As Ahmed Youssef Moawad emphasizes, the poet also used much of satire, sarcasm, and open criticism to attack superstition, astrology, and extreme individualism as fundamental threats to the communicatively supported Abbasid community. While this type of poetry might have been unfamiliar to European audiences – but see the Old High German heroic poem "Das Ludwigslied" (ca. 881) or the Anglo-Saxon ballad "The Battle of Maldon" (ca. 991) – it illustrates profoundly that from very early on, both in East and West, literary expressions served critically to lay the foundations for new political entities bonded together militarily, ideologically, and religiously. Undoubtedly, the early medieval bards assumed a critical function as spokespersons for their people and as mouthpieces of shared experiences, values, and ideals. Poetry is, after all, an essential mode of communication.

When we consider the common practice of speaking publicly, i.e., in literature or poetry, we easily face a dilemma because public decency and its transgression could collide, and that happened already in the high Middle Ages when courtly love poetry emerged, first developed by the troubadour prince Guil-

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98 See, for instance, Suzanne Stetkevych, *The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy: Myth, Gender and Ceremony in the Classical Arabic Ode* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002); Abu Bakr al Suli, *The Life and Times of Abu Tammam*. Library of Arabic Literature, 43 (2015; New York: New York University Press, 2018); Huda J. Fakhreddine, "Abu Tammam and Abbasid Modernism," *A Companion to World Literature*, gen. ed. Ken Seigneurie. Vol. 2: *601 CE to 1450 CE*, ed. Christine Chism. Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2020), 1143 55.

laume IX. Until today, we face difficulties in engaging with his works because they are partly esoteric, sophisticated, aesthetically deeply pleasing, and partly outrightly crude and pornographic. **Fidel Fajardo-Acosta** is hence asking us in his contribution, what is speakable and what is not, where are the limits of human language, and how do we today as scholars and general readers engage with literary material that might offend our modern sense of opprobrium. What does the pornographic mean? When do we become scandalized, and when are we willing (and why) to accept transgressions, if that's what we are dealing with in the case of Guillaume IX?

Clearly, the definition of the obscene depends on social agreements and norms, and the decision by authorities to identify something as crossing the critical line. Hence, the discussion of the obscene or the pornographic reflects on the nature of society and its communicative means, as we observe in these troubadour poems which certainly served to provoke the audience, and this in very similar terms as the later often rather pornographic *fabliaux* or *facetiae*. But when we recognize the profound entanglement of courtly love poetry with the social constructs of their audience, we can grasp better, as Fajardo-Acosta suggests, the communicative function of those deliberate transgressions.

Erotic poetry is not a self-referential literary phenomenon; instead, here we grasp in essence the function of all literary texts to serve as epistemological platforms to reflect upon communication and community at large. After all, Guillaume did not compose in a vacuum; rather, his poems are filled with specific references to local gentlemen and ladies, so we would have to understand his works as a form of literary game, a notion which would apply well to much of pre-modern European poetry.[99] And games explicitly operate with rules on a board or in a limited space, which in turn invite tantalizing transgressions. The theme of courtly love was never completely self-contained; instead, it regularly implied also social criticism and opposition by the two lovers and society,

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[99] Albrecht Classen, "Minnesang als Spiel. Sinnkonstitution auf dem Schachbrett der Liebe," *Studi Medievali* Serie Terza, XXXVI.1 (1995): 211 39; id., "The *Carmina Burana:* a Mirror of Latin and Vernacular Literary Traditions from a Cultural Historical Perspective: Transgression is the Name of the Game," *Neophilologus* 94 (2010): 477 97; online: 12 24 09: https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2Fs11061 009 9188 2.pdf (last accessed on April 1, 2022); So phie Caflisch, *Spielend lernen: Spiel und Spielen in der mittelalterlichen Bildung.* Vorträge und For schungen, 58 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2018); Beate Kellner, *Spiel der Liebe im Minnesang* (Mu nich: Wilhelm Fink, 2018). Neither Caflisch nor Kellner have taken note of my own contributions, but in essence we agree and operate with the same theoretical concepts, as now does Fajardo Acosta.

or the male lover and the aloof lady, all of which invites us to probe communication at play and the meaning of community.

While focusing on Guillaume's poetry, Fajardo-Acosta also turns to late medieval poetry where similar phenomena become visible, such as in the songs by the South-Tyrolean Oswald von Wolkenstein (1376/77–1445). It also seems probable that the playful treatment of the sexual in Guillaume's poetry had hidden economic interests or concerns since he was badly troubled in his finances and apparently employed obscenities through the sexual objectification of noble ladies as equivalents of objects of private property and economic use, such as horses, castles, forests and fishing ponds. Resorting to obscenity, which we can clearly recognize in this troubadour's songs, constituted for Guillaume, as Fajardo-Acosta concludes, a strategy to compensate for his own fears, worries, and troubles, stereotyping, scapegoating, and reifying women to divert from his own political and economic difficulties. Ironically, however, modern research has not been very willing to look directly at those obscene statements and rather coyly tried to avoid addressing individual texts, metaphors, or expressions, cutting short the possibilities for us today to gain deeper insights into (mis)communicative and self-defensive strategies hidden in medieval love poetry.

As much as people have always tried to establish communal bonds, to communicate well with the members of their own community, and to translate ideas, values, concepts, and texts, as much they have also dreamt of an ideal world. Although traditional scholarship has often assumed that utopias did not develop until the early sixteenth century (Thomas More, 1516), writers and intellectuals have regularly aspired for ideal alternatives, hence utopias, even if those concepts were not quite in conformity with More's political model.[100] In her contribution, **Doaa Omran** offers a first comparative reading of, on the one hand, two medieval Arabic utopian texts by al-Fārābī and Ibn Khaldūn, and two European narratives, one by Christine de Pizan and the other by Thomas More. As she observes, despite different criteria pursued by those four authors, they all aimed at an ideal status for their community. But there are strong contrasts as well since al-Fārābī and Ibn Khaldūn worked toward the goal of projecting urban communities where the inhabitants would live up to the Muslim values as formulated in the Qur'ān, whereas Christine and Thomas imagined a dream world, the former promoting the cause of women, the latter outlining a political utopia.

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100 For a good summary, see Heiko Hartmann, "Utopias / Utopian Thought," *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms   Methods   Trends*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), vol. 3, 1400   08.

Of course, all religious authors, especially those involved in working with scriptures, imagine a better world, i.e., a paradise, but the Arabic texts, in many ways drawing from the Qur'ān, focus very specifically on concrete, real cities, appeal to their audiences to embrace their own material urban space, and to transform it into a living utopia here on earth.[101] Utopia was not such a far-fetched notion for them; instead, it was rather an existing conceptual framework to address their audiences and to appeal to them to work toward justice, submission under God, helping their neighbors, and hence to aim toward ethical, moral, and social values, and thus toward a good religious life. Here we are thus presented which strong efforts to re-establish a deep sense of a social community which needed to be reconstituted. These didactic texts also formulated, more or less directly, strong criticism of the political systems in place and of evil rulers.

For Christine de Pizan, her notion of an ideal city constituted a utopian space where women could live by themselves and pursue, actually quite similar to the ideals by the Arabic writers, rectitude, justice, reason, honor, and similar values.[102] Thomas More was primarily interested in an ideal political system and hence criticized, with his *Utopia*, the current political conditions, an approach

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101 See now the contributions to *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 4 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), but the issue of utopia was not addressed there in specific terms. See now *Utopias, Medieval and Early Modern*, ed. Patricia Clare Ingham. *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 36.3 (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2006); Karma Lochrie, *Nowhere in the Middle Ages.* The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). As to pre modern imaginations, see the contributions to *Imagination and Fantasy in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Projections, Dreams, Monsters, and Illusions*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 24 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2020). As to fictional, utopian spaces, see Ignacio Arellano, *Loca Ficta: los espacios de la mar avilla en la Edad Media y Siglo de Oro.* Biblioteca Áurea Hispánica, 26 (Frankfurt a. M.: Vervuert, 2003).
102 Albrecht Classen, "The People Rise Up against the Tyrants in the Courtly World: John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, the *Fables* by Marie de France and the Anonymous *Mai und Beaflor*," *Neohelicon* 35.1 (2008): 17 29; globally, Mario Turchetti, *Tyrannie et tyrannicide de l'Antiquité à nos jors.* Bibliothèque de la Renaissance, 11 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013); see also the con tributions to *Evil Lords: Theories and Representations of Tyranny from Antiquity to the Renais sance*, ed. Nikos Panou and Hester Schadee (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018). See also the contributions to *Criticising the Ruler in Pre Modern Societies   Possibilities, Chances, and Methods / Kritik am Herrscher in vormodernen Gesellschaften   Möglichkeiten, Chancen, Methoden*, ed. Karina Kellermann, Alheydis Plassmann, and Christian Schwermann. Macht und Herrschaft, 6 (Göttingen: V&R uni press/Bonn University Press, 2020).

which already numerous medieval writers had pursued, though then without projecting a utopian space as an alternative locale.

Omran hence alerts us through her comparative analysis how much the Arabic and the European literary discourses shared many aspects concerning community and public values, either for the collective in concrete terms (al-Fārābī and Ibn Khaldūn), or for women as a gender group (Christine de Pizan). Thomas More thus represents not a radical innovator, that is, as the 'inventor' of utopia,' but as a major contributor to a long-term discourse on this notion. Of course, he deserves particular credit for coining the phrase of 'utopia' for this specific textual genre, but it would be typically modern misconception of the Middle Ages to assume that utopian ideas did not exist until the early sixteenth century.

It is also worth noting here that there is even evidence for an erotic, if not sexual, utopia in one of the letters composed by the Italian humanist Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) in 1416 addressing his friend Nicolaus de Niccolis where he describes, or perhaps fantasizes, the public baths in Baden, Switzerland.[103] He observes with astonishment the communal enjoyment of the spa where nudity was of no concern; or rather, where sexual contacts were rather promiscuous, and this even irrespective of the women's marital status.[104]

For many late medieval European Christians, it was inconceivable why Jews would not want to convert to their faith, but the communication between both religious groups were always fraught with many problems and difficulties. Many Christian authors engaged with this problem and connected it with their strong belief in the direct workings of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the many saints on human life. True interreligious dialogue still had to wait a long time before true examples emerged in pre-modern Europe. **Connie L. Scarborough** brings to our attention one of the miracle tales by the Spanish poet Gonzalo de Berceo (middle to late thirteenth century) which is directly predicated on a financial deal between a Christian and a Jew, which could have been one of the sources later used by William Shakespeare in his *Merchant of Venice*

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103 *Two Renaissance Book Hunters: The Letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis.* Translated from the Latin and annotated by Phyllis Walter Goodhart Gordan. Records of Civili zation Sources and Studies, XCI (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1974), no. III, 24 31.

104 For a rather unusual approach to the question regarding sexual utopias in the pre modern world, see Paul Vandenbroeck, *Utopia's Doom: The "Graal" as Paradise of Lust, the Sect of the Free Spirit and Jheronimus Bosch's So Called "Garden of Delights"*, ed. Barbara Baert. Art & Re ligion, 8 (Leuven, Paris, and Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2017). He acknowledges that Bosch certainly had the danger of lust as one of the Seven Deadly Sins in mind, but at the same time he did not deny the pleasure of sexual lust here on earth as something positive, after all.

(1596–1599), though there the outcome is very different (see also the contribution to this volume by Amany El-Sawy). In "A Debt Repaid" or *Milagro* no. 23, the rich but excessively generous and hospitable Christian, who has failed to get any further credit from Christian bankers, now enters a business deal with the Jew and relies on direct help from Christ and the Virgin Mary serving as his guarantors. Although the Jew accepts this proposition, he is convinced of the opposite, i. e., he does not believe in their power and personal commitment to help this impoverished good man. As to be expected, the Christian can indeed not pay back the loan because he is a spendthrift, but he receives miraculous help. The true issue, however, has nothing to do with usury, but with the fact that the Jew, apparently a good acquaintance of the formerly rich Christian, subsequently claims that he never received his money, although this is a lie. In fact, as Scarborough points out, the narrator portrays the Jew in rather positive light, and even his request for a guarantor is not regarded as out of the ordinary. The Jew willingly accompanies the other to the church where he swears by the sculptures of Christ and His mother that they will assist with the surety, otherwise he himself would be condemned to hell. So, we can observe here a remarkable sociability and a sense of community between both men despite their religious differences.

The Christian had made a lot of new money traveling around the world, but had then been negligent in thinking about the termed loan. When the deadline dawns upon him, he quickly throws a bag with the money into the sea in the firm conviction that it would miraculously be transported to Constantinople, which is the case, indeed. The bag then reaches the Jew, who hides it under his bed and later, once the other man has returned, still demands his loan to be returned. When the Christian appeals to the sculpture of Christ to judge the case, it speaks out and reveals the Jew's lying in this matter. The latter, deeply confused and troubled, then decides to convert to Christianity, which resolves the entire issue told here.

As much as this short narrative was determined to appeal to Christian pilgrims on their way to Santiago de Compostela, as much it also provided an excellent literary example about the power and danger of human language, the problem with lying, and the miraculous effectiveness of Christ and His Mother speaking up on behalf of the Christian faithful. There are certainly significant parallels to the second story told on the first day in Boccaccio's *Decameron* (ca. 1350), another case of a close cooperation between a Christian and a Jew and both of their communication.[105] Even though Berceo certainly tried to

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[105] Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. with an intro. and notes by G. H. McWilliam. Sec. ed. (1972; London: Penguin, 1990), 37–41.

argue against Jews as people blind in their faith, he also envisioned possibilities (wishful, probably) of constructive exchanges between both men who, despite their religious differences, ultimately talk to each other in a friendly manner and work out a business deal. Although lying then enters the picture as a result of the Jew's greed, Christ's involvement solves the issue to the satisfaction of the debtor and to the surprise of the creditor.

While most of the contributions to this volume focus primarily on specific textual examples and explore what they reveal about communication within a social context, we also need to consider the theoretical discussion about language, verbal signs, comprehension, interpretation, and hence also translation in the pre-modern world. Many medieval and early modern theologians and philosophers were deeply engaged in the exploration of these topics, most of them relying extensively on the teachings by St. Augustine Bishop of Hippo (354–430), Boethius (d. ca. 524), Priscian (ca. 500), and St. Anselm of Canterbury (ca. 1033–1109),[106] but I could not attract a scholar of pre-modern philosophy to participate in our efforts.[107] Instead, at least in one case, **Daniel E. Pigg** illuminates these issues by way of studying the enormously complex allegorical narrative, *Piers Plowman* in the B text version (ca. 1370) by William Langland, who did not only offer strong moral and social teachings, but who also examined critically how the individual actually communicates with others and with the divinity in spiritual and linguistic terms. Langland was deeply concerned about the steady

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106 See now the intriguing study by Jordan Kirk, *Medieval Nonsense: Signifying Nothing in Four teenth Century England* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2021), who examines the discourse on signification and language in late medieval English literature, such as in the *Cloud of Un knowing* and the short poem *St. Erkenwald*. Unfortunately, he left out the major contributions to the same issue by Meister Eckhart and other Continental mystics. See my review in *sehepunkte* 22.3 (2022): http://www.sehepunkte.de/2022/03/36498.html.

107 Emily Steiner, *Reading Piers Plowman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); cf. also the contributions to *The Cambridge Companion to Piers Plowman*, ed. Andrew Cole and An drew Galloway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Rebecca Davis, *Piers Plowman and the Books of Nature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); David Strong, *The Philosophy of Piers Plowman: The Ethics and Epistemology of Love in Late Medieval Though*t (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017). Important for the larger context prove to be the critical essays by Umberto Eco, *On the Medieval Theory of Signs*. Foundations of Semiotics, 17 (Amsterdam: Ben jamins, 1989); see also Eugene Vance, *Mervelous Signals: Poetics and Sign Theory in the Middle Ages*. Regents Studies in Medieval Culture (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1986); Mark Amsler, *The Medieval Life of Language: Grammar and Pragmatics from Bacon to Kempe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021). As to the reception history of this major works, see Lawrence Walker, *The Myth of* Piers Plowman: *Constructing a Medieval Literary Ar chive*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 89 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

decline of his society, which was mirrored, as he believed, in the collapse of communicative skills both among the learned and the uneducated, meaning the loss of the full understanding of the close relationship between individual expressions and their meaning, or between the signifier and the signified.[108] Words no longer meant what they promised, and communication no longer functioned as it was supposed to do. In Michael Calabrese's words, "*Piers Plowman* dramatizes the perpetual human crisis, renewed with each generation, of faith, hope, and charity, confronting us as it confronted its original readers with questions that remain both urgent and unanswered."[109]

Of course, Langland was not at all the first one to reflect on the relationship between signs and community, on translation codes and the meaning of communication, as Pigg confirms through his identification of critical ideas about language by Augustine, Donatus, Priscian, then John of Salisbury, Thomas Aquinas, and many others, which Langland incorporated into his own thinking, expressing deep concerns about the breakdown of human decoding abilities and sociability. Recovering the foundations of the *trivium* – grammar, logic, and rhetoric – was, for this poet and some other late medieval authors, a major task he suggested to his contemporaries; certainly an intriguing call to action also for us today, if we reflect on the general decline in all three areas among the majority of people. Obviously, Langland resorted to the genre of the sermon by appealing to his audience to recover the essentials of human language which then would restore the community bonds and recover the connection to the divine. And yet, *Piers Plowman* was a fictional work and maybe achieved a much more extensive success. We could go so far as to claim, with Pigg, that the poet could formulate the crit-

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108 Helen Barr, *Signes and sothe: Language in the Piers Plowman Tradition.* Piers Plowman Studies, 10 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994); Jeremy Lowe, *Desiring Truth: The Process of Judgment in Fourteenth Century Art and Literature.* Studies in Medieval History and Culture (New York and London: Routledge, 2005); older, but still relevant proves to be Burt Kimmelman, *The Poetics of Authorship in the Later Middle Ages: The Emergence of the Modern Literary Persona.* Studies in the Humanities. Literature Politics Society, 21 (New York, Washington, DC, et al.: Peter Lang, 1995); see now Justin M. Byron Davies, *Revelation and the Apocalypse in Late Medieval Literature: The Writings of Julian of Norwich and William Langland.* Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2020); see now the contributions to *Approaches to Teaching Langland's* Piers Plowman, ed. Thomas A. Goodmann. Approaches to Teaching World Literature, 151 (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2018).
109 William Langland, *Piers Plowman, The A* Version. A new trans. with intro. and notes by Michael Calabrese (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2020), xx. He also adds, "But because of its multivocality, *Piers* offers no absolute perspective on the conflicts of its time and should not be read as a reliable source of historical evidence of anything but its own imaginative artistry" (xxii).

ical needs for a thorough reform of communication within a social network in a more literary framework, aiming for a higher level of truth which could be realized by realigning words and meaning once again, thereby establishing, once again, authenticity to human language. Langland insisted, to put it plainly, that we have to mean what we say, certainly a clarion call for us today as well since we now live in a world of fake news, distortions, deceptions, manipulations, and outright lying for political, ideological reasons. Once we would pay more attention to our own language and employ it more honestly, morals and ethics would also have a chance again.

For Langland, as Pigg points out, this work to correct our language, that is, to make it true, would have to begin with the Church itself, then with the royal court, and then percolate throughout society. Only when a confession to a priest was accurate and reflected truth, could atonement begin, and would then there be hope for an improvement of the individual and the community at large. Everything hinges on language and the intentions behind it, a profound insight from the late Middle Ages – though certainly borrowed already from ancient and early medieval philosophers – which not so surprisingly directly applies to us and our language today as well. Once again, here we observe the relevance of the past for the present.

Even though we are not dealing with translations in a narrow philological context in this volume, translation regularly emerges as a critical strategy pursued by many if not most medieval poets, prime among them Geoffrey Chaucer, whose translation strategies are the focus of **Jane Beal**'s contribution. Undoubtedly, translation constitutes communication, and thus also a community across time and space, and especially across cultures and languages. Chaucer constantly made sure to reach out to his audience and to explain where his sources came from and how he had engaged with them. This extradiegetic method promoted the poet's effort to bond with his readers/listeners and to get them engaged in his own literary works. Both in Chaucer's texts and in countless other examples, we notice the great effort to authenticate the result of the translation process, to prove its relevance, and importance for the audience.

As Beal reminds us, of course, there was a great debate throughout the premodern age as to the value of the word-for-word translation or the concept for concept method, which also applied to the efforts to translate not only the Bible into a vernacular, but also to render the Qur'ān into a European language.[110] Chaucer might even have created classical authors to gain respectabil-

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110 Albrecht Classen, "Translation as the Catalyst of Cultural Transfer,"in *Humanities Open Access Journal* Humanities 2012, 1, 72 79; online at: http://www.mdpi.com/2076 0787/1/1/72/

ity for his own works, which finds an intriguing parallel in the much earlier Middle High German work *Parzival* by Wolfram von Eschenbach (ca. 1205) who 'invented' the poet/scholar Kyôt as the critical source for his story about the Grail (vv. 453, 1–455, 22).[111] The issue for Chaucer, and hence also for us, is not so much what sources he used, but which ones he acknowledged, and which ones he deliberately ignores in his address. To be sure, the use of older sources, especially those of high esteem, was of critical importance to establish the own authority.[112] As Beal illuminates through her close reading of various passages in the *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer, in various roles, cleverly interacts with his own figures intradiegetically and with his audience extradiegetically, and thus creates a complex intellectual community of classical sources, contemporary pilgrims, and subsequent readers/listeners of the text. Again, translation transcends the barriers of time and space, building bridges across cultures, and establishing ever new communities. Even though Chaucer, like many other of his predecessors and contemporaries, rather paraphrased or used only conceptual translation, he still insisted on having told the truth, an essential premise for all communities of readers/listeners. But when lies are told, as in the case of Berceo's *Milagro* no. 23 (see above), those become unraveled in the course of time, and truth can shine forth even more than before. This issue becomes strongly profiled in the *Legend of Good Women* when the narrator is charged of having produced a bad translation and having thus hurt the reputation of love, which forces him to rally all of his defense and present apologies where and when necessary.

As Beal also points out, there are many passages in Chaucer's work where the issue of proper and correct translation comes up, so we can observe the poet engaging fully with the complexities of all translation efforts, which

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(last accessed on Jan. 17, 2021); id., "Translating and Translators in the Middle Ages: Linguistic Challenges Perceived Through Literary Eyes," *Aspects of Literary Translation: Building Linguistic and Cultural Bridge in Past and Present*, ed. Eva Parra Membrives, Miguel Ángel García Peinado, Albrecht Classen. Translation, Text and Interferences, 1 (Tübingen: Narr, 2012), 17 41; see now the contributions to *The Latin Qur'an, 1143 1500* (see note 83).

111 Herbert Kolb, *Munsalvaesche: Studien zum Kyotproblem* (Munich: Eidos Verlag, 1963); Ul rike Draesner, *Wege durch erzählte Welten: intertextuelle Verweise als Mittel der Bedeutungskon stitution in Wolframs* Parzival. Mikrokosmos, 36 (Frankfurt a. M., Bern, et al.: Peter Lang, 1993); Albrecht Classen, "Noch einmal zu Wolframs 'spekulativer' Kyôt Quelle im Licht jüdischer Kultur und Philosophie des zwölften Jahrhunderts," *Studi Medievali* XLVI (2005): 281 308.

112 Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984); see now the contributions to *Authorities in the Middle Ages: Influence, Legitimacy, and Power in Medieval Society*, ed. Sini Kangas, Mia Korpiola, and Tuija Aionen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 12 (Berlin and Boston: Wal ter de Gruyter, 2013).

might never fully satisfy everyone. In "The Parson's Tale," however, Chaucer the author and translator makes the most effort to present himself as reliable and trustworthy, appealing to his audience to believe his own words, which signals the great need for the poet to be acknowledged by his literary community because its members ought to be able to rely on his words as representing the truth, whatever that might mean. Fittingly, of course, the Parson gives a whole sermon on the Seven Deadly Sins and thus teaches his audience to guard their souls, to practice virtues, and to avoid vices. The sacred thus trumps the profane, which allows Chaucer the poet to emerge triumphantly because these words represent the ultimate truth and set the bonds between the storyteller and his audience as verifiable and as the divine message.

To study medieval and early modern literature through the lens of communication and community, proves to be highly effective and meaningful because rarely, if ever, did any of those poets present their works only for the purpose of entertainment. The world of late medieval short verse narratives, as best represented by Giovanni Boccaccio, Geoffrey Chaucer, Franco Sacchetti, and Heinrich Kaufringer (all between ca. 1350 and ca. 1430) provides the best evidence for this observation because their tales (or *mæren*, or *novelle*) commonly present situations in human life the audience probably could associate with. The problematic cases then invited discussions and probing of the fundamental issues in the audience's ordinary lives. In the study by **Albrecht Classen**, this hypothesis is tested in light of Kaufringer's works, who offered intriguing, inspiring, challenging, provocative, and spiritual messages throughout his work. The range of topics is considerable, but we discover as the common denominator the central concern with communication within marriage, among members of a city council, among clerics, and other community groups and partnerships.

Very similar to his contemporary poets, Kaufringer drew from ordinary challenges within social frameworks where misunderstandings, strife, and conflicts of all sorts emerge and need to be addressed. As entertaining Kaufringer's work certainly proves to be, as meaningful it turns out not only for the contemporary, but also for the modern audience. Here we face an intriguing literary platform to practice communication and the building of community, especially with regarding to marriage, which assumes a central position in many of the poet's texts. As much as conflicts emerge, as much there are also clear messages as to how to overcome them by applying practical approaches determined by communication, which in turn only works well if the two partners apply rationality, intelligence, and mutual respect. But we also come across amazing narratives which explicitly warn the audience from disregarding the great advantages of collaboration, coordination, and compromise, which altogether can protect smaller social groups from harm coming from the outside. In this regard, Kau-

fringer's verse narratives can serve extremely well to discuss and to reflect on universal concerns in human existence, and this certainly in close parallel to those by his European contemporaries.[113]

This then leads over to yet another study of Jewish-Christian relationships in the Middle Ages. The irony of this history consists, on the one hand, of the exorbitant hatred which Christians in the Holy Roman Empire (and in most other parts of Europe) apparently harbored for their Jewish neighbors in religious terms, especially since the fourteenth century, while they hardly seem to have hesitated to engage with them for the sake of business (finance), healthcare, art production, and trade, not to mention private entertainment, weddings, celebrations, dances, etc.[114]

Irrespective of so much propagandistic writing since the late Middle Ages about the 'evil' Jews, and irrespective of countless but irrational and completely unfounded charges against them (blood libel, host desecration, usury, well-poisoning, etc.), Christian and Jewish business people obviously cooperated quite well, as is documented in a large number of contracts signed by both sides,

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113 Albrecht Classen, "Was There a German 'Geoffrey Chaucer' in the Late Middle Ages? The Rediscovery of Heinrich Kaufringer's Verse Narratives as Literary Masterpieces," *Studia Neophilologica* 85.1 (2013): 57 72; for a more specific approach pivoting on legal conditions, see the contributions to *Rechtsnovellen: Rhetorik, narrative Strukturen und kulturelle Semantiken des Rechts in Kurzerzählungen des späten Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Pia Claudia Doering and Caroline Emmelius. Philologische Studien und Quellen, 263 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2017). While Kaufringer's narratives assume a central aspect here, there are also studies on the *Gesta Romanorum*, Hans Folz, Hans Sachs, Giovanni Boccaccio, Johannes Pauli, and the late medieval version of *Reynke de vos* (1498).

114 There is much relevant research on this odd phenomenon pertaining to the cohabitation of Jews and Christians in medieval cities; most recently, see Birgit Wiedl and Eveline Brugger, "Jüdisch christliche Kontakte im Mittelalter im Spiegel der österreichischen Quellen," *Mediävistik in Österreich: Aktuelle Forschungen und Projekte zur mittelalterlichen jüdischen Geschichte*, ed. Herwig Weigl. Österreich. Geschichte Literatur Geographie, 65.4 (Vienna: Institut für Österreichkunde, 2021), 411 15; Andreas Lehnertz and Birgit Wiedl, "How to Get Out of Prison: Imprisoned Jews and Their Hafturfehden: Records from the Medieval and Early Modern Holy Roman Empire (Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)," *Incarceration and Slavery in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age. A Cultural Historical Investigation of the Dark Side in the Pre Modern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Lanham MD, Boulder, CO, et al.: Lexington Books, 2021), 361 413; Alfred Haverkamp, "The Jewish Quarters in German Towns During the Late Middle Ages," *In and Out of the Ghetto. Jewish Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany*, ed. Ronnie Po Chia Hsia and Hartmut Lehmann. Publications of the German Historical Institute (1995; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Illustrated Edition, 2002), 13 28. See also Markus J. Wenninger on Jewish festivals at which Christians also participated: "*als etlich kristen lüt ... mit dien Juden ge tantzet hant:* Über die Teilnahme von Christen an jüdischen Festen im Mittelalter," *Aschkenas* 26.1 (2016): 37 67.

using Hebrew and German. This indicates, as **Andreas Lehnertz** and **Birgit Wiedl** outline in their contribution, that at least the Jews were certainly fluent in the vernacular languages of the other side. Whether Christian merchants or bankers knew enough of Hebrew to understand the signed contracts seems to be rather doubtful; however, both sides were obviously quite aware of the legal practices of the respective other partners.[115] Based on thousands of surviving documents, Lehnertz and Wiedl can confirm a high level of bilingualism particularly among the Jewish business people.

Surprisingly, through these contracts we can also observe that Jews were not simply banned from owning land which they occasionally sold, and this even to monasteries. The Hebrew texts apparently carried the same legal weight as the Christian formulas, which underscores a considerable degree of mutual respect and highlights the extent to which Jews simply belonged to the wider economic community in the late Middle Ages. Their Hebrew documents carried the same value as the Christian ones at the legal courts. Apparently, both sides were fairly familiar with the specific verbiage necessary for those documents and applied them respectively, which also included mixed calendar dating. This does not necessarily signal that both religious groups experienced harmonious cohabitation, very often just the opposite, but the evidence presented here underscores clearly that the traditional concepts of utter animosity and lack of communication and exchange can no longer be upheld.

Many notes by the various businessmen indicate the true extent of economic dealings between both sides of the religious divide. Technical Hebrew terms were used in transliterated form in Christian documents, and vice versa. In short, as Lehnertz and Wiedl confirm, from an economic and legal point of view, behind the official and public anti-Judaism espoused by the contemporary media (plays, woodcuts, sculptures such as the infamous "Judensau," etc.), but also by many writers and polemicists, we can discover, when we just scratch the surface, extensive connections, shared values and interests, and thus common practices in signing contracts and carrying out business deals (see also the contribution to this volume by Amany El-Sawy).

As much as the Christian Church fought hard and consistently throughout the Middle Ages against anything that looked like magic, sorcery, or charms be-

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115 Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews.* 2nd ed. (1999; New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1999); Birgit Wiedl, "Jews and Anti Jewish Fanta sies in Christian Imagination in the Middle Ages," *Imagination and Fantasy in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Projections, Dreams, Monsters, and Illusions*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fun damentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 24 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2020), 573 606. Again, there are many more pertinent studies on this topic.

cause all those aspects threatened its own religious claims and hence its social, economic, and political dominance, as much those practices, rituals, or magical media serving to build bridges to another dimension (angels or demons, or God versus the devil) continued to exist and could never be fully suppressed or eliminated.[116] In vernacular literature we even hear at times that priests were fully involved in necromancy, such as in one of the verse narratives by the Bern poet Ulrich Bonerius, a Dominican priest, in his *Der Edelstein* (ca. 1350; *The Gemstone*).[117] In the story "Of an Individual Who Was an Expert of the Black Books: On False Friendship" (no. 94) – certainly not a fable, whereas the majority of all the other texts belong to that genre – we hear of two friends, one of them a priest who has thoroughly studied the seven liberal arts, but also necromancy (3–5). The narrator calls his grimoires 'black books' and warns us that they can cause much harm. However, the priest utilizes his magical skills only to test his friend's loyalty, of which the latter had assured him firmly. As soon, however, as the priest has created an illusion that his friend has been made into the king of Cyprus, all that loyalty and friendship are forgotten since the other no longer recognizes the priest. Once the illusion is destroyed and the poor friend left behind rather discombobulated and distraught, the priest then teaches him a basic lesson on how little the material world can be trusted. Magic thus facilitates a fundamental exploration of the meaning of communication between two friends and probes the strength of their personal community.

In their contribution to this volume, **Christa A. Tuczay** and **Thomas Ballhausen** explore the communicative strategies commonly used by medieval (or

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116 Christa Habiger Tuczay, *Magie und Magier im Mittelalter* (Munich: Diederichs, 1992); Franco Cardini, *Magia, stregoneria, superstizioni nell'Occidente medievale*. Strumenti, 96 (Florence: La Nuova Italia Ed., 1979); *De betovering van het middeleeuwse christendom: studies over ritueel en magie in de middeleeuwen*, ed. Marco Mostert and A. Demyttenaere (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995); Michael D. Bailey, *Magic and Superstition in Europe: A Concise History from. Antiquity to the Present*. Critical Issues in History (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007); see now also the contributions to *Magic and Magicians in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Times. The Occult in Pre Modern Sciences, Medicine, Literature, Religion, and Astrology*, ed. Al brecht Classen. Fundamentals of *Medieval* and *Early Modern* Culture, 20 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2017); cf. Michael D. Bailey, *Magic: The Basics* (London and New York: Rout ledge, 2017).

117 Ulrich Boner, *Der Edelstein: Eine mittelalterliche Fabelsammlung. Zweisprachige Ausgabe Mittelhochdeutsch Neuhochdeutsch*, übersetzt, mit Anmerkungen, farbigen Abbildungen, einem Nachwort, Literaturverzeichnis, Register und Fabel Verzeichnis versehen von Manfred Stange (Uberstadt Weiher, Heidelberg, and Neustadt a.d. W., and Basel: verlag regionalkultur, 2016); for an English translation, see now *The Fables of Ulrich Bonerius (ca. 1350): Masterwork of Late Medieval Didactic Literature*, trans. Albrecht Classen (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020).

modern) magicians or sorcerers and thus uncover an additional, certainly impactful dimension of communication which served to establish a community with spirits, demons, angels, or other non-material powers, that is, to build a bridge between the micro- and the macrocosm.[118] As they demonstrate, the performance of magic or spells has always operated on very similar if not identical level as all other communication strategies, involving a sender, a code or message, a receiver, and then the decoding process. Keeping those structures in mind, we can easily recognize the strong parallels between prayers, for instance, and magical charms, which Tuczay and Ballhausen fittingly identify as "words of power." [119]

Of course, as they hasten to add, black magic was regarded as being predicated on illusion and deception, as in the case of Bonerius (see above), whereas white magic reached out to God and served to achieve a miracle (St. Augustine). Despite this distinction between polarly opposed intentions in practicing magic, the communicative mechanism was the same in both cases, reaching out to a spirit, demon, angel, etc. by means of written texts, spoken formulas, use of objects, and rituals. In short, all magic depends on practical communication and cannot function without a concrete receiver of the signs or messages, whether a spirit, an angel, or a demon. Of course, the Church was deeply troubled about the dangers of incantations or charms, because it feared that evil forces could overpower the members of the parish and destroy or steal their souls. This fear is fully understandable insofar as the communicative maneuvers used by the magicians or sorcerers were essentially the same as those practiced by the clerics in the liturgy, during mass, in public and in private, as many examples in the famous collection of narratives, the *Dialogus miraculorum* by the Cistercian author Caesarius of Heisterbach, vividly illustrate. And, conjurations also aimed at creating community bonds, translating human language into magical communication.

The issue of communication has always had a political bent as well because the relationship between countries, powers, rulers, etc. depends heavily on the abilities of both sides to talk to each other and to work out, relatively speaking, compromises or agreements. Some of the most important intermediaries in the political sphere have always been diplomats, although their work tends to be ob-

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118 Ruth Finckh, *Minor Mundus Homo: Studien zur Mikrokosmos Idee in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*. Palaestra: Untersuchungen aus der deutschen und skandinavischen Philologie, 306 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999).
119 Maria Tatar, "Enchantments, Spells, and Curses: The Sorcery of Stories and the Magic in Them," *Myth, Magic, and Memory in Early Scandinavian Narrative Culture: Studies in Honour of Stephen A. Mitchell*, ed. Jürg Glauser and Pernille Hermann (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 113 27.

scured by the rulers who appointed them. We could say that the task of diplomats has often been to smoothen out conflicts, to create connections, to probe possibilities to collaborate, to find compromises and solutions to conflicts, and to establish constructive relationships.

But how do they talk with each other, what kinds of documents are exchanged, and what would diplomatic history tell us about the nature of communication at a specific moment in time and location? This is, truly, a huge topic, but a significant step into this world can be to study a specific body of diplomatic correspondence and to analyze it as to the rhetorical strategies employed there. The history of diplomacy does not normally figure prominently in Culture Studies, but the existence of a remarkable body of late medieval texts from Italy allows us to explore this field. **Chiara Melchionno** here offers a detailed study of the correspondence between Galeazzo Maria Sforza (lord of Milan, 1466–1476) and Francesco Maletta (his ambassador to the court of Alfonso of Aragon in Naples), and other lords and their diplomats. Diplomacy was only at an early stage then and had not yet fully developed, but the institution itself developed rapidly, leading to the creation of a large corpus of documents/letters.[120] Those allow us today to study and comprehend the communicative operations among diplomatic circles in the late Middle Ages, and also the narrative strategies employed, which is Melchionno's primary goal.

Throughout time, the creation of letters, whether private or public in nature, has been a major rhetorical strategy, an art, which might be disappearing today, but which was in its highest bloom in the late Middle Ages. At least the diplomatic correspondence examined here yields rich insights into the use of paroemiae, that is, a variety of proverbial sayings with which the authors embellished their texts. Remarkably, Melchionno is able to identify numerous examples which were widely shared across the various major European languages with only

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120 *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy: The Structure of Diplomatic Practice, 1450 1800*, ed. Daniela Frigo, trans. Adrian Belton. Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); *Isabella Lazzarini, Communication and Conflict: Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance, 1350 1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2015); Jerry H. Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987); *De l'ambassadeur: les ècrits relatifs à l'ambassadeur et à l'art de négocier du Moyen Âge au début du XIXe siècle*, ed. Stefano Andretta, Stéphane Péquignot, and Jean Claude Wa quet. Collection de l'École française de Rome, 504 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2015); *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia*, ed. Zoltán Biedermann, Anne Gerritsen, and Giorgio Riello. Studies in Comparative World History (Cambridge: Cambridge Uni versity Press, 2018); *Wissen und Strategien frühneuzeitlicher Diplomatie*, ed. Stefanie Freyer and Siegrid Westphal. Bibliothek Altes Reich, 27 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020).

minor differences. Obviously, as she claims, the diplomatic correspondence drew from a shared linguistic reservoir captured in various major languages, but perhaps also in minor ones, which she could not incorporate into her investigation. Melchionno argues that the use of paroemiae strongly supported the argumentative approaches pursued in those letters, so the linguistic analysis of these unique proverbial statements opens important windows into the writers' mindsets since they certainly wanted to achieve a political goal with these letters.

Whereas diplomats worked abroad and were tasked with building political connections between political territories or nations, public notaries in many parts of medieval and early modern Europe operated on the local level helping the ordinary people to handle, for instance, last wills, labor and business contracts, dowries, credit loans, etc. In fact, public notaries were deeply involved in establishing communicative channels for their societies.[121] Drawing from a wealth of archival records, **Nere Jone Intxaustegi Jauregi** examines how those public notaries in the Basque territories, similarly as in other parts of the Iberian Peninsula, operated not only in legal terms, but also as translators since the records had to be in Castilian/Spanish whereas their customers were often not competent in that language, being monolinguals speaking only Basque. So, in this case the public notaries had to translate from Basque to Spanish and vice versa and so served a crucial role as linguist intermediaries for their communities and the authorities. But there are no clear indications of any language training for the future professionals; we only hear that the notaries had to be bilinguals from their background. Most likely, they learned on the job and received help from their superiors.

The notaries also worked as the critical intermediaries between the ordinary people and the laws or lawmakers, helping the former to cope in society offering linguistic and legal assistance. In the early modern period, the issue of divorce gained in preponderance, often sought by women whose husband had abused them or were sexually impotent. But, just as today, notaries were also involved in many other legal issues, either political or economic. So, altogether, as Intxaustegi Jauregi emphasizes, without their linguistic skills, society in the pre-

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121 For more European perspectives, see, for instance, Laurie Nussdorfer, *Brokers of Public Trust: Notaries in Early Modern Rome* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Joanna Carraway Vitiello, *Public Justice and the Criminal Trial in Late Medieval Italy: Reggio Emilia in the Visconti Age*. Medieval Law and Its Practice, 20 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016); see also the contributions to *Cultures of Law in Urban Northern Europe: Scotland and its Neighbours c. 1350 c. 1650*, ed. Jackson W. Armstrong and Edda Frankot. Themes in Medieval and Early Modern History (London: Routledge, 2021).

modern age would have faced severe difficulties in handling its ordinary businesses.

Communication has also always mattered centrally in the area of medicine, as the following three articles indicate. First, **Chiara Benati** focuses on early modern Low German surgical treatises in which the authors make considerable efforts to help their audiences understand the relevant terminology. But the strategy here was not to render Latin into a vernacular, but to translate one version of a High German dialect into another, here Low German, which created numerous linguistic and medical problems if the High German terms did not exist in Low German. The most important approach was to disambiguate specific terms, or to find similar expressions or synonyms, if they existed. Benati studies, first, Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Buch der Cirurgia* (first printed in 1497), translated in 1518; second, Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney* (1517) and its Low German version from ca. 1520/30; and, third, Otto Brunfels's *Wunterzenîbüchelîn* (1528). In each case, as Benati observes, the translator was very careful in rendering the relevant terms as explicitly as possible to avoid misunderstanding and causing a severe case of miscommunication.

In all three cases, we can assume that the translators were practitioners and addressed a professional readership who needed the specific information to succeed in their own efforts to carry out good surgeries without the resulting death of the patient. Philology and communication thus played hand in hand and proved to be essential partners in the operation to make available authoritative surgical knowledge both to High German and to Low German professionals. Even though the addressees comprised only a fairly small group of experts, we still recognize the fundamental importance of translation for the advancement of medical knowledge. The translators were consistently concerned with utmost clarity, and if they lacked the critical terms, they resorted to synonyms and explanations.

Until today, as unscientific as it may sound, much of a successful surgery or any other medical treatment depends in a critical fashion on the good communication between the surgeon/physician and his/her patient.[122] Trust and confidence are essential elements, which pre-modern doctors also had understood very well, perhaps even more than today because they did not yet have all the technical and medical advances available as today and so had to rely more on

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[122] Allan J. Hamilton, *The Scalpel and the Soul: Encounters with Surgery, the Supernatural, and the Healing Power of Hope* (New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Putnam, 2008); see also the contributions to *Narratives, Health, and Healing: Communication Theory, Research, and Practice*, ed. Lynn M. Harter, Phyllis M. Japp, and Christina S. Beck. Lea' Communication Series (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2005).

psycho-somatic strategies. As **David Tomíček** illustrates in his contribution, based on early modern Czech-language treatises, surgeons were increasingly if not almost exclusively dependent on their university training in contrast to the natural healers or quacks many authors of facetious Shrovetide plays commonly made fun of.[123] For surgeons, it was important to relate to their patients how much they were well educated and could achieve the healing by means of their practical and theoretical knowledge, i.e., medicine and natural philosophy. They faced, however, the tricky situation that their reputation could easily suffer if the outcome of their treatment was a failure.

For this study, Tomíček focuses on common strategies pursued by doctors to communicate well with their patients and their family members to secure an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence. He draws from a considerable body of relevant treatises by Czech surgeons and physicians who outlined in rather explicit terms how they recommended their colleagues to engage with the patients and how to present themselves as medical authority figures. The emphasis rested on natural philosophy which the surgeon had to master and which he had to convey somehow to the patient in their communication, addressing both the theoretical and the practical aspects. At the same time, the physician had to approach the question of the appropriate payment for services rendered rather carefully because his medical reputation was more important than the acquisition of a high salary.

Some authors strongly recommended that physicians ought not to have overly friendly contacts with ordinary people since those could hurt their reputation. Instead, physicians were to observe their elevated, highly educated status with great care if they wanted to preserve their medical authority. At the same time, we also hear that the doctors should communicate in a friendly and constructive manner with their patients, something which modern medicine also knows very well.[124]

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123 Albrecht Classen, "Die Figur des Arztes in der deutschen und europäischen Literatur des Spätmittelalters und der Frühneuzeit, speziell im Hinblick auf Paracelsus' Lehren über die re chte Ausbildung zum Arzt," *Religion und Gesundheit in der Frühen Neuzeit:* Der heilkundliche Diskurs im 16. Jahrhundert, ed. Albrecht Classen. Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien, 3 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 244 73; id., "Die Figur des Arztes in den spätmittel terlichen Fastnachtspielen," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 47.3 (2012): 429 42.
124 Fiona Stevenson and Graham Scambler, "The Relationship Between Medicine and the Pub lic: The Challenge of Concordance," *Health* 9.1 (2005): 5 21; *Communication in Medical Care: In teraction Between Primary Care Physicians and Patients*, ed. John Heritage and Douglas W. May nard. Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics, 20 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Dennis Rosen, *Vital Conversations: Improving Communication Between Doctors and Pa tients* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014); *Applying Linguistics in Illness and Healthcare*

All of this proved to become highly problematic, of course, in the case of the patient's death, which immediately brought up, until today, the question of the doctor's actual authority and culpability. Most importantly, however, and this already since the twelfth century, the learned scholars increasingly emphasized the close relationship between mental and physical health, which the early modern Czech doctors also subscribed to since they firmly believed in the close connection between emotions and well-being. As Tomíček thus concludes, questions of communication mattered critically for physicians since they had to observe carefully the balance between friendliness and authority, between learnedness and jovial behavior, between the results of their work and their salaries.

With these insights available, it makes sense to investigate further the relationship between early modern physicians – primarily in the Czech lands – and the community of ecclesiastics (clerics) striving for the same authority, which thus pitted the scholars/scientists against the men of the Church, especially in the time during epidemics such as the Black Death and throughout the following centuries. This conflict deeply undermined the authority which learned medical doctors had enjoyed until then. **Filip Hrbek** here probes the extent to which the educated physicians were already bonded together professionally in the early modern age or whether they were questioned in their authority by the general population and the clergy. In particular, he draws from a number of archival documents, focusing, first, primarily on the opinions reflected by the rural priest Jan of Bakov (1551–ca. 1600) in his sarcastic narrative *The Educated Peasant Having a Dialogue with Physician about the Plague, Proving that from Plague Pains There is no Infection* (1582). Jan of Bakov argued vehemently that people's death did not really result from the Plague, but from their sinfulness, which resulted in God having turned away from them. Medical doctors would hence not have any effectiveness and only propagated pagan beliefs. Stunningly, this king of argument finds numerous parallels among those people today (2021/2022) who fight against vaccination although it would protect them against COVID-19. He went so far as to demand that all people should be entitled to administer medicine, but no one should be paid for it.

Jan of Bakov's other argument against the doctors, that they only squabble against each other and never reach an agreement, hence would not really know

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what they are doing or promoting, also smacks very modern since so many pro-
testers today plainly question scientists' or medical researchers' qualifications
and presume to know much more about viruses than the educated virologists.
It seems that both then and today, the sense of social cohesion, of community,
and of a shared communication gets lost in the wake of a pandemic, when the
masses demonstrate and protest out of ignorance, but also fear and desperation,
trying to pin the guilt for the pandemic on the very physicians who are best
qualified to fight it. However, the medical profession in the early modern era
and today are, indeed, subject to much scientific debates, which are healthy
and necessary by themselves, but which the populists naively misread as
signs of utter ignorance and deception. Massive fear and a sense of helplessness
can easily lead to the destruction of both community and communication.

The counter-argument was also raised, especially by Jan Kopp from Raumen-
thal in his treatise from 1542, who pointed out, which deserves to be listened to
until today, that God has given reason and rationality to people so that they
could develop medicine and healing strategies. Lay authors such as Jan Kocín
of Kocinét tended to pursue a middle ground, combining human reason with
God's power determining the outcome of a pandemic. Already since the high
Middle Ages, medical authorities such as Arnaldus de Villanova, who was highly
popular far into the modern age, had warned doctors about excessive greed,
their ignorance as to people's deceptiveness when bringing the patient's urine
for inspection, and the lack of professional demeanor undermining the doctors'
authority. Self-respecting physicians ought to acquire a charismatic personality
so that they could assert their public esteem as medical experts.

Finally, Hrbek introduces the case of the doctor-surgeon Johann David
Boulle (early eighteenth century) who was charged with determining whether
the outbreak of sickness in the town of Moravská Třebová was a plague or
not. But he was a foreigner there; he experimented with an unproven and un-
heard-of powder to clean the air in the city, and he behaved suspiciously, so
the city imprisoned him without having any evidence, charging him for being
the source of the very plague he was trying to combat. It took many months
for Dr. Boulle to be freed again, and this only after the plague had mostly disap-
peared and the Habsburg authorities had intervened on his behalf.

Again, there are striking parallels with the situation in our time, as many
arch-conservatives anti-vaxxers publicly suddenly accuse, for instance, Dr. An-
thony Fauci, Chief Medical Advisor to the President of United States and long-
term Director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, of
lying, ignorance, deception, and personal greed profiteering from the pandem-

ic.[125] Ignorance and hatred continue to blow into the bigger horn. Unfortunately, as Hrbek's study of Dr. Boulle's situation illustrates, in time of pandemics, rationality and reason tend to be the first victims, and mob mentality and mass hysteria replace both, destroying the fundamental bonds of community and turning the basic tools of communication against the well-being of society at large. It is worth reading about the case of this eighteenth-century Czech doctor to understand the way how our world is operating still today, in direct face of modern sciences and medicine.

There would be hardly any other more intimate communication but the one between two lovers and/or marriage partners. Whereas medieval poets were rather reticent as to the personal relationship between spouses – for a relevant exception, see the case of Chrétien de Troyes's (ca. 1160) and Hartmann von Aue's (ca. 1170) *Erec* respectively – this situation seems to have changed considerably in the fifteenth century, beginning with the emergence of a new discourse by widows/widowers, as in the case of Johannes von Tepl's *The Plowman from Bohemia* (ca. 1400) and the poetic laments by Christine de Pizan, her *Cent balades* (ca. 1398).[126] A happy marriage was, as she emphasized, one of the great privileges in life, and lyric poetry thus changed one of its previous thematic emphases, to idealize unrequited love. Both in the ballads by Christine de Pizan and in the works by the two English poets John Gower (*Cinkante balades* ca. 1399, probably under the direct influence of Christine's texts) and Edmund Spenser (*Amoretti*, 1594), did this changed discourse come to the surface, indicating the high value of personal communication among the (future, contemporary, or past) spouses.

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125 See, for instance, the vicious and hate filled website, spreading outright false and incriminating claims, https://randpaul.com/issue/firefauci/, set up by the US Senator Paul Rand from Kentucky; for a counter post, setting the record straight, see https://www.cnn.com/2021/12/05/opinions/ridiculous attacks on dr fauci column galant/index.html (both last accessed on Jan. 18, 2022). The worst and most miscreant attempt to undermine Dr. Fauci's authority came from the South African born journalist Lara Logan who compared Dr. Faucy with the infamous, monstrous Nazi doctor Josef Mengele; she was immediately dropped by her talent agency from the "60 Minute" program, but later hired, of course, by Fox News; see, for instance, https://nypost.com/2022/01/18/lara logan dropped by agency after comparing fauci to nazi doctor/ (last accessed on Jan. 18, 2022).

126 *Upon my Husband's Death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe*, ed. Louise Mirrer. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Civilization (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992); Stephanie Fink De Backer, *Widowhood in Early Modern Spain: Protectors, Proprietors, and Patrons* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Albrecht Classen, "Witwen in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters: Neue Perspektiven auf ein vernachlässigtes Thema," *Etudes Germaniques* 57.2 (2002): 197 232; Britta Juliane Kruse, *Witwen: Kulturgeschichte eines Standes in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007).

Uniquely, as **Linda Burke** observes in her contribution, the woman is granted a direct, personal voice when she accepts the love of her suitor and reflects on their mutually shared emotions. Although Gower was much praised for the 'originality' of his poems, that credit would actually go toward Christine, who continued to influence English poetry well into the sixteenth century (Spenser). Both in the case of Christine's ballads and Gower's poems, a personal experience of a happy marriage appears to have been the source of inspiration, although the fictional character is still clearly visible. This experience of marital bliss is closely associated with the partners' virtuosity, religiosity, and loyalty, and there seems to be little doubt that Gower closely followed Christine's models in that regard, which actually find increasing parallels in late medieval love poetry, whether in Germany, Italy, or Spain.[127]

Burke also identifies a considerable line of reception far into the late sixteenth century, as the sonnets by Shakespeare and Spenser indicate, all of them keenly committed to the exploration of marital commitment, community, and communication enacted through the poetic performance of the two speakers. This is not to deny the considerable influence of biblical texts, such as the *Song of Songs*, but the essential message in the works by all three poets (and many others across late medieval Europe, such as Oswald von Wolkenstein [1376/77–1445] still stands out as a uniquely innovative thread of dramatic exchanges between both lovers – courtship – which then lead to a happy agreement and marriage in the vein of a wedding sermon. Spenser explicitly highlights the mutuality between both partners and adulates the ideal of marriage, which is predicated on their fully developed communication abilities. Spenser adds, however, the notion of holy matrimony and thus spiritualizes the marriage bond even further, yet without losing sight of the physical bonds between both partners in their sexual intimacy as already addressed explicitly by Christine de Pizan (and her contemporary, Oswald von Wolkenstein).

Community and communication go hand in hand, of course, but where do we find good examples for this universal phenomenon, if not in literary texts.[128] Both aspects are almost ideally expressed in the phenomenon of friend-

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127 Albrecht Classen, "Europäische Liebeslyrik im frühen 15. Jahrhundert. Oswald von Wolkenstein aus interdisziplinärer Sicht: Seine Zeitgenossen Christine de Pizan, John Lydgate und Giannozzo Sacchetti," *Etudes germaniques* 67.2 (2012): 235 57.

128 See the contributions to *De Amicitia: Friendship and Social Networks in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Katariina Mustakallio and Christian Krötzl. Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, 36 (Rome: Instit. Romanum Finlandiae, 2009); *Friendship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Explorations of a Fundamental Ethical Discourse*, ed. Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 6 (Berlin and New York: Walter

ship, which many medieval and early modern philosophers, theologians, poets, and artists explored in a myriad of manifestations. **John Hill**, in his contribution, examines the approach taken by William Shakespeare, especially in his plays *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1589–1593), *Hamlet* (1599–1601), *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1634; perhaps co-authored by John Fletcher), among many other works from his pen. Cicero, of course, stands in the background for the entire discourse on friendship throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern age, if not well beyond, and Shakespeare is not an exception in that regard. Friendship constitutes a noble form of community, not troubled by homoerotic desire, though those might exist underneath the narrative surface, as Hill at the end suggests with a sly of the hand.

Friendship is predicated on virtues and brings out the best in people at the same time, so Hill's discussion of Shakespeare's comments on this topic truly highlight what community and communication can ultimately stand for. However, the playwright explored many different angles and relationships in friendship, especially when the two people belong to different social classes, or when a power differential at court makes this friendship problematic. Character and inner nobility bond friends together, as we observe particularly in *Hamlet*, especially with regard to one's own honor and that of the friend. Of course, there can be many turbulences, conflicts, even strife, but the virtues and ideals of friendship remain unshaken. As *The Merchant of Venice*, above all, illustrates, the highest form of friendship manifests itself in the form of willingness to sacrifice oneself for the other, a notion which finds many echoes already in medieval literature (Petrus Alfonsi, *Disciplina clericalis*; anonymous, *Amis and Amylion*; Konrad von Würzburg, *Engelhard*, etc.). All this, however, does not simply put away any indications of homosexual desires, although neither the medieval poets nor Shakespeare allowed direct clues revealing this tendency to come out clearly. We can content ourselves with the observation, following Hill's discussion, that Shakespeare was deeply concerned with the ideal of community via communication between true friends, as complicated those relationship could certainly be.

When we consider virtually any translation from throughout time, we almost always face intriguing questions as to the ideological purpose behind that work, apart from purely economic interest. What were the reasons, for instance, to

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de Gruyter, 2010); John M. Hill, *Chaucer's Neoplatonism: Varieties of Love, Friendship, and Community*. Studies in Medieval Literature (Lanham, MD, Boulder, CO, New York, and London: Lexington Books, 2018); most recently, *Vera Amicitia: Classical Notions of Friendship in Renaissance Thought and Culture*, ed. Matthias Roick and Patrizia Piredda. Court Cultures of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 10 (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2021).

translate the Qur'ān into any of the European languages throughout the Middle Ages and in the early modern age? Purely philological intentions simply did not exist, particularly in light of the Qur'ān's highly religious nature; instead, we have to consider the religious and political framework justifying such massive efforts to translate the holy scripture fundamental for all Muslims into Latin, French, German, or English, such as missionizing in the Arab world.[129] In her contribution, **Najlaa Aldeeb** examines the strategies behind Alexander Ross's translation of the Qur'ān from a French version into English, which was published in 1649, at a time of severe internecine strife in England, with religious issues creating a lot of tensions. In order to publish his translation, Ross had to be extremely careful avoiding censorship, so he added anti-Islamic comments in the preface of his book, and this achieved the trick of getting his translation published. As is commonly the case, we cannot take published statements simply at face value and must read them carefully as to the implied messages and intentions. In this case, Ross's words against Islam did not serve, really, to express his hostile attitude, but to satisfy the English censors and to pretend that his translation only aimed at providing material for the fight against Muslims.

Ross was not an Orientalist enough to work with the Arabic original; instead, he relied on the French translation by André du Ryer (ca. 1580–ca. 1672), who held rather positive opinions regarding the Ottomans and Islam at large. However, he lived at dangerous times and had to be careful not to run afoul of the English laws prohibiting any advocacy of Islam or of the Qur'ān. As Aldeeb observes, Ross operated secretly behind his translation against Oliver Cromwell's regime, but he had to put up a screen pretending to be really anti-Islamic through some attachments. In reality, however, his translation served the purpose to criticize the religious contentions in seventeenth-century England and the repressive government by Cromwell. As many other writers had done before Ross, such as Georgius of Hungary (ca. 1422–1502),[130] who had been enslaved by the Turks for many years, this translator projected an idealizing image of the Ottoman world free from internal conflicts and popular rebellions, contrasting it with the catastrophic situation in seventeenth-century England. Moreover, he ridiculed the censorship, emphasizing that good Christians with a strong faith would not have to be jealous of the Qur'ān at all. Obviously, Ross hit the right tone and managed to get his critical message about the Cromwellian regime across, as the positive responses among the public indicate, which also finds

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129 See now the contributions to *The Latin Qur'an, 1143 1500* (see note 83).

130 Albrecht Classen, *Freedom, Imprisonment, and Slavery in the Pre Modern World: Cultural Historical, Social Literary, and Theoretical Reflections.* Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Mod ern Culture, 25 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2021), 74 83.

its expression in the fact that there are strong differences between his English version and his French source by Ryer, as Aldeeb demonstrates through a comparative analysis. Hence, here we have a marvelous example indicating the extent to which a translation can have a major impact on the intellectual and political community, can create new communication, and establish innovative cultural perspectives across languages, religions, and ideologies. But we should not forget that a translation reveals as much about the foreign culture as it does about the own culture.

With the study by **Amany El-Sawy,** we return to Shakespeare and the question of how Jews were portrayed on the English theater stage during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although Jews had been expelled from England already in 1290. The most (in)famous Jew we can find in Shakespeare's works is Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice* who lends money to Fiorentino, demanding a pound of his flesh in case he might not be able to pay back the loan in time or at all. The basic motif of this story was quite popular throughout the Middle Ages (already in the *Gesta Romanorum*, middle of the thirteenth century), and it was reused again in twentieth-century literature (Werner Bergengruen), but only Shakespeare has the lender identified as a Jew, which seems to indicate his explicitly antisemitic attitude.[131]

Although the playwright was little familiar with Venice, both for him and his audience that unique city republic represented enormous wealth, luxury, and the direct gateway to the Orient. It was the most important center of capitalistic enterprises during the pre-modern era, so it does not come as a surprise that Shylock operates as a financier there. However, as much as international trade went through Venice, it also harbored, as El-Sawy emphasizes, a strong nationalistic pride, which Shakespeare reflects on in his play, although that was more likely an indirect allusion to the situation in England.

Nevertheless, *The Merchant of Venice* sheds important light on urban communities and on the question of whether Jews were fellow citizens, even though they had to live in their ghetto, a term coined in Venice as early as in 1516.[132] Significantly, the really important Venetian bankers – the same applies to the world

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131 Albrecht Classen, "Werner Bergengruen (d. 1964) in Conversation with the Middle Ages: Significant Contributions to Twentieth Century Medievalism," *Humanities and Social Sciences Research (HSSR)* 4.3 (2021); for the full volume online see https://j.ideasspread.org/index.php/hssr/issue/view/88; or for the article itself, see https://doi.org/10.30560/hssr.v4n3p42 (last accessed on Jan. 19, 2022).

132 Riccardo Calimani, *The Ghetto of Venice* (New York: M. Evans & Co., 1987); Francesco Jori, *1516   il primo ghetto: storia e storie degli ebrei veneziani* (Pordenone: Edizioni Biblioteca dell'Immagine, 2016).

north of the Alps – were Christian businesses, but the attacks against Jewish usurers worked exceedingly well to provide a cover for them, thus avoiding the anger of the larger population over their excessive money deals with the high and mighty. The same applies to England and other parts of Europe, so Shakespeare's projection of his Jewish character casts an odd light on the concept of community in Venice or London respectively.

Although there were no Jews living in England, there were wide-spread ideas about them, all extremely negative, maybe reflecting a deeply-seated fear of international bankers and merchants such as the Jews. Hence, as El-Sawy indicates, the presentation of Shylock served specific purposes to stoke English fears of Jews once again and to work with the notion of insider and outsider in early modern communities. Yet, as her close reading demonstrates, there are numerous indications that the playwright cast him more as a tragically suffering individual than a blood-thirsty villain. In a way, as numerous other scholars have also observed, Shakespeare plays out the basic features of racism on the stage, while the negative hero is also viewed, at least subtly, as a human being who is badly abused by his contemporaries and thus has turned to bitterness.

Within the play, Shylock is actually demonized by the Venetians and does not have any chance at redemption. He remains an outsider and is hated for his financial dealings, and especially for his evil demand on the pound of flesh as a guarantee on his loan. Moreover, Shylock appears as the representative of an outside community or rather nation, the Jews, whereas the Venetian citizens operate on their own in clear distance to him. The problem addressed obviously consists of two communities, Venice proper and the Venice Ghetto which overlap to some extent and interact with each other. This then leads to conflicts between both groups, actually a specific reflection of such tensions on the London stage, i. e., the court, the city itself, etc. as clearly reflected in the German novel of *Fortunatus* from 1509, where the king's jewels get lost and the Italian merchants (Florentines) are wrongly accused of the theft, leading to their execution, apart from lucky Fortunatus.[133]

Irrespective of how we might view this character, Shylock has certainly been interpreted by scholars and actors from many different perspectives, which implies that the issue of the religious, if not even racial, outsider versus the community has stimulated much discussion, which underscores the high literary value of Shakespeare's play until today. The "Gretchenfrage," i. e., the critical

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133 Quoted from *Romane des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, nach den Erstdrucken mit sämtlichen Holzschnitten herausgegeben von Jan Dirk Müller. Bibliothek der Frühen Neuzeit, 1 (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1990), 385 585; here 406 26.

and sensitive issue, remains also for us as to how we ought to respond to representatives of minorities (religious, racial, sexual, etc.) and how we interact with them, whether we are strong enough to be integrative, inclusive, and tolerant. In other words, the history of Shylock continues to haunt us.

El-Sawy also pays a lot of attention to modern performances of *The Merchant* from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries and thereby urges us to recognize the timeless value of the questions raised in this play, and hence also of the topics of community and communication. She is a highly recognized Egyptian playwright on her own rights, and concludes her study with some reflections on her personal approach to Shylock in her play, *The Sun; All One and the Same*, from 2018. Thus, she builds a meaningful bridge from the past to the present and makes absolutely clear how much the former continues to impact the latter; the discourse on community and communication continues to concern us deeply until today.

This thus works well as a segue to the last contribution in which **Michael Vargas** brings to our attention the long history of Catalonia, or Catalunya, as a nation before nationhood and the ongoing struggle of the Catalans to regain their national independence. This fits well into our volume as a kind of a capstone piece because these political efforts are explicitly predicated on the notion of a community bonded together, among other reasons, by a shared language and culture, hence Catalan. In fact, as he outlines for us, Catalunya had established a firm political identity well before Castile, but in the course of time the conditions changed to the disadvantage of that political entity which was eventually swallowed up by the modern state of Spain. The anger and frustration by the local population about this development continues to be strong and very visible, without a clear resolution of this ambivalent situation in sight.

On the one hand, there are many historical facts and objects, texts and artworks that confirm a Catalan culture and identity in the Middle Ages. On the other, the political interest in an independent political state of Catalonia has led, particularly in the nineteenth century, to investigate and even recreate, if not invent, a medieval past to strengthen the argument for political and economic independence. While there are many historical and cultural facts supporting such claims going back to the Carolingian age, i.e., the ninth century, there are also many mythmaking strategies at play for the last two hundred years. The Principate of Catalonia was a strong, long-lasting political dynasty from the early Middle Ages onwards, and this well before the rise of modern Castile and then Spain. But even modern-day historians disagree over the specifics of the emergence of a truly independent entity, whether there was eventually an Aragonese kingdom or a Catalan-Aragonese confederation. The debate about this is ongoing, which powerfully underscores the significance of the Middle

Ages for current political issues of great importance for Europe at large. There are some interesting parallels with the U.S. state of Hawai'i where similar claims are made today by the native Hawaiians regarding their original kingdom taken away from them by the US annexation in 1898.[134]

However, in the course of time, Catalonia increasingly lost in influence and power, and the modern concerns to revive that national identity are based much on memory and dream imaginations of a glorious Catalan past, as best represented by the medievalization of Barcelona and other cities in the northeast of modern-day Spain since the nineteenth century. This is not to deny or belittle the current political movement, although the latter cannot fully claim historical authority, just as the native Hawaiians will probably not see their political dreams become fulfilled because the current economic, military, and financial situations are opposed to splintering off of small national entities, such as Bavaria (Germany), the Bretagne (France), or Wallonia (Belgium). Whatever the future will hold for Catalonia, there is firm evidence that the people there can draw from a specific Catalonian identity, culture, and language clearly documented in medieval and early modern sources, but then also in buildings, roads, art work, and literature. What this will entail for their political future, we cannot yet tell.

Relevance of Communication, Community, and Translation

The issue for us in this volume consists of probing the notions of community, communication, and translation in the Middle Ages and the early modern age, and the case of modern-day Catalonia firmly supports the centrality of those three aspects from a pre-modern and a modern perspective for the present in political terms. All of this can be explored further by examining of what medieval and early poets and other writers had to say about verbal exchanges, about conversation, communication, and related subject matters – again, see Daniel Pigg's contribution on William Langland's *Piers Plowman*.

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134 *Hawai'i: Return to Nationhood*, ed. Ulla Hasager and Jonathan Friedman, IWGIA Document, 75 (Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 1994); *Indigenous Rights in the Age of the UN Declaration*, ed. Elvira Pulitano (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); for a good summary of the history of this movement and the current situation, see https://en.wiki pedia.org/wiki/Hawaiian sovereignty movement (last accessed on Jan. 20, 2022).

Much recent research has strongly emphasized the great relevance of networking as a historical phenomenon. This certainly holds true as well for the observations offered in the present volume since communication establishes community, often via translation, and if we can accept that notion, we realize the fundamental importance of the Humanities in their past and and present perspectives once again.[135]

Final Reflections

It might be fitting for the conclusion of our reflections to refer, at least in passing, to one of the monumental texts from the early fourteenth century where the idea of a harmonious community exchanging ideas and learning from each other, Dante Alighieri's *Convivio* (ca. 1304–1307). As he explains in stanza seven of Book I/1: "Blessed indeed are those few who sit at the table where they feed on the bread of angels! And pitiful are those who share the food of sheep!" And then he comments further in the next stanza: "However, since every man

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135 Albrecht Classen, "The Past, the Present, and the Future: Memory and Literature as Gate ways from the Middle Ages to the Twenty First Century. With a focus on Boethius's *De Consola tione Philosophiae* and Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*," *New Literaria: An International Jour nal of Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities* 3.1 (2022); online at: https://newliteraria.com/ articles/v03i1/v03i1 01.pdf (last accessed on April 1, 2022); as to networking, see, for instance, Gisela Drossbach, *Zentrum und Netzwerk: kirchliche Kommunikationen und Raumstrukturen im Mittelalter.* Scrinium Friburgense, 22 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008); cf. also the contributions to *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources and Artefacts*, ed. Richard Corradini, Maximilian Diesenberger, and Helmut Reimitz. The Trans formation of the Roman World, 5 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003); *Relations of Power: Women's Networks in the Middle Ages*, ed. Emma O. Bérat, Rebecca Hardie, and Irina Dumitrescu. Studien zu Macht und Herrschaft, 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021); or see Donat Wehner, *Artefakt Netzwerke im östlichen Mitteleuropa an der Schwelle zum hohen Mittelalter: zur Quanti fizierung, Visualisierung und Beschaffenheit überregionaler Kommunikations und Austauschbezie hungen.* Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, 329 (Bonn: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 2019). It is even possible to talk about networking between Christians and Jews; see *Intricate Interfaith Networks in the Middle Ages: Quotidian Jewish Christian Contacts*, ed. Efrayim Shoham Shțainer. Studies in the History of Daily Life (800 1600), 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016). Most recently, I published an article highlighting the universal relevance of medieval lit erature for our world: "Humanism and Universal Values European Medieval Literary Discourse: Freidank's *Bescheidenheit* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*," *The Routledge Companion to Humanism and Literature*, ed. Michael Bryson. Routledge Literature Companions (New York and London: Routledge, 2022), 191 208. See also my most recent book, *Wisdom from the Euro pean Middle Ages: Literary and Didactic Perspectives. A Study, Anthology, and Commentary* (Ber lin: Peter Lang, 2022).

is by nature a friend of every other man, and every friend is grieved by a deficiency in the one he loves, those who are fed at such an exalted table do not lack compassion towards those whom they see wandering around in animal pastures feeding on grass and acorns."[136] It is a teaching forum, and both Dante and his audience are identified as students, each learning from their respective teacher, as he says in stanza 12: "This banquet, which demands that bread, has food of such quality that I have no intention of seeing it served in vain. So let no one take a seat who is incapacitated from eating properly because he lacks teeth or tongue or palate, nor anyone given to vice, for his stomach is full of poisonous fluids incompatible with my food which would prevent him keeping it down."

Human progress is only possible in a community of like-minded individuals who know how to communicate with each other well, pay respect to the others, and collaborate to solve issues – of course, they do not have to agree at all; controversy is one of the major engines in intellectual life. Fittingly, Dante comments in *Convivio* I–17: "For what is required of us in our speaking and acting varies from one stage of life to another, because certain ways of behaving that are appropriate and laudable at one stage rank as demeaning and blameworthy at another, as I shall explain in detail below. In that earlier work my voice is that of someone just entering on his maturity; in this later one it is that of someone well advanced in that stage." Much would have to be added here, but these quotes must suffice for now to outline the many directions we could pursue from here with these theoretical concepts in mind pertaining to communication in the pre-modern world.

We can be certain that much of world literature has played an enormous role in the further development of culture, ethics, the laws, religion, morality, and sociability, and this along with the visual arts, music, architecture, philosophy, and theology. To do justice to this observation, we would have to consider, for instance, the amazing contributions by the Middle High German poet The Stricker (ca. 1220–ca. 1240), by the many authors of the Old French *fabliaux*, by Giovanni

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136 Dante, *Convivio: A Dual Language Critical Edition*. Translation, intro., and notes by Andrew Frisardi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); for an excellent online English translation by Christopher Ryan (from which I have quoted (Saratoga, CA: ANMA Libri, 1989), see http://www.danteonline.it/english/opere.asp?idope=2&idlang=UK (last accessed on Jan. 25, 2022). For a fascinating recent study comparing Dante's *Convivio* with the works by the astronomer Johannes Kepler (1571 1630), such as his *Mysterium Cosmographicum* (*The Cosmographic Mystery*, 1596) and especially his *Astronomia Nova* (1609), see Laetitia Rimpau, *Visionen neuer Wissenschaft: Zur dialogischen Dichtung von Dante Alighieri und Johannes Kepler*. Studien zu Literatur und Erkenntnis, 19 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2021), esp. 132 43 and 285 332, et passim.

Boccaccio (*Decameron*, ca. 1350), by Geoffrey Chaucer (*Canterbury Tales*, ca. 1400), by Heinrich Kaufringer (*mæren*, ca. 1400), by Franco Sacchetti (*Novelle*, ca. 1400), by Poggio Bracciolini (*Facetiae*, ca. 1438–52), by Johannes Pauli (*Ernst und Schimpf*, 1522), or by Marguerite de Navarre (*Heptaméron*, 1558/1559). Communication finds some of its best expressions in literary works of many different genres, and we can safely conclude that the pre-modern world was obviously deeply concerned with coming to terms with this issue, so fundamental for all of human existence (until today).[137]

Studying literary, philosophical, or theological examples from the Middle Ages and beyond is not an antiquated approach; instead, it situates us into a human laboratory where timeless issues for people throughout the ages can be examined carefully through a historical lens; and the outcome promises to illuminate us today. Remarkably, however, we should not forget the close connection between literature and legal studies, between narratives and law books. Good rulers, kings, or even dictators, not to speak of modern presidents or prime ministers, have always been expected to communicate clearly with their people and to provide stable, universally accepted judicial frameworks.

A king such as famous Castilian King Alfonso X, the Learned King (1252–1284), might be regarded today as one of the greatest communicators of his time not only because of some of his literary works – see his famous Galician *Cantigas de Santa Maria* – but especially because he issued major law books such as the *Fuero Real* and particularly his *Siete Partidas* through which the lives of all of his subjects were fundamentally determined, protected, and promoted.[138] Alfonso as a lawmaker strongly worked toward the maintenance and further development of his kingdom of Castile, and communicated his ideals unmistakably and unequivocally with his subjects. As his famous book of games, the *Libros del ajedrez, dados y tablas* (1283) illustrates, under the right circumstances, communication could be established in a constructive, playful, and mu-

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137 As to the universal relevance of narration in all human interactions, certainly a form of communication, an art which makes us truly human, see now Hermann Bausinger in his post humously published book *Vom Erzählen: Poesie des Alltags* (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 2022).
138 Joseph F. O'Callaghan. *Alfonso X, The Justinian of his Age: Law and Justice in Thirteenth Cen tury Castile* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2019); see also the review by Con nie Scarborough, forthcoming in *Mediaevistik* 35. See also Fidel Fajardo Acosta, "The King is Dead, Long Live the Game: Alfonso X, el Sabio, and the *Libro de açedrex, dados e tablas*," *eHu manista* 31 (2015): 489 523.

tually respectful way between old and young, men and women, blacks and whites, Jews and Muslims, Christians and Jews, Arabs and Blacks, etc.[139]

We could, of course, also point out many other major lawbooks, such as Eike von Repgow's *Sachsenspiegel* (from ca. 1235, copied or translated many times thereafter), or the *Schwabenspiegel* (ca. 1275), and then turn to the vast field of legal history at large.[140] This would, however, not change our understanding of the central operations of communities in the pre-modern world, which relied very much on communication and translation, both oral and written, and strove hard to find effective *modi operandi* in legal, economic, political, religious, and social terms to create an agreed-upon concept of their society. After all, every organization, if functioning at all, is predicated on clear communication and solid translation, a universal insight that applies to the Middle Ages and the early modern age as much as to our own world.

The Icelandic *Njál's Saga*, recorded in writing sometime during the early thirteenth century but based on a much older oral version (or versions), illustrates powerfully how much the protagonist struggles throughout his life to give counsel, to hold court, to formulate and institute laws and a legal system, which altogether contributes to the further growth of Icelandic society. Although he and his entire family is brutally murdered in a fire at the end, the message of the

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139 Alfonso X, *Libros del ajedrez* (see note 66). On fol. 22r, for instance, we see a group of noble (?) black chess players who are entertained by a (female?) musician; on fol. 25v, two representatives of monastic orders debate certain moves on the board; on fol. 33v, two male adult men instruct two boys how to play chess; on fol. 40r, a noble lady debates with a noble courtier about a chess figure, which she holds in her right hand, on fol. 41r, two Arabic looking men exchange their ideas about the chess game, the one on the right holding a book in his right hand which might contain instructions about the game itself, just as on fol. 45v where the judge on the right has placed a manuscript with Arabic letters on his lap, and on fol. 63r two Oriental looking men discuss with each other over the development of the game, considering a particular setting or problem, etc. Chess is thus described here as a playful but essential medium for communication among equal minded individuals who share the same interest and culture, education and passion, and this obviously in utter disregard of their different religious backgrounds.

140 *The Saxon Mirror: A* Sachsenspiegel *of the Fourteenth Century*, trans. Maria Dobozy. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Heiner Lück, *Der Sachsenspiegel: Das berühmteste deutsche Rechtsbuch des Mittelalters* (Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider Verlag/Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2017). See also Madeline H. Caviness and Charles G. Nelson, *Women and Jews in the Sachsenspiegel Picture Books* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018). For a recent study correlating law and literature, see now Arvind Thomas, *Piers Plowman and the Reinvention of Church Law in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019).

Fig. 1: Alfonso X El Sabio, *Libros del ajedrez, dados y tablas*, fol. 10r: two Arabic men engaged in a debate about, as we may assume, a chess problem. The man on the left, not wearing a headgear, holds a red shield with Arabic letters; the man on the right, maybe the judge, has as his attribute a red round shield, maybe with astronomical symbols. As usual, the two persons are deeply involved in a conversation, looking at each other with great intent, gesturing with their hands to support their own arguments.

anonymous poet is more than clear: every society needs law and order, and both aspects are predicated on communication.[141]

And a Final Example: Ulrich Bonerius

Let me conclude this study with one more literary example, which not only confirms specifically the central thesis of this volume in its many different facets, but opens further perspectives. In one of the last narratives contained in the book of fables, *Der Edelstein* (ca. 1350; The Gemstone), composed by the Bernese Dominican poet Ulrich Bonerius (Boner), we are given a powerful illustration of the continuous struggle people have to go through to establish good communication and hence a good community. A priest thoroughly trained in necromancy (but here identified as white magic) wants to test his friend as to his honor and trustworthiness, obviously because he sense already his weakness in both regards.[142] Although the friend assures him that he would always be there to help the other and share with him any of his new-found riches, he then miserably fails the test.

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141 *Njal's Saga*, trans. with intro. and notes by Robert Cook (London: Penguin, 1997); see also an older but still trustworthy English trans. online at https://www.sagadb.org/brennu njals saga.en (last accessed on Feb. 13, 2022). As I have argued earlier, the aspect of friendship as out lined here represents already the first and crucial step toward a functioning community. Al brecht Classen, "Friends and Friendship in Heroic Epics: With a Focus on *Beowulf*, *Chanson de Roland*, the *Nibelungenlied*, and *Njal's Saga*," *Neohelicon* 38.1 (2011): 121 39. For other funda mental perspectives, though basically not addressing communication, see *A Companion to Old Norse Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk. Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture (2005; Malden, MA, Oxford, and Carlton, Victoria, Australia: Blackwell, 2007). But see Jesse L. Byock, *Medieval Iceland: Society, Sagas, and Power* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, CA, and London: University of California Press, 1988), 71 76; Andrew Hamer, *Njáls saga and Its Christian Background: A Study of Narrative Method*. Mediaevalia Groningana, New Series, 20 (Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2014).

142 There is much research on pre modern magic, but for our purposes, see especially Benedek Láng, *Unlocked Books. Manuscripts of Leaned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe*. The Magic in History Series (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008); Jennifer M. Correy, *Perceptions of Magic in Medieval Spanish Literature* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2005); Helmut Birkhan, *Magie im Mittelalter* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2010); Sophie Page, *Magic in the Cloister: Pious Motives, Illicit Interests, and Occult Approaches to the Medieval Universe*. Magic in History (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2013); *Magic and Magicians in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Time: The Occult in Pre Modern Sciences, Medicine, Literature, Religion, and Astrology*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 20 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2017); Michael D. Bailey, *Magic: The Basics* (London: Routledge, 2018).

The priest conjures a scenario in which people arrive and announce that the friend has been appointed as the new king of Cyprus. But when the priest then appears before his throne and asks for some generosity, the friend does not recognize him and refuses to share any of his wealth. The necromancer then destroys the illusion, which leaves the friend behind in great confusion and disappointment, which provides the priest with the opportunity to teach him the decisive lesson. There is no constancy or real loyalty in the world because the material dimension is a false screen not to be trusted – as Boethius had already taught in his famous *De consolatione philosophiae* (ca. 524). Fortune will never stay constant, so after wealth comes poverty, and after fame comes foolishness and contempt. By contrast, friendship, i.e., honest community, constitutes one of the highest values, but power and fame tend to destroy this ethical bond. The world itself is not to be trusted, it is a fake mask, whereas true loyalty rests on the inside. The priest indicates thus how much reliable communication skills help to establish friendship, i.e., community, and only those who know how to translate the true values in this world for the community they are living in will be exempt from the deceptiveness of the material dimension.[143]

As we can thus realize, the entire discussion of communication, community, and translation ultimately leads to profound insights into the nature of human life, ethics, morality, and spiritually, and all that embraced by philosophical and theological reflections.All efforts by human beings to comprehend at least a fraction of the world surrounding us in material and metaphysical terms, whether by means of science or magic, of the arts or travel, constitute a form of communication. In this regard, scientific formulas, magical rituals, religious prayers, books of magic, the liturgy, dance, paintings, and literary texts represent means to establish connections both on the horizontal (human) and the vertical level (spiritual).[144]

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143 Ulrich Boner, *Der Edelstein: Eine mittelalterliche Fabelsammlung. Zweisprachige Ausgabe Mittelhochdeutsch Neuhochdeutsch*, ed. and trans. Manfred Stange (Ubstadt Weiher, Heidel berg, et al.: verlag regionalkultur, 2016), 298 303; *The Fables of Ulrich Bonerius* (see note 117), fable no. 94; in my translation 225 27. The relevant and most recent research literature on Bone rius can be found in both editions/translations.

144 Albrecht Classen, "Zaubersprüche, Beschwörungen und andere Formen des 'Aberglau bens'. Kulturhistorische Betrachtungen für den Literatur und Sprachunterricht," *Unterricht spraxis* 29.2 (1996): 231 39. Christoph Daxelmüller, *Zauberpraktiken: die Ideengeschichte der Magie* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 2005); Wolfgang Ernst, *Beschwörungen und Segen: Angewandte Psy chotherapie im Mittelalter* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2011); id., *Gehirn und Zauberspruch: Archaische und mittelalterliche psychoperformative Heilspruchtexte und ihre natür lichen Wirkkomponenten: Eine interdisziplinäre* Studie (Frankfurt a. M., Bern, et al.: Peter Lang, 2013). See also the contribution to this volume by Christa A. Tuczay and Thomas Ballhausen.

Fig. 2: Fable 94, Codex Pal. germ. 794, fol. 79r © Heidelberg University Library, 2020.

There is no doubt in my mind that medievalists and early modernists have much to contribute to the critical study of communication, community, and translation, both from a historical and a contemporary perspective. The following contributions provide many different perspectives, which are certainly not exhaustive, but hopefully as productive as possible.[145]

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145 I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Emerita, Marilyn L. Sandidge, Westfield State University, MA, my intrepid co editor of our book series, for her valuable comments on this in troduction at various stages. My good friend and colleague Fidel Fajardo Acosta, Creighton Uni versity, Omaha, NE, also offered many very appreciated corrections and suggestions. Thanks also go to Prof. Thomas Willard, University of Arizona, for his valuable comments at various stages of this volume. Each contribution to this volume was reviewed both by myself and peers and then revised numerous times, and after everything was done, I returned to each piece one more time for the purpose of writing up my summaries. At that point I often asked the authors for addition

al work on their pieces, which led to yet more revisions. The end results confirm, I believe, that all those efforts were worth it, both for the authors and myself. I am particularly pleased to have included in this volume a number of younger researchers from outside of the European frame work. For the first time, a strong contingent of upcoming Egyptian scholars offers a solid body of new perspectives. I am very proud of their accomplishments and salute their efforts to meet the high scholarly standards expected from our book series and the publisher, which was at times rather difficult considering their individual academic situations or the availability (or lack) of solid research libraries. However, we have entered a modern world, and digital research allows us increasingly to gain access to much of the latest publications globally.

Asmaa Ahmed Youssef Moawad

Ways of Communication and Mis/communication in Abū Tammām's "Ode on the Conquest of Amorium" (838 C.E.)

Abstract: Human community is defined as a set of social units with common values, customs, religious affiliation, and cultural identity; it presents a transforming entity that moves from one stage to another, and gradually develops from a primitive society to a civilized one. Each community has its own identity, which is shaped by language, religion, culture, and history. Through these aspects, people are able to communicate or they miscommunicate within their community or with other communities. This chapter discusses various ways of communication and mis/communication within the Arabic Islamic community during the Abbasid period (785–847 C.E.). Abū Tammām's "Ode on the Conquest of Amorium" (838 C.E.) introduces the historical story of Muslims' conquest of Amorium and the defeat of the Byzantines. The poet uses multiple narrative and dialogic strategies to communicate with people of his community. He also uses elements of praise, satire, and enthusiasm, presenting types of friendship and enmity between the Arabs and the Byzantines during the ninth century C.E. In so doing, Abū Tammām's poem intended to stir people's shared enthusiastic religious and nationalistic feelings of belonging to their Abbasid community. In this article, I will illustrate how the poem's form and content introduce commonly understood ways of communication and mis/communication within the Arabic Islamic community.

Keywords: communication, community, Abū Tammām, *Ode on the Conquest of Amorium,* nationality, social awareness, historical narrative poem, conversation, satire, praise, revenge, superstition

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Introduction

Narration is a communicative act, and every culture has its own commonly known stories which have the power to heal and direct people, teach cultural values, maintain and advance common social and moral principles, preserve cultural identities, and build communities.[1] The responsibility of the storyteller/ poet is to pass on his or her story and words that would inspire a community's future leaders and peoples. Poets use culturally specific narrative strategies, as for example in epics, to create stories wherein cultural values and beliefs are received, preserved, and transmitted from one generation to another. In "Ode on the Conquest of Amorium,"[2] Abū Tammām narrates the story of the conquest of Amorium, reflecting both an Islamic and Arabic point of view. He celebrated the victory by the Muslims, realized in their conquering of the city of Amorium, the most important stronghold of the Byzantine state, which established the Muslims' presence in Asia Minor.

The Amorium conquest settled a major conflict between the Abbasid Caliphate and the Byzantine Empire (838 C.E.). It was one of the most important military victories in the long history of the Arab-Byzantine Wars. The Abbasid army was personally led by the Caliph Al-Mu'tasim Billah, who ruled between 833 C.E.– 842 C.E., and the Byzantine army by Theophilus Michael (829 C.E.– 842 C.E.).[3] The poet establishes a unified sequence of events through multiple dialogic elements: shared conversations, common cultural images, opposing cultural memories, and moments of cultural criticism. This dialogic narrative strategy is also used to describe the nature of the battle and to establish the common moral values of each community – affirming the investment of both in the virtues of courage, generosity, and nobility. By reciting the story, the cultural standards and social conventions of both the Arabic and Islamic communities are preserved for the next generations. The poet also composed this ode to defend his country by means of his words, to develop a sense of common purposes within the Arab army, and to praise the Caliph for his heroic deeds. He accompanied the Caliph Al-Mu'tasim on many of his conquests and wrote poems for him.

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1 Mary Baldasaro, Nancy Maldonado, and Beate Baltes, "Storytelling to Teach Cultural Awareness: The Right Story at the Right Time," *Learning Landscapes Journal* 7.2 (2014): 219 32; online at: https://doi.org/10.36510/learnland.v7i2.661(last accessed on Jan. 17, 2022).
2 See the translation of the poem in *Abu Tammam and the Poetics of the Abbasid Age*, ed. and trans. Suzanne Stetkevych (New York: E. J. Brill, 1991), 188 97.
3 M. Canard, "Ammūriya," *The Encyclopedia of Islam*. New Edition, 1 (Leiden and New York: Brill Academic Publishers, 1986), 449.

The Purpose of Dialogic Panegyric Poem

Despite this dialogic approach to the narrative mode, Abū Tammām also worked within a specific tradition that Arabic poets used to compose panegyric poems, *madih*, for Caliphs to earn their patronage who in return rewarded them with gifts and money.[4] This patronage is shown in the case of Caliph Al-Amin, Al-Mu'-tasim's brother, who gave the poet Abdallah El-Teimi two thousand dirhams, and the Caliph Al-Rashied who rewarded the poet Al-Asmaei with thousands.[5] This system reinforced and furthered the development of the tradition of praise poetry, which served very specific purposes within the cultures of that time.

In fact, praise poetry is a highly significant part of the literary tradition of Arabic culture; it conserves and transmits social consciousness while describing political and social contexts that circulate around the person being praised. It is also a form of communication and a bridge not only for understanding interpersonal relationships, but also allowing the values of an individual and community to be mutually reinforcing. In this way, exposure to praise poetry enables people to learn to value their positions as individuals and within communities that have distinctive moral codes and value systems. To that end, Abū Tammām

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4 Shawqi Daif, *History of Arabic Literature*, 8th ed. (1960; Cairo: Dar Al Ma'rf, 2018), 45. At that time, the Abbasid community was divided into two parts: first, there was the ruling class, Ca liphs, princes, and dignitaries, and the rest of the people were working for the rich class that had all the means of comfort, pleasure, and wealth. Daif mentions that here was no social jus tice, draining the people, without being aware for the benefit of the ruling class. There was a gap between the two classes where the first lacked communication with the needs and aspirations of the second. Those circumstances gave way to the spread of the life of pleasure and entertain ment in the Abbasid community. Consequently, extravagance and expenses increased in the community of the rich, and were among other reasons that led to economic inflation in the late stage of the Abbasid era. See Abdel Rahman Ibn Khaldun, *History of Ibn Khaldun*, ed. Abu So haib Al Keramy (1378; Al Riyad: International Ideas Home, 2004), 65 73.

5 Daif, *History of Arabic Literature* (see note 4), 55. The famous poets followed the governing elites and the ruling class; they had a life of luxury, receiving financial rewards and having re lationships with Caliphs' concubines, which means slave women (*gawari* or *harem* in the Arabic language). The expansion of the Islamic Abbasid state led to the boom in trade with other na tions. One of the most important commercial and communal activities was buying and selling slaves, who were from different cultures and countries, from slave traders. The slave trade spread greatly in Iran, Khorasan, and the Byzantine Empire. Arabs took slaves from the captive foreign ers of wars, and bought them from slave traders due to the good trade communication with them; see also Albrecht Classen, *Freedom, Imprisonment, and Slavery in the Pre Modern World: Cultural Historical, Social Literary, and Theoretical Reflections*. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 25 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2021), 4 19; online at: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110731798 (last accessed on April 12, 2022).

praises Al Mu'tasim's best characteristics, such as his courage, generosity, fairness, and chivalry. He appreciates the heroic and divinely appointed Caliph, the "Commander of the faithful" (25), describing this leader with appropriately fertile images, which present him as a role model. The Caliph is a man of justice as he does not attack any country unjustly, one "[w]ho never assaults a people or goes forth against a land" (39). Abu Tammām's praise also expresses those memorable deeds and accomplishments that strengthen the Caliph's honor, preserve the best values of his Islamic community, and encourage the Muslims to face the Byzantines with bravery and fortitude. Thus, the latter would not advance against Arabs without fear of their power. The force of the Byzantine army was approximately 40.000 in the field army and 30.000 in Amorium while the Muslims' army consisted of 80.000 men.[6] In short, the poem introduces communicative experiences and social responses that shape the people's shared identity and constitute collective memories for their Arabic culture. It establishes communal memory and reinforces the cultural significance of important life events.

The Communicative Function of Narrative Dialogue

In addition to his recounting of historical events, Abū Tammām uses the technique of conversation, that is, dialogue, to communicate with the characters of the poem, further developing his story. The poem has a blank-verse style in which a line may be divided into two parts to maintain the rhythm. This storytelling strategy gives the appearance of a conversation (i. e., dialogue) that is inserted into the structure of the poem. Through his dialogic and metrical approach, the poet comments on the events, addressing the Caliph, the Byzantium ruler, and the Byzantine and Muslim armies. The poet introduces events of the past through indirect or implicit conversations, which have no real or obvious speakers nor inverted quotations. These monologues or internal conversations deliver the characters' thoughts, beliefs, and behaviors, yet they do not require an overt exchange of speech or external participation.

> 37. Directed by one relying (Mu'tasim) on God,
> avenging for God,
> Striving and yearning toward God...

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6 Warren T. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival 780 842* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988), 297 98.

> 48. You replied with the sword, penetrating
>   To reply without the sword would have been no reply
> 68. You have beheld the greater ease and have perceived
>   That it is not attained but by the bridge of toil" (169, 37 68).

The line, "you replied with the sword" (48) highlights Al-Mu'tasim's courage and power. The gerund, "penetrating" (48) shows the Caliph's powerful character that exemplifies the Islamic identity that seeks God's help to preserve the culture's best features. He does not seek to conquer for himself, but for the sake of God and Islam. Al-Mu'tasim represents God's Caliph on earth, who stands as a defender of the Islamic religion against the infidels, the Byzantines.

The historian Shawqi Daif mentions that the Abbasid Caliphs were regarded as the Sultans of God on His land.[7] Daif's discussion establishes how rank-and file citizens saw them as the owners of the divine right to rule. Multiple communities of Arabs communicated with and supported their rulers, especially in wars against other nations. People were directed on a religious basis to support the Caliph. Their religious faith, sense of nationality, and personal and communal feelings of belonging to their nation confirm their love for and willingness to die for their ruler.[8]

In external conflicts with other empires or nations, the Abbasid community gathered around its Caliph to defend its land and religion. Communal or societal control establishes human gathering and communication. A nation can be defined as "an imagined political community– and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."[9] While members of the same community may not know each other due to the vastness of their nation, they owe loyalty to their state, history, language, religion, ruler, and land. In "Ode on the Conquest of Amorium," people surround their Caliph, who demonstrates his authority through his national and religious voice and heroic actions. The poet asserts Al-Mu'tasim's legitimacy of divine appointment, "For the root of Religion, honor, and Islam, God rewards you!" (196, 67). The poet's prayer for the Caliph reflects Muslims' loyalty to religion, leaving behind the less culturally unified tribal character of the pre-Islamic period.

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7 Daif, *History of Arabic Literature* (see note 4), 21 23.

8 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Community: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991), 29 86.

9 Anderson, *Imagined Community* (see note 8), 6.

National Poetic Enthusiasm and Struggle

In historical terms, the wars between Muslims and Byzantines affected the Islamic community greatly, and led to the emergence of a nationalistic strain of poetry, *hamash*, that spread the patriotic spirit among people, and pushed the community to rally around its ruler in defense of Arab lands and the Islamic religion. As a result, the Islamic nation managed to unite all its members through a distinctive language, religion, place, and ideology. Through the vehicle of praise poetry, the Islamic nation became a powerful, cooperative, and concurrent community. According to Katie E. Anderson, commonly remembered historical events and a unified religious faith form people's enthusiastic spirit for their nation.[10] In "Ode on the Conquest of Amorium," Muslims show strong enthusiasm to fight the idolaters for the sake of realizing their own distinctive cultural ethos.

> 70. Then the closest lineage connects the days of
> [the Battle of] Badr to your victorious days.
> 71. They have left the faces of the Banu al Asfar [Byzantines] jaundiced,
> the Arab's faces burnished with triumph. (196, 70 71)

In his own strain of praise poetry, Abū Tammām reminds Muslims of their tremendous triumph in the conquest of Badr (624 C.E.), in which three hundred Muslims faced and conquered one thousand idolaters.[11] The metaphor in "your victorious days" (70) affirms the culturally unifying significance of the Muslims' victory. The poet stirs his people's religious and patriotic feelings, using a prolonged feminine metaphor to describe the destroyed city of Amorium and masculine imagery for the conquering soldiers and their actions. The sensual imagery of the virgin in "A virgin whom the hand of fate had not deflowered"

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10 Katie Elson Anderson, "Storytelling," *21st Century Anthropology: A Reference Handbook,* ed. H. James Birx (Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 2011), 279.
11 Stetkevych, ed. and trans., *Abu Tammam and the Poetics of the Abbasid Age* (see note 2), 211. The conquest of Badr is the first battle between the Muslims against the polytheists of Quraysh. It happened at a place called Badr between Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia. The story of the conquest is mentioned in the Qur'ān (see "Al Omran," *The Holy Qur'an: Text, Translation and Commentary,* trans. Abdullah Yusuf Ali (Dearborn, MI: The Islamic Center, 1978), 2:123 125. The Muslims' army was led by prophet Mohammed, and the Quraish and its Arab allies by Amr bin Hisham al Makhzumi al Qurashi. The number of polytheists reached 1,000 fighters, compared to 313 fighters from the Muslims. The decisive victory was important because it raised the Muslims' morale, increased their faith, strengthened their fame, and shook the entity of their enemies (see Tariq Ramadan, *In the Footsteps of the Prophet* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2007], 103).

(23) and "she was the cream of the ages" (19) connotes the vulnerability and exquisiteness of the city. The sense of a metaphorical retaliation of the feminine city is derived from the literal rape of female inhabitants by the Byzantine invader. A rhetorical question, posed as "[h]ow many a heroic horseman lay between her walls, His forelocks reddened by hot flowing blood!" (23), reflects the poet's pride in the conquest of Amorium by the Muslims army and in gaining its rich land. This sense of pride is further illustrated by lush imagery of flowering herbage and honeyed milk: "O Battle-Day of Amorium! Desires went forth from you yielding milk abundant, honeyed." (189, 13).

These metaphorical images revitalize the Muslims' zeal to restore their lost territories. In this way, praise poetry intertwined with the construct of struggle, *jihad*, which likewise urged people to expand the territory of their Islamic nation.[12] Thus, praise poetry speaks to the political and religious importance of defending and expanding their territories. Poets incited *jihad*, described the battles that Arabic heroes fought, and praised them. On the whole, Abū Tammām linked the poetry of praise with stark images of struggle and war, introducing to Arabic literature a newly developed model of authentic praise poetry. Defined by its unifying cultural message and nationalistic themes, praise poetry thus became an important and efficient tool for people's communication in the Abbasid community.

The (Mis)Communicative Function of Satire

Beyond crafting a category of poetry defined by its warlike imagery and message of cultural unity, Arabic poets likewise invoked the concept of satire to highlight people's behaviors and relationships in the Abbasid community and to under-

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12 *Jihad* or struggle is one of the best acts of worship and obedience to God according to the Muslim faith; it has military and nonmilitary connotations. It may refer to one's struggle against his/her inner evils, or strive for defensive war or external warfare against unbelievers. It also means personal or social conformity with God, such as developing moral efforts for the benefit of the Muslim community (see Rudolph Peters, David Cook, "Jihād," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Islam and Politics*, ed. Emad El Din Shahin (*Oxford: Oxford* University Press, 2014), online at: https// doi:10.1093/acref:oiso/9780199739356.001.0001 (last accessed on April 12, 2022). In recent decades, the term has gained aggressive, hostile connotations because of its use by Islamic ex tremists and terrorists, *mujahideen*. Their terrifying attitude, however, is rejected by the majority of Muslims because it is against Islamic teachings; see David Cook, "Radical Islam and Contem porary Jihad Theory," *Understanding Jihad*, 2nd ed. (2005; Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2015), 93 127. As for the battle of Amorium, it was made into a holy war waged on behalf of Islam as a religious and national duty to defend and to expand it further.

score its sense of communal identity. Satire, *hijaa*, was a famous literary weapon that expresses hatred and indignation against a certain individual or a tribe.[13] Poets wrote satirical poems to point out cultural shortcomings, like when the poet Daabil Al-Khoza'e satirized the Caliphs Al-Rashid and Al-Ma'mun.[14]

These satirical poems became an oral medium for mis/communication, since they enhanced the divisions between the members of the society and the caliphs mentioned in the poems. Satire also developed greatly in the Abbasid community because of the existence of competition between poets, as when the poet Jarir Al-Tamimi satirized his rival Hamam Al-Tamimi, known by his nickname Al-Farazdq, for forty years.[15] People were divided in their support of each poet until Al-Farazdq's death. Through the vehicle of satire, constructive communication ultimately emerged between these opposing groups of people as voiced by their chosen poets. In addition, satirical poetry played an important role in harassing and attacking the enemies of external Islamic conquests with nations like Romans or Persians and also figured in internal conflicts and revolutions inside the Abbasid state against the Caliphs.

Satire offered a means of communication that prompted people to defend their enemies inside and out. In "Ode on the Conquest of Amorium," Abū Tammām attacked the coward Byzantine ruler Theophilus, and exposed his lack of chivalry, suggesting that since he cared only about himself, he also left his people and soldiers in fire and destruction. The poet shows his deficiencies in marking that

> 50. When Theophilus beheld war with his own eyes,
> And the word war is taken from plunder,
> 51. He tried with money to divert war's course,
> But the sea, its currents and billowing waves, overwhelmed him. (193, 50 51)

The poet described him as an ostrich with his head buried in the stand, a *jahili* symbol of fear and speed, as when "an ostrich flees" (58). This unflattering image expressed his despicable escape, while leaving his soldiers in the field of war. With his subsequent capture Theophilus tried to bribe the Muslim army commanders to let him go, but even in this desperate measure he failed:

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13 Muhammad M. Hussain, *Satire and Satirists* (Cairo: Literature Library, 1947), 3.

14 Hussain, *Satire and Satirists* (see note 13), 4.

15 Abu Al Frag Al Asfhani, *Book of Songs* 8, ed. Mohammed Abu Al Fadl Ibrahim (1952; Cairo: Egyptian General Institution of Books, 1994), 14 228.

55. Theophilus turned his back, his tongue bridled
By the Khatti spear, while below, his innards were in uproar.
56. Death he issued to his intimates,
And spurred on flight, the fleetest of his steeds
57. entrusting himself to the heights, he surveyed the field,
Nimble from fear, not spry from joy.
58. If he fled the heat of war as an ostrich flees,
It was because you fed its flames with fuel aplenty. (55 58)

Unlike the Caliph, the Byzantine ruler is projected as cowardly and tyrannical. The verb "issued" (56), a term suggestive not of battlefield fierceness but rather bureaucratic indifference, reflects his ultimate fear from Al-Mu'tasim's army. The inversion in "Death he issued to his intimates" (56) emphasizes the fact that Theophilus, in his cowardly retreat, also spreads horror and death among his soldiers. The paradox between "joy" and "fear" (57) suggests the opposing personal qualities of the two rulers. While the poet addresses Al-Mu'tasim as dominant, fair, and a defender of religion, he mocks Theophilus first as a functionary and then a traitor and fugitive. The contradiction of language leads to mis/communicative and incompatible relations between the opposing rulers. In this case, the poet's use of the satiric mode to confirm Theophilius's mis/communicative relationship with his people and with Arabs. Instead, the war between Muslims and Byzantines is marked by mis/communication between them, as has always been the case with religious and military conflicts. These opposing sides have contrasting ideologies, religions, cultures, languages, histories, and identities. Through the vehicle of satire, Abū Tammām reinforces these differing systems of cultural values.

Historians of the period have established that with the spread of struggles and conspiracies in the Abbasid community, tensions rose among different elements of the population.[16] Among the many forms of hostility, such as reciting poems of satire and revenge, many factors led to the disintegration of bonds between the members of the society. For example, Arabs had to protect themselves from bigger or more powerful tribes who could loot, molest, or colonize them. As a result, the act of revenge, *tha'r*, became an urgent action for survival in that community. Revenge for the sake of establishing a supreme religion was also among the main reasons for the war between Muslims and other nations, such as the Persians and Byzantines.[17] Specifically, in "Ode on the Conquest

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16 Ahmed Amin, *Islam Dawn* (Cairo: Hendawy Institution, 2012), 88.
17 The poet here sheds light on the Qu'rānic verse, "In vengeance, there is life for you" (see "Al Omran," 2, *The Holy Qur'an*), 179. People must take revenge in certain cases; otherwise, the society

of Amorium," the desire for revenge for the mistreated Muslim women was a strong motive to ignite the war between the Muslims and Byzantines. The poet uses this point to confirm the growing good will in the relationship between the ruler and his people. When Al-Mu'tasim heard one woman's shouting, her cry for "[h]elp, O Mu'tasim!" (*waa Mu'tasimaah*) (194, 181), he immediately prepared his army and went to save her and avenge the honor of Arabs and Islam.[18] Nevertheless, there were already various conflicts between the Arabs and Byzantines, as both cultures felt the strong need to expand their empires:

> 46. To the Zibatrian cry you replied,
> Pouring out a cup of drowsiness and the sweet saliva of loving wives. (46)

The poet's use of the gerund, "pouring" (46) serves to confirm the Caliph's necessary and immediate response to the woman's cry. The Muslim soldiers made the sons of the Byzantines, Banu al-Asfar, afraid and horrified. While their Byzantine faces become yellow, "jaundiced" (196, 72), drained of blood, the Muslims' faces glow with victory. This imagery reflects Muslims' power and authority, and confirms the poet's project in composing poetry that praises their decisiveness in defending their culture when it is stressed and under threat from invaders. The philosophy of vengeance and hatred for the enemies is also an equal complement with the Arabs' ultimate respect and generosity for their friends and cultural allies.[19] Thus, the oppressors become very careful to respect these recognized cultural characteristics that, in their strong and collective expression, guarantee revenge for any injustice, just as they mandate hospitality for friendly treaties or mutual agreements for suspension of hostilities.

Communal Social Phenomena

Furthermore, Abū Tammām introduces certain communal social phenomena, like shared superstition and astrological interpretations, which have influenced the religious, political, and economic aspects of the Abbasid Islamic community.

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will be in a mess. When God legislated punishment, He did not legislate it to take place, but rather to prevent it. When people take revenge on the murderer, they protect the rest of the society from having a murderer, who does not respect the lives of others. In this way, the society protects this anarchist from himself because he will think a thousand times before he commits a crime.

18 Stetkevych, ed. and trans., *Abu Tammam and the Poetics of the Abbasid Age* (see note 2), 181. The woman was from Zibatrah, which had been previously destroyed by the Byzantines, who had deformed Muslim men by cutting parts of their faces, and captivated 1,000 women.

19 Al Tabari, *Al Tabari's History* (see note 18), 42.

Daif mentions that these practices and beliefs had spread not only in the pre-Islamic, *jahiliah*, society,[20] but also in the Islamic one,[21] since there were many atheists and other theologically disconnected belief systems within the Magi, Persian, and Khorasanian origins in the Abbasid community.[22] Such communities did not believe in a consistently understood God figure, but rather believed in readings of fire, stars, and planets. As for the Caliph Al-Mu'tasim, he did not believe in superstition, the reincarnation of spirits, or the worship of planets.[23]

By rejecting such false claims and superstitions, Abū Tammām 's poem asserts the communal character of Islamic teachings, declaring that "knowledge lies in the bright spears gleaming/ Between two armies, not in the seven gleaming stars" (187, 3). By stressing faith over superstition, his poem encouraged those within the Arabic community to preserve an authentic Islamic identity.[24] Additionally, Arabic culture communicated with other cultures, such as Persian and Roman, through translation, a culture-crossing skill which itself was at its height in all scientific and literary fields at the time. In fact, translation was one of the main reasons for the spread of astrology and superstition, and this cross-cultural exchange can be seen to erode the traditions of authentic Arabic belief systems, a point stressed in the poem. After translating ancient Greek and

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20 Arabs' belief in superstition was common in the pre Islamic time; for example, if an Arab saw a bird fly to the right, he would take the right path and proceed in his task. But if the Arab saw a bird turn left, he would not complete this task. Arabs were also pessimistic about infections and diseases; they attributed rain and events to the stars and omens. They hated cer tain months as Safar, in which they did not contract marriages, carry out travels, or do their work. Fighting was also refrained I n the sacred months, especially Safar and Shawwal.

21 Daif, *History of Arabic Literature* (see note 4), 81.

22 Daif, *History of Arabic Literature* (see note 4), 83. Many atheists were poets, like Bashar Ibn Bord and Abdallah Ibn Al Moqapha'. But preachers and religious poets attacked those atheists, and the Caliphs killed many of them, such as Al Mansour, who killed Ibn Al Moqapha', and Al Mu'tasim, who imprisoned his Turkish general Al Afshien until his death.

23 These beliefs were abolished by Islamic teachings. Prophet Muhammed says, "Ornithomancy, Pessimism or bad omen, is blasphemy" and "There is no infection, nor Ornithomancy, and I like optimism, the good word." Religion directs people to good ethics and morals (see Ben Ismail M. El Bukhari, *El Bukhari Sahih* (Beirut: Dar Ibn Kathier, 2018), 1461.

24 According to the Qur'ān, Allah is said to have formulated the following: "They (people) said: "for us, we augur an evil omen from you: if ye desist not, we will certainly stone you. And a grievous punishment indeed will be inflicted on you by us. They said: 'Your evil omens are with yourselves: (deem ye this an evil omen). If ye are admonished? Nay, but ye are a people transgressing all bounds!' (see the 36th chapter, "Yaseen," *The Holy Qur'an: Text, Translation and Commentary*, trans. Abdullah Yusuf Ali (Dearborn, MI: The Islamic Center, 1978), 36:18. God tells idolaters that if they have believed in good omens, it is because of their deep faith. But if they have believed in bad ones, it is because of their disbelief in Him. Belief in good and bad destiny reflects confidence in God's will.

Hellenistic books, some religious sects, such as the Chaldean and Sabe'h communities, derived their religious teachings from astrology.

However, the Abbasid community was Islamic and rejected non-religious tendencies and practices of superstitions and astrology. "Ode on the Conquest of Amorium" begins with Abū Tammām's attack on astrologers who tried to dissuade the Caliph Al-Mu'tasim from his intention to invade Amorium, the most important stronghold of the Byzantine state. The astrologers predicted that the city would not fall to the Muslims at a specific period of the year, "the ripening period of fig and grapes" (195, 59). The poem begins with exposing the lies of the astrologers that had dictated that waging the war would not serve the interest of the Muslims. Nevertheless, Al-Mu'tasim insisted and marched with his army despite the astrologers' predictions and claims, and, indeed, achieved a great victory against the Byzantines. This theme is expressed as follows:

> 1. The sword is more veracious than the book,
> Its cutting edge splits earnestness from sport
> 2. The white of the blade, not the black on the pages,
> Its broadsides clarify uncertainty and doubt (187, 1 2).

The astrologers follow the predictions of stars, Houses of Zodiac, which represent forms of superstition and witchcraft. Abū Tammām stands against such myths, and uses his own poem (language) to contradict, or to take exception, with the astrologers' language and culture. He uses satirical questions to attack them, "Where now is their report? Where are the stars? Where the elaborate contrivances they forged?" (187, 4). These questions shed light on the Muslim community's refusal of astrology. Muslims are shown as people of resolute action and true faith, not of superstition, as shown when

> 6. Marvels which they claimed the days would reveal.
> In the mighty month of Safar or in Rajab.
> 7. They terrified the populace with dark disaster
> When the western star appeared with fiery tail.
> 8. They let the high Houses of Zodiac decide
> What was overturned and what stood firm.
> 10. If the stars could foretell anything before its time,
> The fate of idols and crosses would not have been kept hidden (199, 8 10)

The poet affirms that the Caliph's sword is a more authentic determiner of events than the astrologers' black books, which tell falsehoods. He asserts that the truthful power is what decides matters, not the astrologers or their stars. Besides, Abū Tammām expresses the two opposing cultures through the use of antithesis, *tibaq*, and paronomasia, *jinas,* as in "The white of the blade, not the black of the

age, / Its broadsides clarify uncertainty and doubt" (187, 3). Specifically, the paradox between "light" and "darkness" in "There was light from the fire while darkness still clung/ And dark from the smoke in the ghastly noonday sun" (28), shows the Muslims' truthfulness and the Byzantines' injustice and deceit.

Khaled A. Al-Gabr notes that the reciprocal antitheses between opposed dualities (Byzantines / Arabs, sword / books, truthfulness / lying, spears / meteors, Al-Mu'tasim / Theophilus, and God / the Astrologers) collectively empower both sides of the battle.[25] These narrative techniques also reflect the war among the Muslims, having accomplished their religious duty of *jihad*, and the Byzantines, the unbelievers. Both sides miscommunicated with each other through contradictions of language and the vagaries of (mis)translation.[26] These binary oppositions of language form mis/communicative meanings, perspectives, and ideologies of the two communities.

Conclusion

Community, culture, and ethnic identity are not static entities, but fluid constructs that emerge from growing relations, interactions, and evolving social rituals. Composing meaningful and socially relevant poetry not only represents a technical achievement, but also reflects the poet's continuous interaction and communication with people, and a perspective that is both individual and collective in its view on a society's structure, identity, beliefs, and rituals. In his poem, Abū Tammām establishes that he is a member of a cohesive society that collectively understands itself through shared memories, moral beliefs, values, and interactional practices. The poet records historical events of his community and shares the memory of his people's victory against the Byzantines, which confirms his deep communication with his community. He uses dialogic narration, representing multiple voices and perspectives, as the main technique in developing his story, and so amplifies the historical, social, and cultural contexts for the events he describes. He uses narrative conversations for many reasons: revealing the story, moving events forward, presenting information and opposing points of

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25 Khaled A. Al Gabr, The Rhetorical Structure of Abū Tammām's poem "Ode to the Conquest of Ammūriyyah," *Social and Human Studies* 41.II (2014): 671 88; here 671; online at: https://journals.ju.edu.jo/DirasatHum/article/viewFile/6665/3827 (last accessed on Jan. 22, 2022).
26 Huda J. Fakhreddine, "Abu Tammam and Abbasid Modernism," A *Companion to World Literature*, gen ed. Ken Seigneurie, Vol. 2: *601 CE to 1450 CE*, ed. Christine Chism. Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2020), 1143 55; here 1148; online at: https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118635193.ctwl0092 (last accessed on April 12, 2022).

view, relying on nuanced symbols and images, and expressing the characters' inner feelings and thoughts.

In fact, any occasion to recite Abū Tammām's poem becomes an informal learning tool in the Arabic community, and works as an alternative method for reprimanding people's ambiguous and/or conflicted behaviors and motivations. In this way, the story of the conquest is non-confrontational, since it allows readers and listeners to discover for themselves historical facts and mythical stories. Besides, Abū Tammām's "Ode on the Conquest of Amorium" introduces conversational aspects which illustrate sociological approaches and cultural conventions. The conversational and collaborative nature of the poem shapes the traditions and beliefs of the Arabic and Byzantine communities. The indirect conversations highlight the characters' actions, and connote people's shared feelings of pride, dignity, and victory. This complex collection of contributing voices collectively expresses the Arabic Islamic identity.

Influenced by the social and political circumstances, Abū Tammām employs deliberate narrative strategies, invoking the modes of praise, satire, and ethnic self-identification. While praise and ethnic pride are tools of positive and effective communication with people within the Islamic community, satire and expression of the desire for revenge represent sarcastic approaches to the others, the Byzantines. Abū Tammām also uses other ways of communication and mis/communication like superstition and astrology, which had spread because of the communication with other cultures and translations of books from other nations. Nevertheless, they contradict others' beliefs and faith. Language (literature or translation), historical events, and religious beliefs unite people, form their shared memories and values, and trigger enthusiasm for their nation.

In short, this famous and highly popular ode played a leading role in reforming and improving the communal conditions due to people's social awareness, in teaching listeners/readers their culture's virtues, and in enabling their greater appreciation of community values. Not only does this revolutionary poem narrate the historical events of the conquest of Amorium, but it also depicts the social and political aspects, such as the transition from a pre-Islamic insular community living in the Arab peninsula to an Islamic empire spreading its religion and language to wider areas.

Fidel Fajardo-Acosta

Proscribed Communication: The Obscene Language of the Troubadour William IX, Duke of Aquitaine and VII Count of Poitiers

Abstract: The first of the known European troubadours, William IX (1071–1126), Duke of Aquitaine and VII Count of Poitiers, is notorious for a mixed *œuvre* including beautiful love songs characteristic of the courtly love tradition and also raunchy and decidedly obscene compositions bristling with misogynistic resentment. Modern scholars sufficiently understand that such mixtures of hate and seeming adoration of women are two sides of the same patriarchal coin that objectifies and exploits women for the satisfaction of male objectives. It is perhaps less acknowledged, however, that the desire and hostility expressed toward women are ultimately aimed at the large political and economic powers that were developing in Europe during the High Middle Ages (ca. 1050–1250). This essay explores the idea that the obscenity of some of William's songs is just as much an expression of his arrogant and abusive attitudes toward women, as it is a symptom of his rage at being disempowered and rendered subservient to feudal powers larger than his own and to the economic ideas and practices associated with a then-nascent market capitalism. Moralizing, political and scholarly unwillingness to openly discuss the obscene language of William's works, furthermore, is a manifestation of the activity of the same oppressive powers, as they discipline and reduce to obedience the subjects of our modern and postmodern western cultures. Forbidden language and forms of communication, then, modern and medieval, have to be understood as aspects of the suppression of thought and the concealment of inconvenient truths, which are necessary to sustain an unjust economic, political and social order.

Keywords: Courtly love poetry, troubadour literature, medieval Occitan/Provençal culture, *fin'amor*, William IX of Aquitaine, VII Count of Poitiers, misogyny, medieval market economy, offensive speech, sexuality, politeness, courtesy, morality, political correctness, obscenity, pornography

The songs of William IX (1071–1126), Duke of Aquitaine and VII Count of Poitiers, are the first known European courtly lyrics and originators of a tradition of songs that idealize courtly life, define standards of refinement and courtesy, and enno-

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ble the figures of women, making them into objects of reverence and adoration.[1] As such, courtly lyrics are connected to the development of a complex language and set of practices of communication in courtly settings, elaborate protocols allowing for a highly mediated, polite and controlled conversation between courtly subjects and the higher powers represented at the courts. Of the eleven extant songs of William, five fit or, rather, set the mold for, such compositions, as they deal with love and other serious issues in language and tone that are very respectful and expressive of submission and obedience on the part of the poet/singer.[2] The other six songs of William, however, are, at best, problematic, some decidedly obscene in their explicit or metaphorical narration of sexual adventures and the expression of anger and resentment connected to the frustration of his desires.[3] Not fitting the mold of courtliness or the spirit of courtly

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2 All songs mentioned in this study are identified according to their numeration in the standard bibliography: Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie der troubadours*. Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, 3 (Halle a. d. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1933); reprinted in Bibliography and Reference Series, 166 (New York: Burt Franklin, 1968). The abbreviation PC refers to this work. For the Occitan text of the songs, see, Gerald A. Bond, *The Poetry of William VII, Count of Poitiers, IX Duke of Aquitaine*. Garland Library of Medieval Literature, 4, Series A (New York and London: Garland, 1982); Nicolò Pasero, *Guglielmo IX d'Aquitania: Poesie* (Rome: Società Tipografica Editrice Modenese [S.T.E.M.] Mucchi, 1973); and Alfred Jeanroy, *Les Chansons de Guillaume IX, Duc d'Aquitaine*. 2nd rev. ed. (Paris: Champion, 1927). The songs of William that may be considered courtly or otherwise inoffensive are: "Farai un vers de dreit nien" (I will make a song exactly about nothing), PC 183.7 (Song 4 in Bond, Pasero and Jeanroy); "Pos vezem de novel florir" (Since we see the flowering anew), PC 183.11 (Song 7 in Bond, Pasero and Jeanroy); "Mout jauzens me prenc en amar" (I am seized by great joy in loving), PC 183.8 (Song 9 in Bond, Pasero and Jeanroy); "Pos de chantar m'es pres talenz" (Since I am seized by the desire to sing), PC 183.10 (Song 11 in Bond, Pasero and Jeanroy); "Farai chansoneta nueva" (I will make a new little song), PC 183.6 (Song 8 in Bond, Pasero and Jeanroy; considered of doubtful attribution).

3 The songs that may be considered directly or indirectly obscene are: "Companho, farai un vers tot covinen" (My friends, I will make a very appropriate song), PC 183.3 (Song 1 in Bond, Pasero and Jeanroy [see note 2]); "Compaigno, non pus mudar qu'eu no m'effrei" (My friends, I cannot help but feel irritated), PC 183.4 (Song 2 in Bond, Pasero and Jeanroy [see note 2]); "Companho, tant ai agutz d'avols conres" (My friends, I have had so much ill treatment), PC 183.5 (Song 3 in Bond, Pasero and Jeanroy [see note 2]); "Farai un vers, pos mi sonelh" (I will make a song since I am sleepy), PC 183.12 (Song 5 in Bond, Pasero and Jeanroy [see note 2]); "Ben vueill que sapchon li pluzor" (I want very much for most people to know), PC 183.2 (Song 6 in Bond, Pasero and Jeanroy [see note 2]); and "Ab la dolchor del temps novel" (With the sweetness of the new season), PC 183.1 (Song 10 in Bond, Pasero and Jeanroy [see note 2]).

life, such songs pose an intriguing problem in terms of the implications of the use of impolite and insulting language and situations within a poetic culture and practice predicated on the promotion of quite the opposite. This essay proposes to explore the question of the role of obscenity and linguistic and situational impropriety at a time when such forms of speaking and acting were being proscribed and clearly discouraged in courtly environments, as suggested by the angry responses, on the part of some of William's contemporaries, to his songs and character. William may be the earliest known troubadour, but he is unlikely to have invented the genre, and his songs suggest he was participating in an already existing tradition guided by specific rules and concerned with the differentiation of the *covinen* (the appropriate, courtly) from the *vilan* (the rustic, uncourtly).[4] This essay intends to answer the questions of why William felt compelled to deviate, at least in some of his compositions, from proper courtly behavior, and what the specific expressions and situations in his uncourtly songs tell us about the concerns of the poet and his reactions to the transformations in ways of thinking, feeling, and acting that were under way in his days.

The courtly age, furthermore, featured the development of the cultural, political, and economic practices that eventually led to larger kingdoms, nation-states, and the market economy, as well as the forms of consciousness that define modern subjectivities. In that sense, William's enabling of, but also resistance to, courtly propriety can likely tell us something significant about our own, even if unacknowledged, discontents, and about repressed aspects of the constitution of our own mentalities and ways of life. The obscenity of William's songs, this essay claims, may be, after all, not just a peculiarity of the poet's character, but a manifestation of the effects, on the human mind and the emotions, of the large forces that reshaped western European culture at the dawn of the modern age. Examining what, at that point and beyond, was suppressed and declared obscene could indeed prove to be of value in the understanding of problematic aspects of our own existence, particularly of our investing with de-

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4 "... les théories courtoises commençaient à se constituer et possédaient même déjà une partie de leur formulaire: car il ne viendrai certainement à l'idée de personne que ces théories soient en leur fond et en leur forme l'œuvre d'un seul homme, et tel que celui là. Des lors l'homme de cour s'oppose au vilain et ses devoirs se définissent"; "... une question essentielle, maintes fois posée et que tous les critiques, sauf un seul, ont au reste tranchée dans le même sens: y avait il, avant Guillaume IX, une tradition poétique? S'il était besoin d'autres preuves, il suffirait d'allé guer deux strophes, opportunément rappellées par P. Rajna: dans l'une le poéte définit les régles de son 'metier'; dans l'autre il se vante de les avoir habilement suivies et il parle de 'l'atelier' d'où va sortir un chef d'œuvre": Alfred Jeanroy, *La poésie lyrique des troubadours*. 2 vols. (Tou louse: Édouard Privat; Paris: Henri Didier, 1934), 2.10 12.

sirability of objects that perhaps are not independent of what we call the obscene.

Obscene Language and Communication

The word "obscene" is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) as that which is "[o]ffensively or grossly indecent, lewd; ... tending to deprave and corrupt those who are likely to read, see, or hear the contents"; "[o]ffending against moral principles, repugnant; repulsive, foul, loathsome"; and, in a now obsolete sense, "[i]ll-omened, inauspicious."[5] The English form of the word is derived most immediately, according to the OED, from Middle French *obscene* and Modern French *obscène* (indecent, offensive), ultimately from Latin *obscēnus*, *obscaenus* (inauspicious, ill-omened, filthy, disgusting, indecent, lewd). The OED further notes that the Latin word is constructed from the prefix *ob-* and "a second element of uncertain origin." Lewis and Short define the Latin accusative preposition *ob-* as meaning "towards, to"; "about, before, in front of, over"; "on account of, for, because of, by reason of"; but also note its use in ablative senses analogous to those of the preposition *ab-/abs-* ("from, away from, out of; down from").[6]

Though the OED claims uncertain origins for the second element of Latin *obscēnus/ob-scaenus*, it is likely related to Proto Italic *skaino* ("left; unpropitious") and Proto Indo-European *skeu / *skehi-/ *skeh₂ino / *skeh₂iuo (to cover/conceal; shaded; left).[7] Indo-European cognates include Latin *obscurus* (obscure), *culus* (the behind), *abs-caena* (filth, dirt; something that should be kept away from where one eats, one's *caena* [dinner]), *scaena* (theatrical stage), *laevus* and *scae-*

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5 "obscene, adj.". OED Online. June 2021. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/129823?rskey=lWTi5 A&result=4 (last accessed on Dec. 21, 2021).

6 "*ŏb* (old form *obs.*, ...), prep. with acc. (in late Lat. also with the abl.)": Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879); online at Perseus Digital Library (Perseus 4.0, Perseus Hopper; 1985 2007): https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0059 (last accessed on Dec. 21, 2021).

7 Michiel de Vaan, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages,* ed. Alexander Lubotsky. Leiden Indo European Etymological Dictionary Series, 7 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 422, 541. Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern and Munich: Francke, 1959 1969), 628, 951. Pokorny's work was revised and digitized, including modern English meanings, by George Starostin and Alexander Lubotsky, for the Dnghu Association (Indo European Language Association), which is now known as Academia Prisca, based in Badajoz, Spain. The dictionary is available online at: https://indo european.info/pokorny etymological dictionary/index.htm (last accessed on Dec. 21, 2021).

vus (left, the left side)[8]; Sanskrit *chaya* (shadow, reflection); Greek σκιά (shadow) and σκηνή (tent; shaded covering; theatrical scene).

The possible connections of the obscene to notions of something on (or off) a theatrical stage are very intriguing, as they suggest the idea of the obscene as something with a specific relation to what is public and also what is staged and artificially displayed. A word like Greek ἀπό-σκηνος (living and dining apart) has connotations of something to be kept not just distant from where others live and eat, but altogether away from the σκηνή, that is, "off the scene."[9] Though Latin *ob-scaenus* seems to rely on the accusative sense of the preposition, the ablative cannot be ruled out, as the prefixes *ob-/obs-* can be variations of *ab-/abs-*. Words like **abs-caenus* or **ab-scaenus* would then indicate distance or separation from the *caena* (dinner) and/or the *scaena* (scene, stage); something to be kept 'away from one's food,' 'separate from the place where one eats' and also 'off the scene,' in the sense of what should not be shown in public.[10] Though he distinguished the theatrical from the social stages, Havelock Ellis suggested that "[b]y the obscene we may properly mean what is *off the scene* and not openly shown on the stage of life."[11] Also interesting, at least as far as the Greek language goes, is the role of the ὑποκριτής (actor/hypocrite), the agent who takes the stage and

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8 The negative connotations of *laevus* and *scaevus* (left) have been explained in terms of divinatory, as well as hygienic practices: "Chez les peuples de la race aryenne, en effet, les présages qui se montraient droite étaient heureux, ceux qui venaient de la gauche étaient funestes telle a été, appliquée surtout au vol des oiseaux et la marche des quadrupèdes, mais aussi aux signes célestes, aux éclairs, au tonnerre, etc., la croyance des Aryas et de leurs descendants. De même la main gauche passait chez eux pour avoir besoin d'être purifiée; et voici pourquoi, d'après Pictet [Adolphe Pictet (1799 1875)] par suite de l'infériorité naturelle à cette main, elle se trouvait chargée spécialement de fonctions dont l'exercice aurait terni la pureté de la main droite. Certaine opération quotidienne, qu'il n'est pas besoin de nommer, offrait, aux temps primitifs, et pour la main officiante, des périls qui n'existent plus, grâce aux progrès de la civilisation et à l'invention du papier": "*obscène*, adj.," Pierre Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe Siècle. Tome Onzième* (Paris: Administration du Grand Dictionnaire Universel, 1874), 1202.
9 Cf. "[i]n some cases, eating is an obscene act when performed in the presence of other people or in public; and the same Tahitians who copulated in public would eat separately and privately. The Maldive Islanders ate always in solitude, retiring for this purpose to the innermost part of the house and covering the windows lest passersby observe them; the practice is reported for other Oceanic peoples as well": Weston La Barre, "Obscenity: An Anthropological Appraisal," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 20.4 (1955): 533 43; here 541 42.
10 "*ăb, ā , abs*, prep. with ablative," Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (see note 6).
11 Havelock Ellis, "The Revaluation of Obscenity," *On Life and Sex: Essays of Love and Virtue* (Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing Co., 1937), 99 136; here 100 [emphasis in the original].

speaks out what is considered acceptable in a theatrical or oratorical performance.[12]

As Benjamin Jacob observes, in its etymological senses, the obscene "… is intangible. It is an emotive response to filth or a foreboding premonition, something hidden, dark, away from public life. … a sense of darkness, otherness, impurity, sexuality, concealment, and primitive power."[13] The specification of what may be obscene, on the other hand, varies significantly from culture to culture, and across time, and is not a natural but a conventional category defined by human communities in specific historical circumstances: "nothing is obscene that has not been previously defined culturally as such"; "'obscenity' … is the artefact of our own cultural projections."[14] Semantically, it seems the obscene is something conventionally defined and that should be kept in the dark and out of sight because it is deemed by the community to be unhealthy and harmful. Its original meanings seem to be related to the excremental and stand in opposition to what and where one eats. The obscene thus comes into being at the moment of the separation of the places of ingestion and excretion. It is the emotional content of a foundational act that establishes order and meaning, defines culture and morality, distinguishes good and evil, and aims to improve the life and health of individuals and the community, by means of rules meant to avert disease and potentially death.

In terms of communication, the obscene constitutes a set of signifiers that serve a legitimate communicative purpose. They absorb into themselves, however, the taint of what they signify. Resulting from the power of language to make something seem real merely by its being said, to utter the language corresponding to the obscene becomes synonymous with the materialization of its referents.

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12 Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek English Lexicon*, ed. Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940); online at Perseus Digital Library (Perseus 4.0, Perseus Hopper; 1985 2007): https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0057 (last accessed on Dec. 21, 2021).

13 Benjamin Jacob, "Reading Obscenity," Ph.D. diss., University of York, 2003, 53. The material unreality of the obscene is evident in the fact that obscenity is visible only as the emotional re action of outrage and disgust and then only at the specific moment when such a reaction occurs, as if in response to the invisible presence of a spirit. As Ludwig Marcuse noted: "Das lehrt die lange Geschichte: obszön ist, wer oder was irgendwo irgendwann irgendwen aus irgendwelchem Grund zur Entrüstung getrieben hat. Nur im Ereignis der Entrüstung ist das Obszöne mehr als ein Gespenst" (This is what the long history has taught us: obscene is the phenomenon when someone or something has driven another person for whatever reason into enragement. Only in the act of enragement is the obscene more than a ghost); Ludwig Marcuse, *Obszön: Geschichte einer Entrüstung* (Zürich: Diogenes, 1984), 11.

14 La Barre, "Obscenity" (see note 9), 533, 536.

As the signifier for the obscene becomes obscene itself, a peculiar problem develops, of the type of an infinite regress, regarding how to speak of the unacceptable. Although resorting to euphemisms seems to solve the problem, the euphemisms themselves are subject to the influence of that to which they refer, setting up the conditions for self-censoring language entities forever chasing after temporary substitutes.

But just as excreta have to be allowed a time and place of expression, the obscene cannot be altogether banned and has to be allowed to exist, in consciousness and memory, in dictionary entries and toilet graffiti, even in religious rituals and in the shadows of the ways in which people make a living. The obscene is expected, however, for the most part, to remain mute, conveying a positive message *in absentia,* present only as symbol and in its difference from what is ordinarily done and what is usually spoken. As noted by Ellis, the obscene is haunted by a level of ambiguity and ambivalence suggesting its roots lie in the most fundamental aspects of the life of a social group, particularly the religious and the economic:

> ... obscenity is on certain occasions permitted and even prescribed by society. Here, perhaps, we draw near to the earliest social function of obscenity.

> What may perhaps be regarded as a fairly typical state of things as regards this blended prohibition and injunction, under certain circumstances, of obscenity may be found in Africa, where it has been studied by Evans Pritchard. Obscenity is here associated with ceremonial activities. Some kinds of collective obscene behaviour, in ordinary life usually taboo, are permitted or enjoined on certain occasions, all of social importance, either religious ceremonies or joint economic undertakings.[15]

A cornerstone of the meanings that uphold a social order, the obscene is part of its foundations but also, when exposed, a threat and a challenge to that order, a disruption of its harmony, and a questioning of its corresponding property and authority entitlements. As such, it is also an indication of baseness of character, lack of education, and deliberate flaunting or unawareness of the behavior expected from the more valued members of the group. In its associations with the uncultured and the ignorant, obscene language is understood as more likely to occur among the lower social orders, people of working classes and rural backgrounds, soldiers and sailors, roughnecks and cutthroats, criminals and others whose business is violent and whose way of life is dirty and nasty. It is

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15 Ellis, "Revaluation" (see note 11), 102 03. Ellis refers to E. E. Evans Pritchard, "Some Collective Expressions of Obscenity in Africa," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 59 (1929): 311 31.

not the courteous language of, or an appropriate medium of communication for, polite and privileged society, by definition.[16] The use of obscene language by individuals, therefore, results in their quick identification as subordinates belonging to lower strata of the social hierarchies and in the justification of their relegation to margins and ghettos. The speakers of obscenities, in that way, become imprinted with the noxious essence of the referents of the language they use and come to be considered social excreta that must be confined to segregated milieus.

Interestingly, the obscene is unspeakable, but so is the divine, as in the case of the name of God and of the disparagement or denial of the divinity, in religions like Judaism and, by extension, Christianity.[17] Though the interdiction of active negation or insulting of the divine is understandable, the proscription of the uttering of the divine name itself seems puzzling. In Proto-Germanic the word for God is *guða- (god) < PIE *ĝhū-to- (the invoked) < *ĝhau- (to call, to invoke).[18] "God" then is not the name of God but merely a reference to its character as that which is called/invoked, that is, an indirect term that avoids speaking openly of something which is, like the obscene, in some sense unmentionable and dangerous.

Making God fully real and present by means of the speaking of its name is dangerous in the sense that it exposes the foundation of the given cultural/linguistic order from which the idea of God issues and that the idea of God supports. Such a foundation is built on the distinction between the good and the evil; speaking the name of God would reduce the reality of God to a linguistic phenomenon requiring the existence of what is not God. Suggesting that there is something opposite to, and distinct from, God, and on which the very existence of God depends would be blasphemous, to say the least, and it is, in fact, obscene.

To speak directly of God is obscene because it constitutes a questioning of the very linguistic and cognitive procedures by which the idea of God emerges. In other words, to speak of God is to question its existence by reducing it to the merely symbolic and phenomenal, denying it foundational and original status. God is not compatible then with its conceptual insertion into a discourse driven by the semiosis of difference. As John Scotus Eriugena (ca. 815–877) and other

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16 The "'vulgar' ... is a class designator rather more than it is a moral judgment"; "in the absence of class differences, there are no 'educated' versus 'vulgar' vocabularies": La Barre, "Obscenity" (see note 9), 535, 538.
17 "Blasphemy is, no doubt, ... cognate with the obscene": La Barre, "Obscenity" (see note 9), 537.
18 Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (see note 7), 413 14.

practitioners of negative theology have emphatically asserted, if we are to speak of God, we would have to state that it does not exist, i.e., that its "existence" is ineffable and transcends our understanding of existence.[19] Otherwise, God would not be a totality, but just another phenomenon and just another word in a universe of phenomena and linguistic signs. Communicating such ideas, of course, poses an extraordinary problem, as it constitutes a questioning of the very mechanisms of difference on which language and all other cultural constructs operate. The divine and the obscene therefore have to remain silent, so long as a given cultural, social, political and economic order is to be maintained.

In the case of the European Middle Ages, the entanglement of the obscene and the divine is visible in the strange use of monstrous and obscene elements in the gargoyles and corbels in sacred medieval architecture. Having decorative but also vital practical functions – corbels as supports, and gargoyles as rainwater drainage – they often feature erotic and scatological features, which are disconcerting in the setting of religious buildings.[20] These devices have been variously hypothesized to be apotropaic, warding off evil spirits; reminders for believers of the horrors of sin and hell; remnants of pagan cults and rituals; expressions of the fears and anxieties that haunt humans in their struggles with the unknown and the forces of nature; visual embodiments of subconscious and repressed instinctual impulses; and also playful, humorous, and creative expres-

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19 Johannes Scotus Eriugena, *Periphyseon: De divisione naturae*, in Joannis Scoti, *Opera*, ed. Henricus Josephus Floss. Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Patrologia Latinae, 122 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1865), cols. 439–1022; id., *Periphyseon (The Division of Nature)*, trans. I. P. Sheldon Williams. Rev. ed. John J. O'Meara (Montreal and Washington DC: Éditions Bellarmin/Dumbarton Oaks, 1987).

20 Albrecht Classen notes the many rather obscene and scatological sculptures on medieval church buildings, such as the gargoyles, "... die monströse Erscheinung ..., die vor allem die mit telalterlichen Gargoyles charakterisiert ... Auch obszöne und skatologische Skulpturen finden sich darunter (wie z.B. am Freiburger Münster)"; "Legionen von Dämonen, Monstern und Fabel wesen bevölkern wasserspeiend in schwindelnder Höhe vor allem kirchliche, aber auch weltli che Gebäude. Man entdeckt absurde, manchmal rückwärts gewandte menschliche Figuren, bei denen das Wasser aus ihrem Anus schießt (Kathedralen von Saint Lazare und Autun)": "Gar goyles Wasserspeier: Phantasieprodukte des Mittelalters und der Moderne," *Dämonen, Mon ster, Fabelwesen*, ed. Ulrich Müller and Werner Wunderlich. Mittelalter Mythen, 2 (St. Gallen, Switzerland: UVK Fachverlag für Wissenschaft und Studium, 1999), 127–33; here 127–28. Peter Dinzelbacher, "Monster und Dämonen am Kirchenbau," ibid., 103–26; Christina Weising, "A Vision of 'Sexuality,' 'Obscenity,' or 'Nudity'? Differences Between Regions on the Example of Corbels," *Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: New Approaches to a Fundamen tal Cultural Historical and Literary Anthropological Theme*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 3 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 325–82.

sions of artists' imaginations and manifestations of the protean plasticity and restless inquiring of the human mind.[21] They have also been compared to the marginalia in medieval manuscripts, which, in the context of serious texts, offer at times comical, obscene, or otherwise challenging, but always contrapuntal, meanings that are thought-provoking, stress-relieving, or cause the mind to wander away from the main topic into realms of whimsical fantasy.[22]

Like the marginalia, the corbels and gargoyles point to a need that is both structural and psychic, also spiritual and organic, a form of cathartic relief and recreative cleansing of the mind, the soul, and the body, not unlike the effects of laughter, or of tragedy, in the Aristotelian sense. Indeed, like an organism itself, the building representing the Church also needs relief from the stresses of gravity (in its two senses) and the elements. It too has protruding, excretory and tension-dissipating parts that may be ugly, and less than holy, but are nonetheless necessary for the survival of the structure. The use of unseemly, monstrous, and even obscene elements in religious architecture is in fact entirely consistent with Augustinian theology, which may not be exempt from a certain degree of dualism, which considers evil a necessary and unavoidable part of creation[23]:

> All have their offices and limits laid down so as to ensure the beauty of the universe. That which we abhor in any part of it gives us the greatest pleasure when we consider the universe as a whole. When we are judging a building we ought not to consider one angle only. ... The very reason why some things are inferior is that though the parts may be imperfect the whole is perfect, whether its beauty is seen stationary or in movement. ... When we are wrong, and pay exclusive attention to the part, our judgment is in itself base. The colour black in a picture may very well be beautiful if you take the picture as a whole.[24]

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21 Classen, "Gargoyles" (see note 20), 129 32.

22 Classen, "Gargoyles" (see note 20), 132; Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*. Essays in Art and Culture (London: Reaktion Books, 1992). The marginalia attest, by their very existence, to the marginalization of certain meanings, literally their exclusion from the main text or center stage, and their confinement to an area 'off scene,' which is of a kind with the 'ob scene' (see note 11).

23 The stone images known as *sheela na gigs* are dramatic examples of the duality of medieval perceptions of women and its representation in sacred architecture: Juliette Dor, "The Sheela na Gig: An Incongruous Sign of Sexual Purity?" *Medieval Virginities*, ed. Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, and Sarah Salih. Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), 33 55; Eamonn Kelly, "Irish Sheela na gigs and Related Figures with Reference to the Collections of the National Museum of Ireland," *Medieval Obscenities*, ed. Nicola F. McDonald (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press; Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2006), 124 37.

24 *De vera religione* XL.76, in *Augustine: Earlier Writings*, ed., trans. J. H. S. Burleigh. The Library of Christian Classics (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 264 65. Later writings of Augustine manifested the same perception: "For as the beauty of a picture is increased by well managed shadows, so, to the eye that has skill to discern it, the universe is beautified

Augustine in effect questioned but never fully dissociated himself from the love of the material world characteristic of ancient Roman culture and the dualism of the Manichaean doctrines to which he subscribed before becoming a Christian. Those contradictions lie at the heart of the inconsistent attitudes of the Church toward the human body and the disastrous consequences of its attempts to regulate sexuality. The very appearance of demonic, scatological, and obscene elements in Church architecture seems to be correlated, as Dinzelbacher points out, with the growing disciplines associated with the Benedictine reform movement.[25] Cluny Abbey, founded by William I of Aquitaine around 910, spearheaded those reforms and thus, however unintentionally, altered the libidinal economy and its manifestation in cultural works, also laying down the conditions for later conflicts such as the Investiture Controversy, movements like the Peace of God, and enterprises like the Crusades, including the suppression of Catharist dualism through the Albigensian Crusade and the Inquisition.[26] During the early modern period, the deliberate mutilation and destruction of architectural features deemed inappropriate was unquestionably related to the further changes in religious ideas associated with the Reformation and Counter Reformation.[27] In their attempt at the suppression of sexuality and of the supposedly obscene and pornographic, those religious movements were also doubtless the reasons for the deeply misogynistic witch-hunts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a madness perpetrated and spread by religious fanatics such as the Puritan settlers in America.

Courtly Culture

The High Middle Ages in Europe, ca. 1050–1250, constituted a time of notable social, political, and economic transformations, particularly the subjection of lesser lords by more powerful ones, the centralization of authority at the courts of the more dominant lords, complex social stratification and rankings according to degrees of power and dominance, and the beginnings of the formation of larg-

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even by sinners, though, considered by themselves, their deformity is a sad blemish": *The City of God* XI: 23, in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. Philip Schaff, trans. Marcus Dods. Series 1. 14 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdman, 1886 1890), II: 218.

25 Dinzelbacher, "Monster und Dämonen am Kirchenbau" (see note 20), 104 05.

26 Dinzelbacher, "Monster und Dämonen am Kirchenbau" (see note 20), 105.

27 Dinzelbacher, "Monster und Dämonen am Kirchenbau" (see note 20), 122 23.

er kingdoms through the absorption of the weaker domains.[28] Such developments appear to have been made possible by a combination of factors including better climate, increased economic production and commercial activity, and population growth.[29] The control of larger kingdoms and the regulation of a growing economy posed challenges that were met by corresponding cultural transformations including the complex hierarchies of dependence and obedience that we know as feudalism, the formulation of law codes, and the establishment of administrative mechanisms and structures for its enforcement. Codes of manners, behavior and speech, such as chivalry and courtesy, played a key role in these developments, leading to the emergence of more refined, self-regulated and self-motivated individuals – "loving subjects" as Gerald Bond has aptly called them – appropriate for participation in courtly life.[30] The sublimated affections, eroticism, and emotions that we know as "courtly love" constituted disciplines of desire by which courtly subjects could approach the powerful and partake, in properly restrained manner, of the charms and privileges of life at the dominant courts.[31] The cult of the idealized courtly lady (Latin *domina*; Oc-

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28 Joachim Bumke explains the undeniable heterogeneity of conditions throughout Europe at that time as a function of the gradual and uneven pace of the transformations underway: "... the courtly age was a period of profound social change, in the course of which many of the old concepts of social order lost their meaning, and the foundations of a new social and political structure emerged only very slowly." As Bumke also noted, such a situation makes it necessary to ignore some regional differences and contradictory phenomena, in the interest of better understanding the broader developments: *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (1986; Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), 21.

29 For a bibliography and discussion, see Fidel Fajardo Acosta, *Courtly Seductions, Modern Subjections: Troubadour Literature and the Medieval Construction of the Modern World*. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (MRTS), 376 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies [ACMRS], 2010), 17 24.

30 Gerald A. Bond, *The Loving Subject: Desire, Eloquence, and Power in Romanesque France*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939 1210*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); Norbert Elias, "On the Sociogenesis of *Minnesang* and Courtly Forms of Conduct," *The Civilizing Process*, Vol. I: *The History of Manners*. Vol. II: *Power and Civility*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (1939; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982; New York: Pantheon Books/Random House, 1982), II: 66 90.

31 It is highly interesting that the place of eating, the occasion of the courtly banquet, is the specific moment when courtly behavior was deemed most pressingly important. It is then the exclusion of certain forms of language and behavior, also of undesirable individuals, from the shared meal   a kind of excommunication in the sense of the denial of participation at the communal feast   that leads to the definition of the proper, and of the obscene. Bumke stresses the fact of the mostly dismal conditions of living of medieval Europeans, except in the situation of the courtly feast, an occasion of heightened symbolic importance: "there existed

citan *domna*; French *dame*; Spanish *dama*) itself constituted a symbolic submission to the political and economic power, only indirectly represented by the mediatory figure of the lady, residing in the figure of the lord, her husband, and ultimately issuing from the administrative and enforcement mechanisms underwriting his authority.[32] The school of sociological interpretation of chivalry and courtly love has stressed their relations to social stratification that resulted in the formation of finely divided social classes and vigorous cultural work aimed at the definition of the values and characteristics associated with the varying social levels. In that context, the idealized figures of courtly ladies can be seen as mediators and motivators of the acceptance, by would-be subjects of the courtly order, of submission and obedience to higher authorities.[33]

Manifesting those concerns, medieval Occitan and French courtly culture were marked by a high degree of interest in legal issues, social differentiation, and the economics of exchange – all of them strongly reflected in the topics and language of literary texts, including epic and lyric, as well as narrative prose genres like the *razos* and *vidas* of the troubadours.[34] While courtly culture

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one sphere of reality into which the gloomy aspects of daily life did not intrude, and where noble society did manifest all the glory of its wealth and ceremonial etiquette: the feast at court... . Courtly society as a historical phenomenon is best documented on these occasions, ... it appears that the nobility exhibited only in these exceptional moments a social behavior that was consid ered particularly courtly": *Courtly Culture* (see note 28), 4.

32 Meg Bogin, *The Women Troubadours* (New York: Paddington Press, 1976; W. W. Norton, 1980), 57, 61; Christiane Marchello Nizia, "Amour courtois, société masculine et figures de pouvoir," *An nales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 36 (1981): 969 82; E. Jane Burns, "The Man Behind the Lady in Troubadour Lyric," *Romance Notes* 25 (1985): 254 70.

33 Herbert Moller, "The Social Causation of the Courtly Love Complex." *Comparative Studies of Society and History* 1 (1958 1959): 137 63; Erich Köhler, "Observations historiques et sociologi ques sur la poésie des troubadours," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 7 (1964): 27 51; Georges Duby, *Hommes et structures du Moyen Âge: Recueil d'articles.* Savoir historique, 1 (Paris: Mouton, 1973); id., "Youth in Aristocratic Society," id., *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. Cynthia Postan (Ber keley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press/Edward Arnold, 1977), 112 22.

34 The *razos* are prose narratives providing "an explanation for why a particular poet composed a particular song or songs": William E. Burgwinkle, *Razos and Troubadour Songs.* Garland Li brary of Medieval Literature, 71, Series B (New York and London: Garland, 1990), xvii. The *vidas* are brief biographical sketches of the lives of the troubadours: Jean Boutière, Alexander H. Schutz, and Irénée M. Cluzel. *Biographies des troubadours: textes provençaux des XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Paris: Nizet, 1964). On law and legal language in Occitan and Old French literary and other texts see: R. H. Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and Law* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977); Eliza Miruna Ghil, "*Conven*, *Costuma*, and *Dreit* in the Code of *Fin'A mor*," *Tenso* 26 (2011): 52 74; eadem, "Love's Law: From Erotic Casuist to Moral Arbiter in the Love Lyrics of the Troubadours," *Romance Studies Today: In Honor of Beatriz Varela,* ed. Elaine S. Brooks, Eliza Miruna Ghil, and S. George Wolf (Newark, NJ: Juan de la Cuesta, 2004), 151 60;

presents itself, at least nominally, as a validation of individual aspirations and desires, i.e., the legitimacy of loving and expressing that love, it does so only within the framework of service to lord and lady and strict definitions of virtues – including loyalty, honor, chivalry, courtesy, and highly disciplined forms of love and desire – which make one worthy of loving and being loved.

What modern scholars later termed *amour courtois (*courtly love) was known to the Occitan troubadours by a variety of terms emphasizing its character as a higher, virtuous, and nobler kind of affection linked to the courtly life: *cortez'a-mor* (gentle love or courteous love), *fin'amor* (refined love), and *bon'amor* (good love).[35] Terms in medieval Occitan poetry such as *dreit d'amor* (the rights of love) were, as Eliza Miruna Ghil pointed out, echoes of the language of law and legis-lation and also part of "the rhetoric that articulates the behavioral code of *fin'a-mor*."[36] Though perhaps only as a social game, the Occitan troubadours engaged in lively poetic debates dealing with the subtleties of a veritable casuistry of the affections and the proper distribution of the rewards of love.[37] Whether only in

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Angelica Rieger, "Troubadours and Law: Legal Metaphors in the Autumn of Troubadour Poetry," *Tenso* 26 (2011): 75 87. F. R. P. Akehurst's transcription of the thirteenth century *Costuma d'Agen* helps illustrate not only the interest in economic and legal issues but also the relations and shift ing balance of power between comital and municipal courts, customary and feudal law, in the Occitan region of Agen: *The* Costuma *d'Agen: A Thirteenth Century Customary Compilation in Old Occitan. Transcribed from the* Livre Juratoire (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010). On the market economy and its language in literary texts: R. Howard Bloch, "Money, Metaphor, and the Mediation of So cial Difference in Old French Romance," *Symposium* 35 (1981): 18 33; William E. Burgwinkle, *Love for Sale: Materialist Readings of the Troubadour Razo Corpus*. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, 2067. New Middle Ages, 5 (New York: Garland, 1997).

35 The expression *amour courtois* was first used by the nineteenth century French scholar Gas ton Paris, "*Lancelot du Lac*, II. *Le Conte de la Charrette,*" *Romania* 12 (1883): 459 534; here 519. *Cortez'amor* is used by the troubadour Peire d'Alvernha on l. 58 of "Gent es, mentr'om n'a lezer" (PC 323.18; It is proper, while one has the leisure); Jean Frappier, "Vues sur les conceptions courtoises dans les littératures d'oc et d'oïl au XIIe siècle," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 2 (1959): 135 56; here 137. The expression *fin'amor* occurs on l. 38 of Marcabru's "El son d'esviat chantaire" (PC 293.5; To the music of a wayward singer). *Bon'amor* is attested in l. 32 of "Farai chansoneta nueva" (PC 183.6; I will make a new little song), which is attributed to William.
36 Ghil, "Conven" (see note 34), 55. The use of the language of legal entitlement in relation to matters of love goes back to the earliest troubadours, including William IX, who uses the term *dreit* in compositions like "Farai un vers de dreit nien" (PC 183.7): "anc no n'aic dreit ni no·m fes tort" (l. 32; I never had the right and it does me no damage); and in "Compaigno, non puosc mudar qu'eo no m'effrei" (PC 183.4): "E diz que non volo prendre dreit ni lei" (l. 4; and she says they do not want to honor right or law).
37 Poetic debates explicitly discussing the *dreit d'amor* include a *partimen* of Aimeric de Peguil han and Gaucelm Faidit, "Gauselm Faiditz, de dos amics corals" (PC 10.28 and PC 167.24; Gau celm Faiditz, of two bosom friends). The song ends with the stanza: "N'Aimerics, be·n sabra lo

literary fantasy or also in a social life informed by that fantasy, courtly love was understood, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as a refined manner of feeling, speaking, and acting connected to a code of behavior defining obligations and rights, the sacrifices and rewards associated with well-regulated loving.

Whether only playfully or in earnest, the ethic of *fin'amor* was codified, evidencing its ethical and legislative character, in treatises like Andreas Capellanus's *De amore* (ca. 1185–1190).[38] Concerned with the differentiation of higher, more spiritualized, and lower, more carnal forms of love – *amor purus* in opposition to *amor mixtus* – Andreas's treatise, regardless of the historicity of its represented situations, offers explicit discussion of erotic passions in relation to ideas of legislation and moral judgment. Furthermore, it describes twenty-one judgments in cases of love (*amoris iudicia,* II.vii.1) said to have been adjudicated by Eleanor of Aquitaine (granddaughter of William IX), her daughter Marie de Champagne, and other noble ladies, at a *curia dominarum (*court of ladies; II.vii.18) held specifically for that purpose. The regulation of amatory conduct de-

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miels chauzir / lo valenz coms, e·l ver jujamen dir, / c'aisel sap miels los dretz d'amor assatz / qe n'es soven alegres et iratz" (ll. 53 56; Lord Aimeric, the noble count will know how best to choose and issue a true judgment, for he knows best the rights of love who is often happy and angry). A *partimen* between Bernart and Blacatz, "Segner Blacaz, ben mi platz e m'ajenza" (PC 52.5 and PC 97.12; Lord Blacatz, it pleases me well and suits me), features the line "en dreit d'amor am mais la plus prezan" (l. 16; in right of love I love more the most worthy). The standard edition of the Occitan *tensos* and *partimens* is *The Troubadour* Tensos *and* Partimens: *A Critical Edition*, ed. Ruth E. Harvey and Linda M Paterson. 3 vols. Gallica, 14 (Cambridge and Wood bridge: D. S. Brewer/Modern Humanities Research Association, 2010).

38 Andreas Capellanus, *Andreas Capellanus on Love,* ed. P. G. Walsh (London: Duckworth, 1982). Just as William's work is torn by the contradictions of courtly and uncourtly approaches to love, Andreas's treatise is also profoundly self contradictory, as it presents a clash of perspectives on love, corresponding to secular and ecclesiastical interests. As Albrecht Classen indicates, "… the introductory sections of book one present a bone dry, clear cut outline of specific rules and pre scriptions relevant for love which do not require any specific interpretation or comment, except that the effects of love on a young man are described as extremely positive, transforming him from a rough and uncouth person into a man with a noble character, an unforeseen fluency of speech, and upright and steady morals and ethics"; book three however paints carnal love as a sin and women as evil, so much so that "the tirades against women exceed almost anything medieval writers ever composed as a vendetta against women." Ultimately, Classen argues, "the key aspect of *De amore* proves to be the dialogue itself, the communicative effort to establish a community of intellectuals who can share the enjoyment of a critical discourse where two fun damental positions are developed but never quite combined to reach a conclusion": Albrecht Classen, "Epistemology at the Courts: The Discussion of Love by Andreas Capellanus and Juan Ruiz," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 103.3 (2002): 341 62; here 354, 357, 358 59; id., "An dreas Capellanus aus kommunikationstheoretischer Sicht. Eine postmoderne Auslegung von 'De amore,'" *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 29 (1994): 45 60.

scribed in literary compositions eventually led to the regulation of the language and crafting of those compositions themselves, as in Guilhem Molinier's grammatical treatise, the *Leys d'Amor* (Laws of Love) (ca. 1335), establishing the rules of *trobar,* the art of crafting courtly songs, and the criteria by which to judge the quality of poetic compositions. As Jean-Charles Huchet suggested, Molinier's grammatical regulations constituted a further step in the legislation of desire and made language itself, as *fina parladura* (refined speech), into the object of desire, and of discipline.[39]

The Songs of William IX

One of the paradoxes of courtly love and its ideologies of refinement and courtesy is the fact that, at its very beginnings, in the poetry of William, they cannot be disentangled from their supposed opposites, obscenity and vulgarity.[40] As formulated by Pierre Bec, the question is clear:

Le premier des poètes occitans connus, le démiurge du trobar, Guilhem de Peitieus, ce *tro vatore bifronte* comme l'ont nommé les critiques italiens, ne crée t il pas à la fois le *texte*, celui de l'amour épuré, avec ce type, qui devait faire fortune, de l'amant poète éploré fris sonnant aux pieds de sa dame, et le *contre texte*, gaillard et truculent, subversif et icono claste, où le grand seigneur belliqueux, dans des textes dont l'ambiguïté désespère les phi

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39 Jean Charles Huchet, "L'*Amor de Lonh* du grammarien," *Médiévales* 9 (1985): 64 79; Simon Gaunt, "Obscene Hermeneutics in Troubadour Lyric," *Medieval Obscenities* (see note 23), 85 104. Charles Muscatine, "Courtly Literature and Vulgar Language," *Court and Poet: Selected Pro ceedings of the Third Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society,* ed. Glyn S. Burgess (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1981), 1 19, notes that medieval courtly culture played a large role in the development of modern language taboos (10); id., *The Old French Fabliaux* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986); id., "The Fabliaux, Courtly Culture, and the (Re)Invention of Vulgar ity," *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages,* ed. Jan M. Ziol kowski. Cultures, Beliefs, and Traditions, 4 (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 1998), 281 92.
40 Variations in the local cultures and languages of the territories associated with William such as Aquitaine, Gascony, Poitou, Toulouse, and the Limousin may account for some of the contradictory elements in the language and content of his songs. At least for the case of cor bels in Romanesque and Gothic architecture, as Weising notes, "the concepts of body and sex uality were certainly not the same in the South East as in the South West of France"; "nude char acters with clear sexual intention actually appear quite often in Aquitaine and Northern Spain, whereas in the Midi few corbels depict elements of nudity." Weising further observes that where as obscenity and moral meanings were more common in the Northern corbels, in the Midi their functions were mostly purely architectural or apotropaic: "A Vision of 'Sexuality,' 'Obscenity,' or 'Nudity'?" (see note 20), 326, 333, 351.

lologues, met plaisamment sur le même pied ses prouesses nocturnes et celles du champ de bataille?[41]

[The first of the known Occitan poets, the demiurge of *trobar*, William of Poitiers, this two faced troubadour, as he has been called by the Italian critics, did he not create at the same time the text   that of refined love, with its characteristic protagonist, destined for popular ity, of the tearful lover poet, trembling at the feet of his lady   and the counter text, bawdy and savage, subversive and iconoclastic, where the powerful and belligerent lord, in texts that drive philologists to despair because of their ambiguity, jokingly puts on the same foot ing his nocturnal adventures and those of the battlefield?]

Scholarly attempts to classify William's songs according to whether their content is offensive or not go back to at least the nineteenth century.[42] Such classifica tions are difficult, however, because the songs exhibit mixed tendencies in terms of their speakers' attitudes, which can fluctuate from irreverence to humil ity, not just between songs, but also within them. Indeed, though infamous for their obscenity, not even the raunchiest of William IX's works could escape the ethical and regulatory impulses of the courtly culture from which they sprang.[43]

Notable for their misogynistic vulgarity, works like "Companho, farai un vers tot covinen" (My friends, I will make a very appropriate song), "Compaigno non pus mudar qu'eu no m'effrei" (My friends, I cannot help but feel irritated), and "Companho, tant ai agutz d'avols conres" (My friends, I have had so much ill treatment) have to be understood as both reactions against and acts of submis sion to a courtly ethos that the poet found simultaneously attractive and repel-

41 Pierre Bec, *Burlesque et obscenité chez les troubadours: Pour une approche du contre texte médiéval* (Paris: Éditions Stock, 1984), 7. My translation follows.

42 Max Sachse, *Über das Leben und die Lieder des Troubadours Wilhelm IX, Grafen von Poitou* (Leipzig: Schlömp, 1882), 28.

43 Albrecht Classen and Peter Dinzelbacher observed that sexually explicit songs and narra tives were not uncommon in either the high or the late medieval periods and constituted an on going discourse clearly tied to the changes in the understanding of love and the mentalities of the courtly age: "so entdecken wir einen durchgängigen Diskurs über die Sexualität schon seit dem 12. Jahrhundert, der im deutlichen Zusammenhang mit den grundlegenden, auf die Auffas sung der Liebe überhaupt betreffenden mentalitätsgeschichtlichen Umbrüchen steht": "Futili tates Germanicae Medii Aevi redivivae," *Mediaevistik* 21 (2008): 139   57; here 154. Gaunt similarly noted that, "... overtly obscene texts are ... part of the tradition and dependent upon it... . the dependence of this obscene material on the more canonical poetry does not stem simply from the fact that it survives   albeit sporadically   in the same manuscripts. Its reliance on the canon is much more profoundly *formal* in that often obscene lyrics will redeploy, mimic and par ody forms and structures of the dominant tradition. This is what Pierre Bec means when he speaks of these lyrics as *contre textes*": "Obscene Hermeneutics" (see note 39), 88.

lent.[44] The songs feature, in particular, vigorous attempts to distinguish, however irreverently, the *covinen* (proper) from the *vilan* (base), *sen* (wisdom) from *foudatz* (folly), and *proessa* (worthiness) from *malvastatz* (the mean and despicable). All along mixing obscenities with invocations of *dreit* (right) and *lei* (law), the poems exhibit violent countercurrents of desire and resentment toward the desired feminine object and the implicit regulatory structures that define its desirability and inaccessibility.

Obscenity in the work of William takes two different forms, one featuring explicitly obscene language and another that employs metaphors referring to implied realities of a sexual nature.[45] While both are aggressive, the latter is a sign of weakening resistance and growing compliance with the culture of courtesy and chivalry. The most explicitly obscene work of William's is Song 3, "Companho, tant ai agutz d'avols conres" (My friends, I have had so much ill treatment), where the word *con* occurs in expressions like "cons gardatz" (l. 5; "women" who are kept imprisoned or closely watched by jealous husbands) and "leis de con" (l. 10; laws of "women"). Rather than to "women" in general, the word *con* refers specifically to the *pudendum muliebre* and is more accurately translated in the editions of Gerald Bond and Freddy Jensen.[46] Also explicit, Song 5, "Farai un vers pos mi sonelh" (I will make a song since I am sleepy), employs the word "fotei" (l. 79), in the expression "tant las fotei cum auzirets" (I

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44 PC 183.3; Song 1 in Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), 2 5, 57 59; Pasero, *Guglielmo IX* (see note 2), 5 35; and Jeanroy, *Chansons de Guillaume IX* (see note 2), 1 3, 31. PC 183.4; Song 2 in Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), 6 9, 59 61; Pasero, *Guglielmo IX* (see note 2), 37 58; and Jeanroy, *Chansons de Guillaume IX* (see note 2), 3 5, 31 32. PC 183.5; Song 3 in Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), 10 13, 61 62; Pasero, *Guglielmo IX* (see note 2), 59 81; and Jeanroy, *Chansons de Guillaume IX* (see note 2), 5 6, 32.

45 As Gaunt notes, the ascribing of obscenity to compositions where no explicit language is used says as much about a moralizing interpreter as about an appreciative audience: "Indeed, to appreciate (or indeed to attack) a poem such as this as obscene is to admit to having a mind that works in the same way as those that enjoy it," "Obscene Hermeneutics" (see note 39), 94. Weising specifies that the display of the nude body in the architectural motifs of medieval public buildings is not necessarily obscene. "Obscenity," she writes, "derives from gesture. The act of displaying sexual organs or bottoms is not necessarily related to sexuality. It can be a provocation, a joke, or an insult": "A Vision of 'Sexuality,' 'Obscenity,' or 'Nudity'?" (see note 20), 326.

46 Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), 11; Frede Jensen, *Provençal Philology and the Poetry of Guillaume of Poitiers*. Études romanes de l'Université d'Odense, 13 (Odense: Odense University Press, 1983), 74.

'loved' them so much as you will hear), where *fotei* of course means having sexual intercourse, most correctly translated by Bond and Jensen.[47]

Songs that treat obscene material metaphorically include Song 1, "Companho, farai un vers tot covinen" (My friends, I will make a very appropriate song), where women are equated with horses and their sexual use with horseback riding. Song 2, "Compaigno, non pus mudar qu'eu no m'effrei" (My friends, I cannot help but feel irritated), also uses equestrian imagery. In Song 6, "Ben vueill que sapchon li pluzor" (I want very much for most people to know), the poet disguises a sexual encounter through images of a board game employing three dice.[48] Song 10, "Ab la dolchor del temps novel" (With the sweetness of the new season), features the terms "la pessa e·l coutel" (l. 30; the piece [of bread] and the knife), of evident meaning.[49]

Both obscenity and its opposite, the *fina parladura* of the more genteel poets, however, are ultimately symptoms of the disempowerment of the speaking subjects. Although the tone of the obscene songs of William is boastful and chauvinistically self-assertive, it conceals the opposite realities of the lord's loss, failure, impotence, illness, and inability to have things go his way. Accordingly, Song 1 laments that he cannot actually keep the two horses because they do not get along with each other. Song 2 expresses distress and irritation (*effrei*) over women kept under guard by their husbands. Song 3 is a lament over the *avols conres*, the ill treatment that he feels he has suffered, and a complaint over the attempts by others to limit access to their women and to resources such as forests and fishing waters. Song 5 boasts of an orgiastic week spent in the company of two women but only at the cost of more than a hundred wounds and some rather serious diseases. In Song 6, he gets to play the game in which he boasts of mastery, but only after an embarrassing lack of ability downplayed by the song. Song 10, for all its boasting of having "la pessa e·l coutel" is a lament over the lovers' separation and the gossip and slander, "estraing lati" (l. 25), that keeps them apart.

As Huchet suggested, the inappropriate language, as much as the contrived nature of poetic language in general, reveal a linguistic excess, a *sobreplus*, or "over-plus," corresponding to a lack and deep dissatisfaction, a malaise that

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47 PC 183.12; Song 5 in Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), 18   23, 48   53, 65   67; here 23. Also, Song 5 in Pasero, *Guglielmo IX* (see note 2), 113   55; Jeanroy, *Chansons de Guillaume IX* (see note 2), 8   13, 33   36; and Jensen, *Provençal Philology* (see note 46), 148   201; here 152.

48 PC 183.2; Song 6 in Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), 24   28, 67   72; Pasero, *Guglielmo IX* (see note 2), 157   86; and Jeanroy, *Chansons de Guillaume IX* (see note 2), 13   16, 36   38.

49 PC 183.1; Song 10 in Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), 36   39, 75   78; Pasero, *Guglielmo IX* (see note 2), 241   66; and Jeanroy, *Chansons de Guillaume IX* (see note 2), 24   26, 40.

is both sexual and linguistic, also political and economic.[50] The obscenity, in other words, is a symptom of dysfunctions and losses motivating the inappropriate language and also the more appropriate one seen in the more metaphorical works and the more courtly compositions, where William speaks in reverent ways about women and also in terms of submission, and even depression and penitential regret over his way of life. The latter include Song 4, "Farai un vers de dreit nien" (I will make a song exactly about nothing), where he expresses nihilistic despair.[51] Song 7, "Pos vezem de novel florir" (Since we see the flowering anew), explicitly condemns the use of foul language at court and advocates for obedience:

> Obediensa deu portar
> a maintas gens, qui vol amar;
> e cove li que sapcha far
> faitz avinens,
> e que·s gart en cort de parlar
> vilanamens (ll. 31 36).[52]

> [Whoever desires to love must show obedience to many people. And it is best that he knows how to perform praiseworthy deeds, and that he refrains from speaking in vulgar ways at court.]

In Song 9, "Mout jauzens me prenc en amar" (I am seized by great joy in loving), he states he feels afraid how the lady might react to his words and that he knows one should not boast ("Ieu, so sabetz, no·m dey gabar," l. 7) and should instead be humble and obedient to the lady: "Totz joys li deu humiliar / e tota ricors obezir, / Midons, per son belh aculhir" (ll. 19 – 21; all joys must humble themselves before her, and all wealth must obey her, My Lady, because of her beautiful welcome).[53] Song 11, "Pos de chantar m'es pres talenz" (Since I am seized by the desire to sing), is a poignant goodbye and renunciation of the joys of the courtly life and a statement of multiple regrets about the harm done to others and the dangerous situation in which he leaves his son.[54] Considered together, the courtly

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50 Huchet, "L'*Amor de Lonh*" (see note 39), 68 69.
51 PC 183.7; Song 4 in Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), 14 17, 63 64; Pasero, *Guglielmo IX* (see note 2), 83 112; and Jeanroy, *Chansons de Guillaume IX* (see note 2), 6 8, 32 33.
52 PC 183.11; Song 7 in Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), 28 31, 72 74; Pasero, *Guglielmo IX* (see note 2), 187 210; and Jeanroy, *Chansons de Guillaume IX* (see note 2), 16 19, 38 39.
53 PC183.8; Song 9 in Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), 32 35, 74 75; Pasero, *Guglielmo IX* (see note 2), 213 40; and Jeanroy, *Chansons de Guillaume IX* (see note 2), 21 24, 39 40.
54 PC183.10; Song 11 in Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), 40 43, 79 82; Pasero, *Guglielmo IX* (see note 2), 267 95; and Jeanroy, *Chansons de Guillaume IX* (see note 2), 26 29, 42 43.

and the uncouth compositions of William exhibit a wild fluctuation between language of defiant boasting and aggression, manifested in explicit obscenity, and language of self-abasement and obedience, expressed as reverential love for a lady and submission to courtly standards of politeness and respect for others. Both the courtly and the uncourtly compositions, however, correspond to the same conditions of growing powerlessness on the part of someone in the process of being gradually reduced to political obedience and subordination.

Rather than the actual origin of courtly poetry, William's works constituted a critical response to a courtly culture that, in the interest of political subjection, proscribed certain forms of language and behavior. Already some of the earliest commentators on the life and work of William noted the inaccuracy of thinking of him as the first troubadour.[55] His work indeed is marked by a high level of technical sophistication and discursive features suggesting that he was responding to, and participating in, an already well-established tradition of song-making in courtly settings and of corresponding themes and ideas that were the focus of the songs.[56] William's songs, in particular, appear to be responses to a variety of targets, situations and rivals that included ecclesiastics, secular lords like the counts of Anjou, to whom he refers with special deference in Song 11, and also the economic circumstances in which William found himself as a result of his own ambitions, spending habits, and military adventures.

Some of William's songs, in effect, as suggested by Reto Bezzola, appear to be satirical responses to an already existing tradition, likely initiated by ecclesi-

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55 *Histoire littéraire de la France. Tome XI: Qui comprend la suite du douzième Siécle de l'Eglise jusqu'à l'an 1141* (Paris: Nyon, Chaubert, Durand, Pissot, Savoye, Davidts, 1759), 43 44; Giovanni Galvani, *Fiore di storia letteraria e cavalleresca della Occitania, Opere del conte Giovanni Galvani.* 2 vols. (Milan: Carlo Turati, 1845 1846), 1.87.

56 "... auch Wilhelm IX. genau wie seine Nachfolger nur eine bereits fertige Tradition for tsetzte": Dimitri Scheludko, "Religiöse Elemente im weltlichen Liebeslied der Trobadors," *Zeits chrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 59.7 8 (1935): 402 21; here 405. The twelfth century chronicler Geoffrey of Vigeois noted the poetic activity of contemporaries of William like Ebles II of Ventadorn (ca. 1086 1155): "Ebolus frater Petri de Petra Bufferia ex Almode matre, erat valde gratiosus in cantilenis"; Geoffrey also noted the competition between William and Ebles, as they attempted to disparage each other by claiming the lack of courtliness of their rival: Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chronica*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet and Léopold Delisle. Nouvelle édition (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1877), XII: 421 51; here 445. A *tenso*, at tributed in some manuscripts (Mss. I, K, a¹, d) to Ebles and William, "N'Ebles, aram digatz" (PC 183.9, 130.1), is, however, assigned in others (Mss. C, E, L, S) to Gui d'Uisel and Ebles d'Uisel, "N'Ebles, pos edeptatz" (PC 194.16, 129.4): Hermann Suchier, "Der Troubadour Marcabru," *Jahr buch für romanische und englische Sprache und Literatur* 14 = Neue Folge 2 (1875): 119 60; here 120 21. Suchier's study is considered to have disproved the authorship of William and Ebles II of Ventadorn.

astics, of polite and refined poetry and epistolary rhetoric in praise of noble women.[57] As also noted by Bezzola, William's language could indeed be related to his opposition to the growing influence of ecclesiastics and their attempt to exert control over the way of life of secular lords.[58] That idea is consistent with the ambitions of the Church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as well as with William's many conflicts with ecclesiastics over lands and other resources, matters of participation in the crusades, and the rights of lords to keep mistresses, divorce, and remarry.[59] It is also supported by the studies of Dimitri Scheludko, who identified the religious sources of the rhetoric and ideas of the troubadours.[60] The stance against ecclesiastics, furthermore, takes explicit forms in William's poetry, as in the invocation of the motif of the *amor de cavalier* (love of a knight) vs. *amor de clerc* (love of a cleric), which is clearly related to the intense competition between secular nobility and ecclesiastics for the attention and company of women, such as in the case of Andreas Capellanus.[61]

The motif of *amor de cavalier* vs. *amor de clerc* appears in one of William's most explicitly obscene compositions, Song 5, "Farai un vers, pos mei sonelh," a piece that exhibits, from its very opening, virulent rage against ecclesiastics and the women who choose their company over that of secular knights. The violent language of the song, in addition to its explicitly obscene retelling of a sexual adventure, is revealing of the connections between William's misogyny and the rivalry of secular lords like himself and the ecclesiastics of his time:

> Farai un vers, pos mi sonelh,
> e·m vauc e m'estauc al solelh.

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[57] Reto Roberto Bezzola, "Guillaume IX et les origines de l'amour courtois," *Romania* 66 (1940 1941): 145 237; here 165 66, 209 10. Also Bond, *Loving Subject* (see note 30), 42 69, 70 98; and id., "*Iocus Amoris:* The Poetry of Baudri of Bourgueil and the Formation of the Ovidian Subculture," *Traditio* 42 (1986): 143 93. Scheludko commented on the epistolary structure and rhetoric of the *Liebeskanzone* as "eine Art Liebesepistel" including "die drei althergebracht en Teile des Epistularstils: 1. Captatio benevolentiae ... 2. Expositio ... und 3. Petitio," "Religiöse Elemente" (see note 56), 403.

[58] Bezzola, "Guillaume IX" (see note 57), 208 11.

[59] Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), xxix xxxii.

[60] Scheludko noted the stylistic influence of religious litanies, particularly their repetition of a refrain, as well as the allusion to, and even parody of, biblical literature and ideas in William's Song 8: "Religiöse Elemente" (see note 56), 407.

[61] "A l'aube de la lyrique savante occitane, nous voici dejà en présence du grand thème de l'op position entre l'amour du chevalier et celui du clerc": Rita Lejeune, "L'extraordinaire insolence du troubadour Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine," *Mélanges de langue et de littérature, offerts à Pierre le Gentil* (Paris: Société d'Édition d'Enseignement Superior [S. E. D. E. S.] / Centre de Documenta tion Universitaire [C. D. U.], 1973), 485 503; here 489.

> Domnas i a de mal conselh,
> e sai dir cals:
> cellas c'amor de cavalier
> tornon a mals.
>
> Domna fai pechat mortal,
> que n'ama cavalier leal.
> Mais s'ama monge o clergal,
> non a raizo.
> Per dreg la deuria hom cremar
> ab un tizon (ll. 1 12).[62]

[I will make a song, since I am sleepy, as I travel along exposed to the sun. There are women who follow bad advice, and I can tell which ones: those who the love of a knight turn down as evil. A lady commits a mortal sin, who does not love a loyal knight. But if she loves a monk or a clerk, she does not have reason. By right, one should burn her with a fire brand.]

The song's threats of physical violence directed at women who consort with clerics is of a kind with the language in which the speaker subsequently narrates a sojourn of a week spent in the company of two noble women, the ladies Agnes and Ermessen, said to be married to two noble lords, referred to in the song as the lords Guari and Bernart. So as to ensure his discretion, the ladies subject the speaker/lover to hideous torture by means of a very large and very angry red cat. Although he overexerts himself to the point of suffering physical harm and further contracts serious diseases, he boasts of his alleged sexual prowess in terms of similarly violent sexual abuse and further seeks to harm the ladies' reputations by revealing the adventure through his song:

> Tant las fotei com auziretz:
> cen e quatre vinz et ueit vetz,
> q'a pauc no·i rompei mos corretz
> e mos arnes;
> e no·us puesc dir los malavegz,
> tan gran m'en pres.
>
> Monet, tu m'iras al mati,
> mo vers portaras el borssi,
> dreg a la molher d'en Guari
> e d'en Bernat:
> e diguas lor que per m'amor
> aucizo·l cat! (ll. 79 90)[63]

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62 PC 183.12; Song 5 in the editions of Bond, Pasero and Jeanroy (see note 2).

63 The *tornada* (concluding stanza) here is the one in ms. C but differs from the endings in mss. V and N. Lejeune noted that the differences appear to be related to deliberate suppression of

[I had intercourse with them so much, as you will hear, one hundred and eighty eight times, that I almost broke my belts and harness. I cannot tell you what great illnesses befell me. Monet, as soon as morning comes, take my song into your bag and go straight to the wives of the Lord Guari and the Lord Bernart and tell them, for the love of me, to kill the cat.]

The wish for the death of the cat, in this particular narrative, is also an indirect expression of misogyny, as the cat is meant to represent, among other meanings, the ladies' libidinal urges, characterizing them as predatory and feline in nature.

Noble women, in effect, during the courtly ages, were contested objects in the power struggles of secular lords, amongst themselves, and also with ecclesiastics attempting to enforce, on lay people, monogamous marriage and other moral strictures.[64] A notable example of those conflicts was Philip I of France (r. 1059–1108), who was excommunicated for his affair with Bertrada of Montfort, the wife of Fulk IV, Count of Anjou.[65] Though often in conflict with the kings of France, William took the side of Philip during the proceedings against him.[66] William himself was excommunicated, in 1114, for his affair with Amauberge de l'Isle Bouchard, viscountess of Châtellerault – nicknamed Dangerosa

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materials offensive to ecclesiastics (ms C) or to the nobility (mss V and N): "L'extraordinaire in solence" (see note 61), 490   91.

64 William's conflicts with ecclesiastics were not confined to his relations with women but also involved struggles over lands, taxation, property rights, and matters of vassalage. In a letter of March 30, 1094, Pope Urban II sternly threatened William with excommunication if he failed to return to the monks of Vendôme the church of St. George at Oléron which had been seized by one of William' vassals: Geoffrey of Vendôme [Goffridi Abbatis Vindocinensis], *Opera Omnia*, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne. Vol. 157 (Paris: Garnier Fratres et J. P. Migne Successores, 1899), cols. 33   282, here cols. 202   203, note 360. Also around 1094, Geoffrey wrote to William complaining about onerous taxes imposed on the monks by his pro vosts: "consuetudines, seu exactiones, quas terris nostris praepositi vestri violenter impresser unt," Epistola XX, *Patrologia* 157, cols. 202   203. Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), xxix   xxxii. Around 1108, William imprisoned Eustorge, the Bishop of Limoges, "to enforce homage": Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), xvi. Alfred Richard, however, suggests that the nature of the conflict with Eustorge was unclear; he notes a similar enmity between William and Pierre de Soubise, Bishop of Saintes: *Histoire des comtes de Poitou*. 2 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1903), 1: 456.
65 Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth Century France*, trans. Elborg Forster. Johns Hopkins Symposia in Comparative History, 11 (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Uni versity Press, 1978), 29   45.
66 Richard, *Histoire* (see note 64), 1: 429. In his *Chronicon*, Hugh de Flavigny [Hugonis Abbatis Flaviniacensis] describes the violent disruption of the excommunication proceedings at the Council of Poitiers, in November of 1100, caused by William and his followers: *Patrologiae Cur sus Completus: Patrologia Latina. Tomus CLIV*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: J. P. Migne Editorem, 1853), 154: cols. 17   434, here cols. 385   86.

Maubergeonne – the Angevin wife of Aimeric I of Châtellerault.[67] Angry at the Church's opposition to his dalliance with Dangerosa, William assaulted and imprisoned Peter II, the Bishop of Poitiers, who died in 1115.[68] His excommunication was renewed by the papal legate, Girard, Bishop of Angoulême, and endorsed by Pope Paschal II. William of Malmesbury notes that William ridiculed Girard's admonition to end his liaison with Dangerosa by telling the balding bishop: "Antea ... crispabis pectine refugum a fronte capillum quam ego vicecomitissae indicam repudium" (sooner will you comb the receding hairs from your forehead than I should announce a repudiation of the viscountess).[69] As a consequence of that affair, William's wife, Philippa-Mathilda of Toulouse, left her husband and retired to Robert d'Arbrissel's monastery at Fontevrault in 1116, the second wife of William to join that community.[70] A wandering preacher "who crisscrossed western France for two decades" and who exerted a powerful influence on, and developed a large following of women, Robert d'Arbrissel (ca. 1045 – 1116) was a protegé of Peter II, the Bishop of Poitiers, who first made it possible for Robert to accommodate his followers at Fontevrault.[71] Robert was also a recipient of the generosity of the counts of Anjou, like Fulk V, a notorious enemy of William who called Robert's preaching "a thunderclap of holy exhortation."[72] William's famous threat to provide for the foundation, in the vicinity of Niort, of an "abbatiam pellicum" (convent of whores) has been noted to be a jab against Robert and Fontevrault.[73] Not surprisingly, ecclesiastics

67 Richard, *Histoire* (see note 64), 1: 472 73, 504.

68 Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), xxxi xxxii. William of Malmesbury describes the attack against Peter: [Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi], *Gesta Regum Anglorum* V.439 in *Gesta Regum Anglorum atque Historia Novella,* ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy. 2 vols. (London: Sumptibus Societ atis, 1840), 2.671.

69 *Gesta Regum Anglorum* V. 439 (see note 68), 2.671.

70 William IX appears to have been married, early in his life, to Ermengarde of Anjou (ca. 1069 1147), a daughter of Fulk IV: Bond, *Poetry of William*, xxxvii xl (see note 2); Richard, *Histoire* (see note 64), 1: 395, 438, 447, 472 73, 504. That William was ever married to Ermengarde has been contested by Ruth E. Harvey, "The Wives of the 'First Troubadour,' Duke William IX of Aqui taine," *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993): 307 25.

71 Bruce L. Venarde, *Robert of Arbrissel: A Medieval Religious Life* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), xxv. Bond, *Poetry of William*, xxxvii (see note 2).

72 Venarde, *Robert of Arbrissel* (see note 71), xv. Bond, *Poetry of William*, xxxvii xxxix (see note 2). Richard, *Histoire* (see note 64), 1: 460.

73 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* V.439 (see note 68), 2.670; Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), xxxix, 120. Bezzola, "Guillaume IX" (see note 57), 208.

of his day referred to William as "fatuus et lubricus" (lewd and foolish), "totius pudicitiae ac sanctitatis inimicus" (enemy of all decency and holiness).[74]

The relationship between women and ecclesiastics that William resented is further suggested in the names of the ladies, Agnes and Ermessen, and Agnes and Arsen, in songs like "Farai un vers, pos mi sonelh" and "Companho, farai un vers, tot covinen." Both Reto Bezzola and Rita Lejeune noted the names are suggestive of the identities of certain of William's own relatives.[75] Agnes of Poitou (d. 1077), William's aunt, married Holy Roman Emperor Henry III and had very close relationships with Ermesen/Hermensent (the widow of William's uncle, Pierre-Guillaume/William VII), and ecclesiastics like Peter Damian. As noted by Bezzola, the letters exchanged between Peter Damian and Empress Agnes are notable precursors of the rhetoric of courtly love.[76] Empress Agnes,

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74 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* V.439 (see note 68), 2.670; Geoffrey Grossus [Gaufridus Grossus, Monachus Tironiensis], *Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris Congregationis de Tir onio in Gallia* (*Vita Sancti Bernardi de Tironio)*, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Patrologia Lat ina* (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1895), vol. 172, cols. 1362 1446; here col. 1396, Ch. 6, Sec. 48. As both Bond and Richard note, not all interactions of William with ecclesiastics were negative, as he also of fered substantial support to religious establishments, including the donation of lands for the foundation of the abbey at Orbestier and the granting of favors to the Maison Dieu at Montmor illon and to the Abbey of Montierneuf at Poitiers, and personally participated in crusading ex peditions in 1101 1102 and again in 1120: Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), xxxii xxxiv; Ri chard, *Histoire* (see note 64), 1: 452 54.

75 Bezzola, "Guillaume IX" (see note 57), 165 66. Lejeune, "L'extraordinaire insolence" (see note 61), 499 502. William had a grandmother, an aunt, perhaps two cousins, a sister, at least two half sisters, and also a daughter, all named Agnes: Lejeune, "L'extraordinaire inso lence" (see note 61), 499. Agnes of Maçon/Burgundy (ca. 990 1068) married William the Great, V Duke of Aquitaine, in 1019. Her daughter Agnes of Poitou (c. 1025 1077) married Em peror Henry III in 1043. Another Agnes of Poitou (ca. 1047/1052 after 1089) was the daughter of either William VI or William VII and married Ramiro I of Aragon and/or Peter I of Savoy. Her daughter Agnes of Savoy (1066/1070 after 1110) married Frederick von Lützelburg in 1080. Agnes of Mortain was a maternal aunt of William's wife, Philippa Mathilda of Toulouse. William's sister, Agnes of Aquitaine (ca. 1072 1097/1098) married Peter I of Aragon in 1086. His half sister, Agnes of Aquitaine (ca. 1059 1078 or after 1099), married Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile ca. 1074 1075. An illegitimate daughter of William VIII, Agnes (d. ca. 1151/1162), was William's half sister. William's daughter, Agnes (ca. 1103 ca. 1160), married Ramiro II of Ara gon in 1135. Genealogies and chronologies in Charles Cawley, "Medieval Lands" (Foundation for Medieval Genealogy, 2006 2021), http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/ (last accessed on Dec. 21, 2021).

76 Bezzola discusses Peter Damian, Baudri de Bourgueil, Marbode de Rennes, and Hildebert de Lavardin as significant Latin authors whose writings anticipated and exhibited evident parallels with the language, rhetoric and conceits of courtly love: "Guillaume IX" (see note 57), 165 66, 209; the influence of Marbod on William was also noted by Scheludko, "Religiöse Elemente" (see note 56), 409. Baudri and Marbode, along with Adela of Blois, were significant contributors

furthermore, was the mother of Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV, whose conflicts with Pope Gregory VII led to Henry's penance at Canossa in 1077 and to the Investiture Controversy, a struggle very much characteristic of the rivalries between secular and ecclesiastical lords of the courtly era. After acting as Regent of the Empire during the minority of Henry IV, Agnes retired at Rome but continued to exert significant influence at the papal court. As also noted by Bezzola, she likely played a role in the legitimation of William's birth, who was initially considered a bastard by the Church due to the consanguinity of his parents.[77] The names Agnes and Ermessen/Arsen are therefore firmly tied to the circumstances of the birth and identity of William, and the relations of his family to the Church and the Empire.

The obscenity of William's songs is related not only to his troubled relations with ecclesiastics but also to his conflicts with fellow secular aristocrats, with whom he wrangled over questions of political power, territory, and property, as well as possession and control of women. As someone in a mid-position between higher and lower lords, William resisted subservience, while trying to subordinate others, but ultimately could not help falling victim to the charms of courtly culture and the ladies that represented political forces stronger than his own.[78]

For William, the more powerful political and military rivals were located to the north of his domains, in Anjou, Normandy, and France, whereas he sought to expand his own power south of Poitiers, in the Limousin and Toulouse. Stressing the relationship between William, as poet and performer before audiences of fellow feudal lords, Franz Rauhut noted, regarding obscene compositions like Songs 1 and 3, the shameless, but also jesting and lighthearted, assertion of supposed feudal rights over the persons and property of vassals, including their wives.[79] The songs can also be interpreted, however, as a protest at his own

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to the formation of an eleventh century Ovidian subculture, featuring new subjectivities shaped by a rhetoric of love and desire involving clerics and noble women: Bond, *Loving Subject* (see note 30), 42 69, 70 98; and id., "*Iocus Amoris:* The Poetry of Baudri of Bourgueil and the Formation of the Ovidian Subculture," *Traditio* 42 (1986): 143 93; also Dimitri Scheludko, "Ovid und die Trobadours," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 54 (1934): 129 74.

77 "Guillaume IX" (see note 57), 165 67.

78 Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), xxi xxii, xxiv xxvi.

79 "In den Liedern ... (III) und ... (I) hat Wilhelm als Feudalherr mit ungezügelter Leidenschaftlichkeit schamlos und zynisch sein Herrenrecht über des Nächsten Weib ausgesprochen"; the meaning to its author and audiences would have been "... kurz gesagt, von der größten Bedeutung als erste Lehre der 'ritterlichen' Liebe": Franz Rauhut, "Selbstdarstellung bei dem ältesten Trobador (Vorstudie zu einer personalen Theorie der Entstehung des Minnesangs)," *Formen der Selbstdarstellung. Analekten zu einer Geschichte des literarischen Selbstportraits. Festausgabe für*

being reduced to obedience and subservience to more powerful lords and to the growing kingdoms that eventually became nation-states.[80] Around 1108, William could still refuse to render homage to Louis VI of France, but Louis VII was destined to marry William's granddaughter, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and absorb into France all of his domains.[81] The obscenity of the songs, in that sense, suggests the gradual disempowerment of William, who was on the losing side of the processes of subjection under way in his days.[82]

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Fritz Neubert, ed. Günter Reichenkron and Erich Haase (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1956), 347 61; here 347, 360.

80 Rauhut considered the much more respectful rhetoric of William's conventionally courtly compositions like Song 8, *Farai chansoneta nueva*, as an aspect of a different strategy, a self serving inversion of the feudal relationship mixed with lighthearted jesting, for enticing a reluc tant woman into a sexual relationship: "hat der hochmögende Herr die Frauen einfach als sei nen Besitz betrachtet (in Lied I mit obszönem Zynismus sogar wie Pferde), so bezeichnet er jetzt sich selbst als den Besitz der Ersehnten"; "Das Lehnverhältnis ist nur eine besondere Form der Huldigung zum Zweck der Werbung um die Liebe einer widerstrebenden Frau." Rauhut, howev er, saw more of a personal and original character, in the oddities of the songs, than a direct re flex of the practices and values of feudal societies or the conventions of a genre, "Wilhelm ist in außerordentlichem Grad originell": "Selbstdarstellung" (see note 79), 352 53, 358. Jeanroy had similarly noted "l'assimilation du service amoureux au service féodal," *La poèsie lyrique* (see note 4), 10.

81 On William's refusal to render, see Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), xxii; Richard, *His toire* (see note 64), 1: 456 57. William D. Paden relates the eventual decline of troubadour poetry to the failure of Occitania to become a nation state, unlike France that did and that consequently developed a national literature: "The Troubadours and the Albigensian Crusade: A Long View," *Romance Philology* 49.2 (1995): 168 91, here 182 83. Eliza Zingesser discusses the appropriation of Occitan literature and its incorporation into the history of French literature: "the process through which Occitan song was domesticated ... the ways in which the linguistic and cultural specificity of Occitan lyric was actively effaced in its medieval reception in the northern territo ries of what is now France, allowing it to pass as part of a French literary tradition": *Stolen Song: How the Troubadours Became French* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020), 2.

82 Presenting similarities to the case of William, the South Tyrolean poet Oswald von Wolken stein (1376/1377 1445) is notable for his individuality and slippery resistance to subjection by centralized powers. Accordingly, Oswald's songs exhibit a frank treatment of sexuality which can be interpreted as an aspect of that resistance and a satire of the polite culture associated with dominant courts: "Bei Oswald hingegen stoßen wir auf den poetischen Ausdruck eines In dividuums, ... wozu er auf Bilder aus der bäuerlichen Sphäre zurückgreift, auch wenn er sicher lich ein adliges Publikum angesprochen haben wird. Oswald fällt aber sowieso in eine eigene Kategorie ganz für sich, denn es widerstrebte ihm offensichtlich, sich der Tendenz anzuschlie ßen, als unabhängiger Landadliger [sich] dem zentralistischem Hof in Innsbruck anzuschließen bzw. sich dem habsburgischen Landesherrn zu unterwerfen": Albrecht Classen, *Sex im Mittelal ter: Die andere Seite einer idealisierten Vergangenheit. Literatur und Sexualität* (Badenweiler: Wis senschaftlicher Verlag Bachmann, 2011), 82. Rauhut believed William was adapting to the changing circumstances while also serving his own interests: "... im zeitgenössischen Süden

William's animosities toward secular rivals included the figures of successful crusaders such as the Norman warrior, Bohemond, who became King of Antioch, and at whose court William took refuge after his own failure in the crusade of 1101–1102. As noted by Bond and Lejeune, songs like "Farai un vers, pos mi so-nelh" feature parodic references to Bohemond.[83] Perhaps the most threatening peers of William, however, were the counts of Anjou. William in effect often came into conflict with Fulk IV's sons, Geoffrey Martel the Young, who invaded Poitou in 1104, and Fulk V, whom William kidnapped and held for ransom in 1106. Later, in 1110–1111, in alliance with Hugh VII of Lusignan and Simon II of Parthenay, Fulk V attacked William, leading to a series of confrontations in the course of which the latter was badly wounded.[84] Fulk V also went on to become a successful crusader and King of Jerusalem. His son, Geoffrey Plantage-net, married Mathilda, the daughter of Henry I, the Norman king of England. Henry I's brother, William Rufus (the Red), had preceded Henry as king of Eng-land (r. 1087–1100) and was an ally of our William IX in an unsuccessful cam-paign, in 1098, against Philip I of France.[85] Geoffrey Plantagenet and Mathilda were the parents of Henry II, who, in turn, married William's granddaughter, El-eanor of Aquitaine, after her divorce from Louis VII of France. Henry II and Ele-anor's most notable offspring, Richard the Lionheart and John Lackland, were, together with their father, the central figures of the twelfth-century Angevin Em-pire that absorbed the county of Poitiers and the duchy of Aquitaine, William's former domains.

The troubles of William were not only political but also economic. William inherited a very large and well-endowed domain from his ancestors, and, like other lords of his time, he maintained and supplemented his patrimony by tax-ing his subjects, looting and pillaging, conducting wars to expand his territories, and also minting and manipulation of currency. In spite of his exercising of all those options, he was often short of money and had difficulty keeping control of some of the lands and fortified enclaves under his jurisdiction – particularly those to the west and northwest – such as Gascony, Lusignan, Parthenay,

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Frankreichs, aber es gibt Anhaltspunkte für die Annahme, daß damals und dort die Ausbildung einer gesellschaftlichen Höherstellung der Frau in der Feudalität im Gang war, daß also unser Wilhelm hier mit einer Bewegung in dem Stand, dem er angehörte, in eine gegenseitig befruch tende Berührung kam": "Selbstdarstellung" (see note 79), 359.

83 Lejeune, "L'extraordinaire insolence" (see note 61), 498 99. Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), l li; also, Gerald A. Bond, "The Uncourtly Poetry of the Count of Poitiers, William VII," Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1973, 98 101.

84 Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), xxv. Richard, *Histoire* (see note 64), 1: 450 51, 460, 462.

85 Richard, *Histoire* (see note 64), 1: 420 21.

Thouars, and Niort.[86] Financing wars, including crusading stints and conflicts with his neighbors, was a very expensive endeavor, even more so when unsuccessful, as was the crusade of 1101–1102. To be able to afford his participation in that crusade, William attempted to mortgage his lands to William Rufus of England but, after the latter's unexpected death, he had to sell Toulouse, which he had previously seized, taking advantage of the absence of Raymond de Saint-Gilles during the First Crusade.[87] After his return from the crusade – also the period corresponding to the beginnings of his poetic activity – William was broke:

> Son trésor ducal était vide; en d'autres temps, pour le combler, il aurait entrepris une guerre de rapines, frappé ses sujets de contributions ou pressuré les établissements reli gieux, lesquels ne se seraient pas laissé tondre sans réclamer avec ardeur. Il préféra em ployer un procédé moins périlleux qui, dans son esprit, devait lui procurer tout autant de bénéfice; en 1103, il fit frapper de la monnaie d'argent, à laquelle il donna une valeur bien supérieure à celle qui était attribuée à la pièce similaire en billon du moyennage cou rant.[88]

> [His ducal treasury was empty. In other times, to replenish it, he would have undertaken a predatory war, made exactions of his subjects, or put pressure on the religious establish ments, which would not have allowed themselves to be scalped without fiery protest. This time, he chose to use a less dangerous method, which, he calculated, should procure him similar gains. In 1103, he ordered the minting of silver coins, to which he gave a value much higher than that of the copper pieces that were current at the time.]

Around 1110–1112, during and after his destructive wars with Fulk V of Anjou and his allies – also the time corresponding to the beginnings of his scandalous affair with Dangerosa Maubergeonne[89] – William was again forced to devalue the currency:

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86 "... le comte ... avait toujours de grands besoins d'argent": Richard, *Histoire* (see note 64), 1: 459.

87 "Guillaume ne put effectuer son départ sans avoir de grosses sommes à sa disposition, or, pour s'en procurer, la seule ressource à laquelle il put recourir, celle qui fut alors universelle ment pratiquée, aussi bien par les hauts barons que par les chevaliers ou même les simples par ticuliers, ce fut de vendre ses biens ou de les mettre en gage": Richard, *Histoire* (see note 64), 1: 426; Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), xxvii, xxxiv.

88 Richard, *Histoire* (see note 64), 1: 442 43. The *Chronicle of St. Maixent* specifies that, in the year 1103, "Fuit magna tribulatio, et nummi argentei pro aereis mutati et facti sunt" (There was great tribulation, and silver coins were made and substituted for copper ones): *Chronicon Sancti Maxentii Pictavensis*, in *Chroniques des Églises d'Anjou*, ed. Paul Marchegay and Émile Mabille (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France/Jules Renouard, 1869), 349 433; here 421.

89 Bond, Poetry of William (see note 2), xvii, xxxi.

Pour subvenir aux dépenses que lui occasionna cette guerre, le comte recourut une fois en core aux détestables procédés dont il avait déjà usé; il altéra les monnaies à une degré ex trême, voire même il créa une sorte de monnaie fiduciaire, aussi trouve t on fréquemment dans les actes de cette époque des stipulations spéciales, portant que le payement en ar gent devrait être fait en monnaie ancienne.[90]

[To defray the expenses caused by this war, the Count resorted once more to the detestable methods which he had used before. He altered the coinage to an extreme degree, even to the extent of creating a form of fiat money. One also finds frequently, in the documents of this time, special stipulations specifying that payments in silver had to be made in the older forms of the coin.]

Another factor aggravating his economic situation was the need to maintain a luxurious standard of living and status that called for extravagant expenses, largesse, and ostentatious displays of munificence. In courtly Occitan culture, for a lord to be respected and admired, he had to spend lavishly on luxury commodities such as pepper and wax, and had to wear costly garments, such as furs of "vair e gris e sembeli" (black and white and grey squirrel and sable"; l. 42, "Pos de chantar m'es pres talenz").[91] Even while in military campaigns, William de-

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90 Richard, *Histoire* (see note 64), 1: 461.

91 Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), xliv xlv. Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chronica* (see note 56), 444 45. Orderic Vitalis bemoaned the self indulgent habits of courtiers at the Angevin and Nor man courts of the days of Fulk IV of Anjou and William Rufus of England: "Tunc effeminati pas sim in orbe dominabantur, indisciplinate debacchabantur. Sodomiticisque spurcitiis foedi cata mitae, flammis urendi, turpiter abutebantur. Ritus heroum abjicienbant, hortamenta sacerdotum deridebant, barbaricumque morem in habitu et vita tenebant. Nam capillos a vertice in frontem discriminabant, longos crines veluti mulieres nutriebant, et summopere curabant, prolixisque nimiumque strictis camisiis indui, tunicisque gaudeabant. Omne tempus quidam usurpabant, et extra legem Dei moremque patrium pro libitu suo ducebant. Nocte comessationibus et pota tionibus, vanis confabulationibus, aleis et tesseris, aliisque ludicris vacabant; die vero dormie bant" (At that time, effeminates were dominant everywhere in the world and reveled wildly with out restraint. Filthy catamites, doomed to burn in the flames, shamefully indulged in sodomy and foulness. They rejected the customs of heroes, ridiculed the exhortations of priests, and adopted barbarous habits of dress and in their way of life. They parted their hair at the front from the top of their heads, styling long manes, as if they were women, and took great care and pleasure dressing in luxurious and very tight shirts and tunics. They squandered all their time pursuing their own pleasures and defying the laws of God and of their fathers. At night they were idle, feasting and drinking, engaged in frivolous conversations, gambling, playing dice and other games; during the day, however, they slept), [Orderici Vitalis Angligenae Coenobii Uticensis Monachi], *Historia Ecclesiastica* VIII.10, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Patrologia Latina. Tomus CLXXXVIII* (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1855), 188: cols. 15 984; here col. 587. Bumke notes that, under the influence of figures like Orderic Vitalis and John of Salisbury, many writers of the twelfth century "directed their criticism at the worldly display of pomp, the luxurious

manded a luxurious and pleasurable standard of living and traveled accompanied not just by his soldiers but by a large train of servants and entertainers, including "examina ... puellarum" ("swarms of girls"), all of which was extremely costly[92]:

> Toutefois, comme nous l'avons dit, c'est n'est pas en simple pèlerin que Guillaume comptait partir pour les Lieux Saints, mais bien en prince, presque en roi, accompagné de fidèles compagnons d'armes; afin de répondre aux exigences de cette situation et de plus pour satisfaire à ses goûts de luxe, il lui fallait de l'argent, beaucoup d'argent.[93]

> Moreover, as we have stated, it is not as a simple pilgrim that William intended to travel to the Holy Land, but rather as a prince, almost a king, accompanied by faithful comrades in arms. In order to be able to meet the requirements of this situation and satisfy his taste for luxury, he needed money, lots of money.

As also noted by Richard, William was ambitious and full of dreams of great projects, but also self-indulgent and negligent in the performance of his administrative duties, a deadly combination when it comes to the balancing of the books:

> Guillaume bien qu'occupé surtout de ses plaisirs, était en même temps plein de visées ambitieuses qui n'attendaient qu'une occasion pour éclore, mais au fond il negligeait l'administration de ses états et était loin d'y apporter le soin de son père qui, tout sa vie, employa son énergie à les maintenir dans le calme.[94]

> [Even if mostly occupied in the pursuit of his pleasures, William, at the same time, was full of ambitious designs waiting for a chance to hatch, but ultimately, he neglected the administration of his domains and was far from having the care of his father who, all his life, applied his energy to keeping them in peace]

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clothes of the nobility, the wastefulness in the building of new houses, and the extravagance at courtly banquets": *Courtly Culture* (see note 28), 417.

92 Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), xxxv, 119. "... quid de Pictavensi comite loquar, qui, praeter militiae grandis, quem secum proposuit ductare, globum, etiam examina contraxerat puellarum": Guibert de Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos* VII.xx, in *Gesta Dei per Francos sive Orientalium Expeditionum et Regni Francorum Hierosolimitani*. Vol I: *Orientalis Historiae* (Hanau: Wechel/Johannes Aubrii, 1611), 467–559; here 547; also id., *Gesta Dei per Francos* VII.xxiii in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens Occidentaux. Tome Quatrième* (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres/Imprimerie Nationale, 1879), 113–263; here 243; Albert of Aix [Albertus Aquensis], *Historia Hierosolymitana* VIII.xxxiv, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens Occidentaux. Tome Quatrième* (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres/Imprimerie Nationale, 1879), 265–713; here 579.

93 Richard, *Histoire* (see note 64), 1: 425.

94 Richard, *Histoire* (see note 64), 1: 457. Jeanroy observes that William, "... était beau et brave ... gai et spirituel ... . Mais c'était un esprit fantasque, un brouillon, incapable de desseins suivis. Aussi son règne ne fut il qu'une succession d'entreprises mal conçues et vouées à l'échec," *La poèsie lyrique* (see note 4), 3.

The worries about money and economic concerns are manifested in the use of obscenity, in metaphors with sexual referents, regarding his desire for access to the property of others, such as horses, castles, forests, and fishing ponds. Thus, in Song 3, William compares women to forest resources that he claims can be exploited without limit:

> Pero dirai vos de con, cals es sa leis,
> com sel hom que mal n'a fait e peits n'a pres:
> si com autra res en merma, qui·n pana, e cons en creis
>
> E sel qui no volra'n creire mos casteis
> an ho vezer pres lo bosc, en un deveis:
> per un albre c'om hi tailla n'i naison dos ho treis.
>
> E quan lo bocx es taillatz, nais plus espes;
> e·l senher no·n pert son comte ni sos ses:
> a revers planh hom la tala, si·l dampn[atge no n'i es]
>
> (ll. 10 18)[95]

> [But I will tell you of women's sexuality, which are its laws, like a man who has done wrong and got back worse, unlike any other thing that diminishes as one takes it, women's desire grows. And those who don't want to believe my teachings should go see for themselves in a nearby forest, in a wood preserve: for each tree that one cuts down there, two or three new ones grow. And when the forest is cut down, it comes back even thicker; so the lord does not lose his revenues or his property. It is wrong to lament the cutting, if there is no dam age … .]

The word *conres,* in the first line of that song, meaning "hospitality," "food," "lodging," and hence the treatment one receives from a host, refers literally to the obligations of vassals toward a lord, which included not only hosting him in their homes but also supplying him with provisions and equipment in times of war.[96] In this case, however, the word is meant to suggest access to and use by the lord of women belonging to his vassals. *Conres* in effect evokes the *con* of female sexuality and words like *res*[a] [saw] and *res*[ar] [to cut with a saw], again tying the sexual use of women to the cutting down of forests, presumably on land belonging to others, as suggested by the word *deveis*, a wood preserve, a private tract of land.[97] The popular magician's trick of cutting a

95 Song 3 in Pasero, *Guglielmo IX* (see note 2), 59 81, and Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), 10 13, 61 62.

96 Pasero, *Guglielmo IX* (see note 2), 72. Max Pfister, *Lexikalische Untersuchungen zu Girart de Roussillon.* Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, 122 (Halle a. d. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1970), 346.

97 Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), xxiii.

woman in half with a saw and having her survive the ordeal is an intriguing analogue of William's perceptions.

The specific economic and character problem embodied in the ideas expressed in the song is that of pleonexia, a form of greed and excessive desire that encroaches on the rights and property of others for one's own benefit.[98] As the Greeks saw it, pleonexia is a form of injustice that ultimately harms society as a whole and is generally associated with the abusive actions of the rich and powerful, as they misuse their privileges to get even more than they already have.[99] The pleonexia at work here affects the property of others, women and forests, and is also manifested in the desire to overharvest that property, under the false assumption that its overuse does not diminish the availability of the resource but actually increases it (a familiar fallacy of "free market" economics, seen here already at work in the ideas of a medieval bully). It turns out of course that overharvesting of any resource, even if it is renewable, will inevitably lead to the destruction of the resource, and of the livelihood of those who depend on it. The idea is unsound then from the strictly economic point of view and is also a recognizable form of misogyny alluding to the supposed insatiability of female sexual desire, in reality a deformed projection of the speaker's own desire for more than he already has.[100]

From the perspective of the economy of sexuality, the speaker's desire for multiple women and for unhampered sexual access to their bodies, akin to the unrestrained cutting of the wood, is itself a problem related to the overestimation of his own sexual potency. Just as the forest does not regenerate endlessly, the male body is similarly very slow to rebuild its strength once it has been spent. The famous song of the red cat – where the speaker claims to have had intercourse one-hundred-and-eighty-eight times with the ladies Agnes and Ermessen ("Tant las fotei com auziretz: / cen e quatre-vinz et ueit vetz," Song 5, ll. 79–80) – features a similar scenario of supposed female insatiability and male prowess. As the song is ultimately about the wounds, illnesses, and pain

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98 Liddell and Scott define "πλεονεξία" as "greediness, assumption, arrogance," "a larger share of a thing," "gain derived from a thing", "excess": *Greek English Lexicon* (see note 12).

99 "αἱ γὰρ πλεονεξίαι τῶν πλουσίων ἀπολλύασι μᾶλλον τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ αἱ τοῦ δήμου" (as the pleonexia of the rich is more utterly destructive of the common good than that of the common people]: Aristotle, *Politics* 4.1297a; Greek text in *Aristotelis Politica*, ed. W. D. Ross. Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis (Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1957), online at Perseus Digital Library, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0058 (last accessed on Dec. 21, 2021).

100 "ein fut ist ein nimmer vol" (II.5; "eine Fotze füllt niemals etwas" 'a cunt is never fil led'): Classen and Dinzelbacher, "Futilitates Germanicae" (see note 43), II.5, 141.

derived from the adventure, it evidences the fact that the losses suffered exceeded the supposed gains of sexual pleasure. Song 2, where it is a lady that complains of not being allowed to freely pursue her sexual desires, casts women in the active role of pursuers of pleasure and suggests their desires cannot be controlled, hence the futility of keeping women under guard. Couching the argument in the economic terms of market transactions, the buying of horses in this case, the song states that "si·l tenez a cartat lo bon conrei, / adoba·s d'aquel que troba viron sei: / si non pot aver caval, ela compra palafrei" (Song 2, ll. 16 – 18; if you keep her away from good equipment, she will avail herself of what she finds nearby; if she cannot have a stud, she will buy herself a palfrey). Interestingly, here the word *conres*/*conrei* applies to the bodies of the desired males, who, in that sense, are also objectified as equipment/furnishings, specifically horses. *Con-res*/*con-rei*, furthermore, can also be understood, if a philologically and interlinguistically creative interpretation is allowed (not at all farfetched addressing the work of a poet who inhabited a multilingual world), as a combination of Occitan *con* and Latin *res* (genitive *rei*; "thing" or "property"),[101] making *con*-things, or *con*-property, of the desired sexual objects. The male reification of women as *con* proves then to have far-reaching implications, on the deeper levels of crosslinguistic and poetic associations, regarding the identity of those who engage in such objectifications.[102]

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101 "rēs, rei,": "a thing, object, being"; "... property, possessions"; [b]enefit, profit, advantage": Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary* (see note 6); "... nec privatas [privatae] ... res nec rem publi cam" (neither private nor public property/resources): Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* trans. E. O. Win stedt. 3 vols. Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann; New York: MacMillan, 1921), 9.7.5, 2.204 05.

102 Albrecht Classen has noted the role of a sex slave and sexual plaything that the male speak er plays in Song 5: "Die besonders pikante Note an diesem Lied besteht darin, dass die zwei Frauen als die aktiven Personen auftreten, die den Mann als potentielles Sexobjekt auswählen, ihn testen und dann für ihre Zwecke benutzen," *Sex im Mittelalter* (see note 82), 57. Regarding late medieval German songs, Gaby Herchert notes the rare literal reference to the male phallus as *pallulen* (57), and the much more common metaphorical reference by means of images of ob jects, plants, weapons, tools, machines, and animals, including the *Pferd* (178, 180, 213; horse; cf. 105 n 41 noting the use of the image of the horse standing for a woman, as in William's Song 1); *Messer* (136; knife; cf. "la pessa e·l coutel" [the piece of bread and the knife] in William's Song 10, l. 30); *Stamperkin*/*Stößelchen* (138; little pestle); *Mühle* (138; mill); *Nagel* (105; nail [implied in interpretation of "'nageln' ... als Koitusmetapher"]); *Hammer* (103 n.38; hammer); *Spieß* (157, 208; pike); *Bolzen* (158, bolt); *Deckel* (125; lid [for a *Tintenfaß* = inkwell]); *Pfeffer* (127; pepper); *Kraut* (127; cabbage); *Schlüssel* (73, 128; key; cf. "la contraclau" [the counter key] in William's Song 4, l. 48); *Nadel* (159; needle); *Kragen* (134; collar, referring to the foreskin); *Sonde* (162 63; probe, tube); *Sper*/*Speer* (178, 208; spear); *Stange* (178; pole); *Schraube* (182, 208; screw); *Dorn* (103, 198 99; thorn); *Distel* (199; thistle); *Vogel* (103; bird); *Pflug* (195; plow); *Schle*

Further economic objectification occurs, also in Song 3, when the speaker states, "no m'azauta cons gardatz ni gorcs ses peis" (l. 5; I do not like a woman under guard or a pond without fish). It is interesting in this respect that one of the earliest limitations of the rights of William regarding the property of ecclesiastics involved a charter drawn by his father promising his sons would not be allowed to fish in waters of the Clain River reserved for the use of the monks of St. Cyprian.[103] Furthermore, the notion that it is wrong for property to be kept under guard and reserved for private use only, when use by others would not diminish the value of the resource, is an Aristotelian idea, also a medieval practice in the use of land (such as the existence of tracts of common land) that later was formalized by Thomas Aquinas.[104] In the context of a growing emphasis on private property, William's self-serving interpretation of the doctrine of private property tempered by common use is an intriguing indication of the ways in which clever agents like William could manipulate ideas of communal life for the purpose of facilitating their own access to the private property of others, in this case, the wives of noblemen.

Song 1, also one of William's most irreverent compositions, claims sexual ownership of the wives of his vassals and also identifies them with a variety of economic resources, including horses, castles, and territories.[105] The equation

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gel (195; stick); *Stab* (208; rod); *Stechzeug* (208; piercing instrument); *Pfeil* (208; arrow); *Armbrust* (208; crossbow); *Lanze* (208; lance): *"Acker mir mein bestes Feld": Untersuchungen zu erotischen Liederbuchliedern des späten Mittelalters* (Münster and New York: Waxmann, 1996).

103 Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), xxix; Richard, *Histoire* (see note 64), 1: 364.

104 "... licitum est quod homo propria possideat ... . Aliud vero quod competit homini circa res exteriores est usus ipsarum. Et quantum ad hoc non debet homo habere res exteriores ut proprias, sed ut communes, ut scilicet de facili aliquis ea communicet in necessitates aliorum" (... it is licit for man to own property ... another thing however that is relevant to man regarding external things is their use. And in this respect man should not have external things as private property, but as things held in common, so that he may easily share them with others in their need): Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* 2.2 Quaestio 66, Articulus 2, in Vol. 9 of the Leonine Edition: Sancti Thomae Aquinatis Doctoris Angelici, *Opera Omnia,* ed. Leonis XIII (Rome: Typographia Polyglotta, 1897); online at *Corpus Thomisticum*, ed. Roberto Busa, S.J., and Enrique Alarcón: https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/sth3061.html#41855 (last accessed on Dec. 21, 2021). "φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι βέλτιον εἶναι μὲν ἰδίας τὰς κτήσεις, τῇ δὲ χρήσει ποιεῖν κοινάς" ("It is clear therefore that it is better for possessions to be privately owned, but to make them common property in use"): Aristotle, *Politics* II.1263a (see note 99); translation in Vol. 21 of *Aristotle,* trans. H. Rackham. 23 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1944), online at Perseus Digital Library, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0058 (last accessed on Dec. 21, 2021).

105 PC 183.3; Song 1 in the editions of Bond, Pasero, and Jeanroy (see note 2).

of women and horses is particularly offensive and obscene in its sexual referents:

> Dos cavalhs ai a ma selha, ben e gen.
> Bon son et adreg per armas e valen.
> Mais no·ls puesc tener amdos que l'uns l'autre non consen.
>
> Si·ls pogues adomesgar a mon talen,
> Ja no volgr' alhors mudar mon garnimen,
> que miels fora encavalguatz de nuill home viven.

<div align="right">(ll. 7 12)</div>

[I have two horses for my saddle, both beautiful and noble. They are good and fit for war and of high worth. But I cannot have them both, because the one does not tolerate the other. If I could domesticate them to my taste, I would not ever want to change my setup, for I would be better mounted than any man alive.]

As has been noted, the song alludes to feudal forms of ownership allowing a lord to grant property to a vassal but retaining rights of use and recall, particularly in times of war.[106] In this case, the obscenity is found not just in the implied sexual meanings but also in the reduction of noble women to the status of such objects (beasts of burden, buildings, lands), an implication which would have been no less resented by, and offensive to, their husbands:[107]

> Lo uns fon de·ls montanhiers lo plus corren.
> Mas aitan fer estranhat s'a longuamen,
> et es tan fers e salvatges que del bailar si defen.
>
> L'autre fon noiritz sa jos, pres Cofolen,
> et anc non vis bellazor, mon escien.
> Aquest non er ja camjatz ni per aur ni per argen.
>
> Qu'ieu·l donei a son senhor polin payssen.
> Pero si·m retinc ieu tan de covinen,
> que si el lo ten un an, qu'ieu lo tenga mais de cen.

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106 On the use of feudal vocabulary and concepts in this song, see Judith M. Davis, "A Fuller Reading of Guillaume IX's 'Companho, faray un vers … covinen,'" *Romance Notes* 16 (1975): 445 49.

107 On the association of the women with specific places and historical figures, see Bond, *Poetry of William* (see note 2), xxvi, lix; Richard Goddard, "The Ladies Agnes and Arsen in William IX's Companho, farai un vers (qu'er) covinen," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 2 (1988): 156 62; Marc Wolterbeek, "'De Gimel … per Niol': Geographic Space and Placenames in Song One of William of Aquitaine," *Tenso* 14 (1999): 39 52.

Cavallier, datz mi conseill d'un pessamen.
Anc mais no fui eisarratz de cauzimen.
Non sai ab cal me tenha, de n'Acnes o de n'Arsen.

De Gimel ai lo castel e·l mandamen,
et per Niol fauc ergueill a tota gen.
Ambedui me son jurat e plevit per sagramen. (ll. 13   27)

[The one was, of the mountain horses, the fastest. But so much it has caused itself to be missed for such a long time, and is so fierce and savage that it refuses to be touched/groomed.

The other one was nourished/raised down there, near Confolens, and I never saw a more beautiful one, in my experience. This one will not be exchanged either for gold or for silver.

For I gave it to its lord when it was a grazing young colt. But I retained for myself so much, by contractual agreement, that if he has it for a year, I may have it more than a hundred.

Fellow knights, give me advice in a predicament. I have never been so uncertain making a decision in a case. I do not know which one to keep, the Lady Agnes or the Lady Arsen.

I own the castle of Gimel and wield authority there, and around Nieuil I am the pride of everyone. Both are sworn and pledged to me by a sacred oath.]

The specific concern of William in these lines seems to be that of the reduction to obedience and subservience of living beings and other objects, a form of enslavement in the case of humans and of appropriation in the case of things. The fact that the "horses" do not lend themselves to such reduction is an indication of the failures and frustrations of William in the quest to establish the desired ownership and domination. The uncourtly imagery and language of the song are also manifestations of those problems, and of the reality of William's own anger and objections, as he falls victim to the domestication and objectification that he fails to impose on others. While he may not be able to make the wives of his vassals into livestock at his beck and call, he was himself sliding into that position, as he lost his grip on the economic situation in his domains.

Another specific economic concern of William's appears to have been the growing powers of the market economy and the rising status of merchants and craftsmen. Jealousy concerning the wealth and avarice of merchants can be observed in anecdotes such as that told by Étienne de Bourbon about "quidam comes Pictaviensis" (a certain count of the Pictavenses), who adopted different disguises to find out what sort of people are the happiest and finally determines it is merchants on a market day, who go to a tavern and find everything they desire, except after they have to pay the bill.[108] In addition to merchants,

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108 Étienne de Bourbon, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus* 478, in A. Lecoy de la

craftsmen were also gaining in social esteem, as manifested in the attempt of no-blemen, like William, to identify their endeavors with the work of manufacturers, taking pride in the comparison. Thus, in Song 6, William speaks of his love-making skills as a *mestier* (a craft) of which he is "maistre certa" (l. 36; unfailing master) and boasts of being able to "guazanhar mon pa / en totz mercatz" (ll. 41–42; earn my bread in all markets). As noted before, however, the song is about an embarrassing episode of impotence that not only belies the sexual boasting but hints at corresponding weaknesses in the economic area, particularly the challenges that the market economy posed for feudal lords and that would eventually entirely disempower them.

The Reception of William's Works: Then and Now

Though some audiences delighted in William's transgressive antics, the problem of the obscene in his works was a concern to others, both indignant ecclesiastics and other poets, like Marcabru (fl. 1130 – 1149), who attacked in his own works the vulgarity and profane humor of the sexual escapades narrated by William.[109] Marcabru's disapproval is strongly expressed in compositions like "D'aiso laus Dieu" (PC 293.16; "For this reason I praise God"), where the speaker, a parody of William's poetic persona, shamelessly brags about cheating and outsmarting others, sleeping with other men's wives, begetting bastard children, and practicing every conceivable manner of deceit and abuse.[110] William likely did not mean for his bawdy songs to be taken as literally and humorlessly as Marcabru did. Often directly addressed to his *companho*, his close buddies and carousing companions, the more irreverent songs of William were clearly meant to be humorous, as Davis correctly pointed out, deliberately nonsensical and hyperbolic, part of a typically male game of competitive boasting characterized by blatant exaggerations and unlikely claims of sexual prowess, all of it mixed with much berating of fellow cavaliers as cuckolds and of their wives as voracious nymphomani-

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Marche, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tirés du recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon* (Paris: Renouard, 1877), 411.

109 "... nugas porro suas ... ad facetias revocabat, audientium rictus cachinno distendens" (and furthermore he [William] passed his nonsense as witticisms, distending the jaws of his audience with uproarious laughter): William of Malmesbury *Gesta Regum Anglorum* V.439 (see note 68), 2.670. Marcabru, *Marcabru: A Critical Edition*, ed. Simon Gaunt, Ruth Harvey, Linda Paterson, and John Marshall (Cambridge and Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), 2 3.

110 "D'aiso laus Dieu" is song XVI in Gaunt et al, *Marcabru* (see note 109), 209 24.

acs.[111] Even while granting William's tongue-in-cheek attitude, however, it is possible that Marcabru may not have been entirely off the mark in sensing a significant problem in William's verbal debauchery – a problem with implications for the entire edifice of courtly culture.

Both the obscenity of William and the moral zeal of Marcabru can in fact be seen as similarly confused and misdirected responses to a threatening reality affecting all courtly subjects regardless of the moral propriety or impropriety of their language and the subject matter of their discourse. The critical intervention of Marcabru, in that sense, is a failure similar to William's in that his aggressive verses, inveighing against "putas ardens" ("burning whores") (l. 19; "Pos mos coratges esclarzis," PC 293.40) and "con ... deziron e raubador" ("greedy and thieving "women," or, as much more accurately translated by Gaunt et al., "cunts ... lusty and rapacious") (l. 22; "En abriu s'eslairo·il riu contra·l Pascor," 293.24), replicate the obscenity within a different rhetorical framework of bitter parody and angry denunciation.[112]

The songs of Marcabru indeed, though driven by undoubted sincerity and burning moral zeal, often slide, perhaps unintentionally, into the pornographic and the obscene as well. Thus, lighthearted humor and off-color banter, as well as overly spicy sermonizing against the sins of the flesh, even if dignified as the Bakhtinian carnivalesque or purely parodic performance, cannot obscure the fact that obscenity betrays an aggressive and deeply misogynistic subtext that casts shadows over the enterprise of the courtly *fin'amor* and its romantic and modern successors.[113]

Moralizing reactions like those of Marcabru, indeed replicate the problems in William's songs and only confirm the reality of an inescapable entanglement of the obscene with the refinements of courtly language and manners.[114] That en-

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111 On the lighthearted aspects of William's songs, see Davis, "A Fuller Reading" (see note 106), 445 49.

112 Songs 40 and 24 in Gaunt, et al, *Marcabru* (see note 109), 503 12, 324 41.

113 Cf. Gaunt, "Obscene Hermeneutics" (see note 39): "Often Marcabru's satire amounts to a gloss on the language of courtiers ... His obscenity underscores a general, constantly repeated, point that the beguiling, seemingly respectable speech of these people is in fact a linguistic smoke screen for carnal desires and lewd acts. Marcabru's corpus is large and sits alongside the courtly canon in most of the major *chansonniers* as a counterpoint to, and demystification of, courtly language" (87).

114 As Dinzelbacher correctly observes, the idealizations of courtly love could not help but con jure up their opposites and unleash earthly and unearthly monstrosities, all projections of the same distressed minds, racked by fears and anxieties, relentlessly hunting after scapegoats: "Grundlegender noch dürfte jene emotionale Sensibilisierung der Intellektuellen des hohes Mit telalters gewesen sein, die, positiv gewendet, den Hintergrund sowohl für Innovationen wie die

tanglement, however, is no less visible in the reactions of modern scholars, who have often refused to include or translate certain words, and even whole poems, out of presumed moral scruples.[115] Even canonical editions, such as those of Alfred Jeanroy, drew the line at some of William's language, Song 3 in particular, which he transcribes in the original Occitan, but without translation. The difficulties of recording, commenting on, and translating words like "con" and expressions like "leis de con," were aptly noted by Akehurst.[116]

As recently as 2011, while I presented a paper on William at the Kalamazoo Congress, a member of the audience became irate at my translations of those terms.[117] As it turned out, the anger was not confined to an isolated individual

theoretische als auch die praktische Mystik darstellte, namentlich für die Brautmystik, aber auch den Hintergrund für entsprechende Entwicklungen im profanen Bereich, speziell Amour cour tois bzw. höfische Minne. Es wäre verwunderlich, wenn die dunklen Seiten des emotionellen Lebens damals nicht gleichermaßen deutlicher ins Bewußtsein getreten wären, Haß und Angst nicht vermehrt auf Sündenböcke projiziert worden wären, auf irdische (Heiden und Juden) wie auf unirdische (Dämonen). Die fortschreitende Durchdringung der Gläubigen mit der im Grunde dualistischen Lehre des Christentums machte den Teufel zu immer häufiger her angezogenen Projektionsgestalt für die eigenen Ängste und Aggressionen": "Monster und Däm onen am Kirchenbau" (see note 20), 106.

115 As Herchert has claimed of late medieval German love songs, the allegedly obscene and pornographic works are not an aberration or a debased form of an ideal but an integral part of the extant corpus of medieval love lyrics. The resistance to their scientific study makes evi dent, as Herchert also notes, literary scholars' fear of censorship and of being perceived as op ponents of long standing cultural norms: "Erotische Literatur ist eher selten Gegenstand wissen schaftlicher Betrachtung gewesen, und entsprechend gering ist die Zahl der vorliegenden Veröffentlichungen. Der Grund für die mangelnde Beachtung liegt in der gesellschaftlichen Tab uisierung des Sexuellen. Jegliche Art von Literatur, die Sexualität thematisiert, stand (und steht) in der Gefahr, ihres 'pornographischen' oder 'obszönen' Inhalts wegen der Schmutz und Schundliteratur zugerechnet zu werden. So lange die Veröffentlichung und Verbreitung erotisch er Lieder durch Zensur oder Zensurprophylaxe behindert wurde, verbat sich die literaturkritische Auseinandersetzung mit ihnen von selbst, da sie ebenfalls als Verstoß gegen geltende Normen gewertet werden konnte": *Acker mir mein bestes Feld* (see note 102), 15, 22.

116 F. R. P. Akehurst, "William IX and (Un)Bridled Passion: Did William Have the Pox?" *The Spirit of the Court: Selected Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the International Courtly Liter ature Society*, ed. Glyn S. Burgess and Robert A. Taylor (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1985), 23 30; here 23 24. Featuring the English equivalent of Occitan *con*, D. H. Lawrence's 1928 novel, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, has been referred to as, "the foulest book in English literature": quoted in Ro nald Friedland's "Introduction" to D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), xiii xxiv; here xiv.

117 Fidel Fajardo Acosta, "The Red Cat of Desire: The Painful Disciplines of Courtly Love in Guilhem de Peitieus's 'Farai un vers, pos mi sonelh,'" *46th International Congress on Medieval Studies*, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 12 15, 2011.

and was shared by a number of colleagues who considered it scandalous to use certain words. As commented on by Jan Ziolkowski,

> ... medieval writers and artists were sometimes less inhibited than their counterparts today ... . Surprising as it may sound, there was probably less systematic institutional repression of obscenity in the medieval centuries than there had been in antiquity or than there has been in our own day in many countries around the world.[118]

Regardless of contemporary moralistic attitudes, *con* is indeed most accurately rendered in modern English as "cunt," a word that fully expresses the misogyny and the personal, political, and other resentments of William as someone shamelessly expressing the arrogance of a powerful lord but also reduced to spouting obscenities, as a way of venting discontent with cultural trends that impinged on his freedoms and privileges. Though deemed highly offensive then and now, as William meant it to be, Old Occitan and Old French *con* and Modern English *cunt* (<Middle English *cunte* [Chaucer's *queynte*], Middle Low German *kunte*), and Spanish *coño,* are cognates rooted in Latin *cunnus* (*pudendum muliebre*) and *cuneus* (wedge), words alluding to the pointed, V-shape of the female external genitalia, also visually echoed in the words *vulva* and *vagina*.[119] It is, in that sense, a word with a long historical pedigree and very specific anatomical referents that we suppress at the peril of validating the idea that women should

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118 Jan M. Ziolkowski, ed., *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages.* Cultures, Beliefs, and Traditions, 4 (Leiden, Boston and Cologne: Brill, 1998), 3 4. Albrecht Classen notes that the frank and open discussion of sexuality by the tenth century Hrotsvitha von Gandersheim is entirely consistent with the promotion and pursuit of true Christian virtue: "Zugleich behandelte sie eine Reihe von geradezu extremen sexuellen Praktiken, von Homosexualität hin zu Fetischismus und Nekrophilia, von Prostitution gar nicht zu sprechen, von der sogar häufiger die Rede ist. Immer aber siegt die christliche Tugend, setz sich religiös determinierte Keuschheit durch, womit wir einen wichtigen Beleg in die Hand bekommen, wie sehr gerade die Sexualität als das Maß aller Dinge angesehen wurde, ... und wurde daher als extreme Gefahr für das Seelenheil im christlichen Denken angesehen. Von daher wirkt es nun gar nicht mehr so verwunderlich, dass eine Stiftsdame des 10. Jahrhunderts so freizügig über die verschiedensten Manifestationen von Sexualität sprechen konnte, denn erst dabei zeigte sich, so ihr Argument, wer die wahre religiöse Kraft besaß, sich vor den Versuchungen dieses Lebens zu schützen, die allenthalben vorwalten und den Menschen zu sündigem Verhalten verlocken": *Sex im Mittelalter* (see note 82), 322 23.

119 Leo Pollmann, "Companho, tant ai agutz d'avols conres," *Neophilologus* 47.1 (1963): 24 34; here 28. Pollman notes the precedent of the same use of *cunnus* in Horace's *Satires,* I.2.36, I.2.70 and I.3.107 (33 n. 16). Ziolkowski comments on the double standards "in the peculiar world of academic publishing" (10) and the humorous fact that we are quite comfortable accepting Latin equivalents for native English words designating certain parts of the body: *Obscenity* (see note 39), 9 10.

be ashamed of their bodies. It is indeed only if we accept the latter as actually obscene, i.e., unhealthy and not fit to be seen in public, that we could demand their proscription and exile from the terrain of legitimate communication.[120] The problem with words like *con* then is not in their actual referents, but in our accepting them as being obscene. As we silence the words, we confirm and loudly express our own misogyny, which we falsely characterize as propriety and refinement of manners.

The idealized *domna* of the courtly love tradition, and that of polite scholarship and whitewashed interpretation, has no connection to actual women and is no doubt an attempt at the control and regulation of women by interests which are not their own. The adoration of the courtly lady is then, almost cynically, a manifestation of hate toward women and an attempt to efface their reality by sweeping them under the cover of courtly idealizations, which themselves are a reflex of the ecclesiastical variety of misogyny that glorifies chastity and virginity. In his studies of the representation of sexuality in German medieval literature, Albrecht Classen has correctly noted that explicit references to the supposedly shameful parts of the human body, not just female but also male, are aspects of a powerful critical discourse that resists and parodies secular and religious authorities, attacking misogyny and male violence, and both acknowledging the reality of female libidinal desires and their exaggeration in narratives driven by male fantasies and anxieties.[121]

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120 Albrecht Classen and Peter Dinzelbacher re edited and translated a small collection of late medieval German songs first published by Franz Pfeiffer under the title, *Futilitates Germanicae Medii Aevi* (1864) featuring very explicit language and including the expressions "heiziu fut" (I.3; "heiße Fotze"); "ein beirischiu fut" (III.8; "eine bayrische Fotze"); "Ein fut wol gestalt ... ein solîchiu fut waer wol ze loben" (IV.1, 6; "Eine schön gestaltete Fotze ... eine solche Fotze wäre sehr zu preisen"); "ein fut ân hitze" (V.2; "eine Fotze ohne Hitze"). Song VI in the collection is a veritable, albeit satirical, hymn in praise of the beloved object, an unmistakable parody of courtly love conceits: "ein guotiu fut macht vogel schrîen, / ein guotiu fut macht esel wîen, ein guotiu fut macht hüglich pfâwen, / ... / einr guoten fut von nâtûr / der fröut sich alliu crêatûr" ("Eine gute Fotze läßt Vögel singen, / eine gute Fotze läßt Esel wiehern, / eine gute Fotze macht Pfauen munter ... , / ... / eine gute Fotze, ganz natürlich, / erfreut alle Geschöpfe" (VI.23 25, 31 32): "Futilitates Germanicae" (see note 43), 140 44.
121 Albrecht Classen notes that, in the songs of Oswald von Wolkenstein (1376/1377 1445), nudity is treated in entirely natural, frank, and unashamed fashion. Although Oswald's treatment of the body and sexuality is innocent and charmingly domestic, it has caused certain modern critics to claim they are pornographic: "Naked Men in Medieval German Literature and Art. Anthropological, Cultural Historical, and Mental Historical Investigations," *Sexuality in the Middle Ages* (see note 20), 143 69; here 164; id., "Oswalds von Wolkenstein 'freche' Lieder und Poggio Bracciolinis 'pornographische' (?) *Facetiae*," *Sex im Mittelalter: Die andere Seite einer idealisierten Vergangenheit*. Literatur und Sexualität (Badenweiler: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag

What we might consider, or try to suppress, as obscene or pornographic, Classen suggests, is a challenge to, and exposure of, fundamental problems of a culture and its corresponding ways of life. Classen analyzes, in particular, "a stunningly graphic late-medieval German tale, 'Das Nonnenturnier,' where sexuality, castration, religious transgression, power struggle among the genders, and anti-clericalism intimately combine to achieve the desired effect." That effect turns out to be a strong criticism of both secular and religious institutions and cultural authorities:

> Desire and erotic imagination dominate the narrative, and yet it also reflects a profound sense of fear, insecurity, and lack of identity. As the title ["Das Nonnenturnier" (The Tournament of Nuns)] (in the modern edition) [the Middle High German title is "Der turnei von dem zers" (The Tournament for the Penis)] implies, the satirical intent, at least in the second part, is directed toward the monastic community, especially the female convent where sexual abstinence and chastity would seem to be of highest importance. However, this does not do full justice to the entire tale because it ignores the first part which addresses male problems with sexuality and their conflictual relationship with women. Moreover, there are various dimensions and topics built into the entire narrative connecting the secular with the clerical, the male world with female, sexual concerns with gender conflicts, and contrasting the court with the convent, criticizing both spheres for fundamental transgressions, and also moral and ethical shortcomings.[122]

Thus, Classen finds that the repression and shaming of the body, satirized in medieval *maeren* and *fabliaux*, were aspects of the oppressive activity of certain medieval powers and institutions, but also of their modern counterparts, including academia.[123]

Bachmann, 2011), 193 218. An intriguing image appearing in more than one of Oswald's songs is that of the male sexual organ represented by a rat ("Naked Men," 164 65), which establishes an intriguing dynamic vis à vis images, like that of the ferocious red cat in William's Song 5, that stands for female desire.

122 Albrecht Classen, "Sexual Desire and Pornography: Literary Imagination in a Satirical Context. Gender Conflict, Sexual Identity, and Misogyny in 'Das Nonnenturnier,'" *Sexuality in the Middle Ages* (see note 20), 649 90; here 652, 655. See also Jutta Eming, "Der Kampf um den Phallus: Körperfrag mentierung, Textbegehren und groteske Ästhetik im Nonnenturnier, " *German Quarterly* 85.4 (2012): 380 400; older, but still valuable, Gerd Dicke, "Mären Priapeia: Deu tungsgehalte des Obszönen im 'Nonnenturnier' und seinen europäischen Motivverwandten," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 124.2 (2002): 261 301.

123 Classen notes the problems in the work of modern scholars, such as Hans Peter Duerr, who erroneously naturalizes and claims the universality of the feeling of shame, and of Norbert Elias, whose 'civilizing process' started much earlier than Elias understood and that was not necessarily a forward march of progress out of the supposedly infantile attitudes and behaviors of the Middle Ages: "Sexual Desire and Pornography" (see note 122), 649 50, 652. As Classen correctly

Indeed, in its resistance to certain forms of communication, modern scholarship is a continuation of the sanitizing of language embodied in courtly culture itself. Much like Molinier's *Leys d'Amor*, contemporary scholarship and academic discourse are often, though not always, a form of *fina parladura* that seeks to legislate and do away with unwieldy and politically threatening meanings and the language in which they are couched. Language correctness and moralizing hypocrisy, however, are not the same as scientific scholarship, and seeking to imitate and empathize with the problems of the past is not the same as understanding them, leave alone solving them. Many modern and postmodern scholars in the fields of Medieval Studies and Medievalism indeed struggle to understand the difference between studying the Middle Ages critically and uncritically wanting to be medieval. Political reactionaries and backward conservatives, however, are not the only ones affected by the desire to sanitize language. So-called progressives, ironically, also demand a language correctness meant to silence the unpleasantness of the past, in the interest of their own comfort in the present. The politically progressive and the regressive, in that sense, share much in common in terms of their rhetorical strategies and of their underlying mechanisms of subjection by specific configurations of language and of sexual desire. At the very least, it is highly intriguing that objects of erotic desire and the validation of certain desires of a sexual nature appear to be key to the formation of political subjects, suggesting that such desires might actually be the preeminent force by which humans can be reduced to willing servitude.[124]

As I have argued elsewhere, modern and postmodern culture as a whole, and not just in the scholarly areas, share much in common with the courtly Middle Ages, but in a way that betrays the lack of true progress in the conditions of living and thinking of modern humanity.[125] The historical Middle Ages, on the other hand, did not lack in virtues and admirable ideals worthy of imitation –

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points out, "... we all evolve, though not necessarily to the better ... 'civilization' is a rather pom pous, if not problematic, word, and to idealize the present in contrast to the past along those lines suddenly reveals itself as a rather superficial approach to cultural history": "Naked Men" (see note 121), 168.

124 "Sexuality proves to be a phenomenon with a double lens into the past, insofar as it proves to be a reflection of very personal choices and also an indication of the guidelines and principles instituted by the various authorities": Albrecht Classen, "The Cultural Significance of Sexuality in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and Beyond. A Secret Continuous Undercurrent or a Dom inant Phenomenon of the Premodern World? Or: The Irrepressibility of Sex Yesterday and Today," *Sexuality in the Middle Ages* (see note 20), 1 141; here 12.

125 See the section "The Medieval Present" (17 33), Ch. 3 "Medieval Hypocrisy, Modern Subjec tivity" (161 218), and "Conclusion" (219 28), in Fajardo Acosta, *Courtly Seductions, Modern Subjections* (see note 29).

such as more communal, humble, simple, spiritual, and less individualistic ways of life strongly contrasting with those at courts and centers of power. Often labeled "heretical" in the past and similarly undesirable in the present, however, we reject the better Middle Ages in favor of its darker sides, hypocritically idealizing violence and hate as courage and heroism; invidious eroticism as elegance and nobility; and intolerant fanaticism as piety and sincere faith.[126] In these respects then – given that they were created at a key moment in the formation of modern western subjectivities – the songs of William IX are of special significance to our own culture, as they can tell us a great deal about ourselves, though likely something that is not flattering and that we do not want to face, as evidenced by our enthusiasm for language hysterias.

Conclusion

Both the obscene and the more courtly language of William, and of other troubadours, to whom we can easily add parallel poets in Middle High German or Medieval Italian, are indications of deep problems confronting subjects during the courtly ages. Obscenity in fact cannot be meaningfully distinguished from the most elevated and sublime poetic language that adores the lady by putting her on a pedestal. It can be said in fact the latter is equally obscene, as it expresses the abject submission of individuals to dehumanizing political and economic powers that equally objectify and make an instrument of women and of the subjects enthralled by their falsified visions. As William uttered obscenities, he actively participated in, and enabled, the dehumanization of others, women in particular. He also, in the same words, expressed the despair of someone caught in the same webs of hate and desire he helped to weave for others in his songs, courtly and uncourtly.

Most important for us, the courtly ages were only a formative stage in the development of the modern secular culture centered on the pursuit of love, happiness, private property, and the consumption and accumulation of eroticized commodities. The problems of conspicuous consumption and pecuniary emulation that Thorstein Veblen noted in the behavior of the modern "leisure classes"

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126 The fourteenth century Middle English alliterative romance, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, is a fascinating satire of the many problems of the courtly life, including the arrogance, self indulgence, lust, and murderous violence of the Arthurian heroes, as well as their self serving hypocrisy and blindness to their own faults: *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed., trans. William Vantuono. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, 1265 (New York and London: Garland, 1991).

appear to have been strongly manifested, already in twelfth-century courtly culture, in the consumption habits, the erotic and fetishized character of commodities, and the feelings of impotence and dissatisfaction attendant to the endless craving after objects without inherent meaning.[127] The obscenity of William's language, in that sense, is a manifestation not just of the deep discontents of a courtly "consumer" lost in the maze of impossible desires, but of the constitutive obscenity of a way of life predicated on the objectification of human beings as consumable commodities and human capital, i. e., as heads of livestock (Latin *caput* [head], plural, *capita*), like horses and other beasts of burden, as well as things, like forests and ponds, subject to unlimited exploitation and abuse – sexual, economic and political.[128]

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127 Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899; New York: Dover Thrift Editions/ Dover Publications Inc., 1994).

128 "*Capitale* (a Latin word based on *caput* = head) emerged in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries in the sense of funds, stock of merchandise, sum of money, or money carrying interest": Fernand Braudel, *The Wheels of Commerce*, trans. Siân Reynolds. Civilization and Capitalism, 2 (1979; New York: Harper and Row, 1982), 232. The *Catholicon* defines *capital* as *pecunia* (money; from Latin *pecus* [cattle]): John of Genoa [Johannes Balbus de Janua/Giovanni Balbi], *Summa Grammaticalis quae vocatur Catholicon* (1286) (Mainz: Johann Gutenberg [likely publisher/printer], 1460), online at, https://www.loc.gov/item/47043559/ (last accessed on Dec. 21, 2021). In Homeric times, "cattle served as a measure of value": Leslie Kurke, *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 11. Ancient Greek κεφάλαιος (from κεφαλή [head of man or beast]) referred to the principal amount of a loan or sum invested to yield interest or income. The interest was called τόκος (literally, "offspring, of men or animals"): Liddell and Scott, *A Greek English Lexicon* (see note 12), e. g., "μήτε τόκον μήτε κεφάλαιον" (neither the interest nor the principal): Plato, *Laws* 5.742.c, in *Platonis Opera*, ed. John Burnet. 5 vols. Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), online at https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01. 0165 (last accessed on Dec. 21, 2021). Aristotle explains the organic metaphor: "ὅμοια γὰρ τὰ τικτόμενα τοῖς γεννῶσιν αὐτά ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ τόκος γίνεται νόμισμα ἐκ νομίσματος" (*Politics* I.1258b; just as offspring themselves resemble the parents, interest is begotten as money from money): *Aristotelis Politica*, (see note 99). Money and livestock, including animals and humans, were also equated by the ancient Hebrews, as suggested in the story of Abraham and Isaac (Isaac takes over the donkey in the carrying of the wood for the sacrifice and is expected to be the sacrificial lamb). Abraham's obedience is rewarded with the vast multiplication of his offspring and his wealth: "I swear by myself, declares the Lord, that because you have done this and have not withheld your son, your only son, I will surely bless you and make your descendants as numerous as the stars in the sky and as the sand on the seashore. Your descendants will take possession of the cities of their enemies" (Genesis 22:3 9, 16 17). The story of the Golden Calf, "an idol cast in the shape of a calf," expresses the identity and symbolic interchangeability of gold and cattle (Exodus 32:8). Similar equations are explicit in the assessment of the loot taken from by the Israelites from the Midianites: "The Israelites captured the Midianite women and children and took all the Midianite herds, flocks and goods as plunder ... . They took all the plunder

As polite and well-behaved citizens of the supposedly democratic nation-states and their free-market capitalism, we are said to have the freedom to pursue our desires, which we define as the seeking after, and the acquisition of, private property. Accordingly, like William's contemporaries, we resist the expression of obscenities that could upset that privileged way of life. Like William, we direct our desires to the property of those above us and spend our lives undermining and/or flattering them and trying to move upward in the socioeconomic hierar-

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and spoils, including the people and animals ... 675,000 sheep, 72,000 cattle, 61,000 donkeys and 32,000 women who had never slept with a man" (Numbers 31:9 11, 32 35): *Holy Bible, New International Version, NIV* (Colorado Springs, CO: Biblica, 1973 2011), online at https://www.biblegateway.com/about/ (last accessed on Dec. 21, 2021). Another intriguing use of ani mals and humans as both merchandise and measurements of economic value is seen in the fur and slave trade conducted between Europe and the eastern world since at least the ninth century: "... the Jewish merchants called al Rādhānïya ... speak Arabic, Persian, Greek, Latin, Frankish, Andalusian and Slavic ... From the west they export eunuchs, young girls and boys, brocade, beaver pelts, marten and other furs and swords"; "[t]he Rūs [Vikings], one of the Sa qāliba people, journey from the farthest reaches of the land of the Slavs [Saqlab] to the eastern Mediterranean and there sell beaver and black fox pelts, as well as swords": Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Kitāb al masālik wa'l mamālik* (ca. 885; Book of Roads and Kingdoms), in: *Ibn Fadlān and the Land of Darkness: Arab Travellers in the Far North*, trans. trans. Paul Lunde and Caroline Stone (London: Penguin, 2012), 111 12. Such trade used, among other forms of currency, the skin of the marten (Croatian *kuna*, Albanian *kunadhe*, Russian *kunitsa*, Lithuanian *kiaunė*, Lat vian *cauna*, Greek κουνάβι) as a unit of value and also of taxation. The national currency of Cro atia is still called the *kuna* (Lunde and Stone, *Ibn Fadlān*, 205). In their reference to the marten, words like *kuna* appear to be feminine forms of Proto Indo European **kuon* (dog), e. g. Latvian *kuna* (bitch), but they also would have evoked the Latin *cunnus* and its descendants, including William's *con*. The word "marten" itself, on the other hand, is of Germanic origin, Proto German ic **marþru* (marten), but has similarities with terms in the Baltic languages referring to a young woman, a maidservant, even a bride: Old Prussian *mārtin* (bride) and *mergo* (girl, servant), and Lithuanian *martì* [girl, bride] possibly related to Latin *maritus* (married) from Proto Indo Eu ropean **merio/*meri* (young man/woman): Guus Kroonen, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto Ger manic*. Leiden Indo European Etymological Dictionary Series, 2 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 355 56; Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (see note 7), 738 39. But even if the words are not etymologically related, they suggest the history of linguistic and commercial exchanges by which the pelts of animals like martens, beavers, foxes and squirrels came to be equated with, and traded for, the young women, also young boys and eunuchs, who were sold as slaves in medieval Eurasian markets. In that sense, the furs of "vair e gris e sembeli" (black and white and grey squirrel and sable) to which William refers in his last song "Pos de chantar m'es pres talenz" (ll. 41 42), a poignant farewell to the "joi e deport" (joy and pleasure) of the courtly life cannot be separated from the women whom he objectified through the obscene language of his earlier songs. The true obscenity, in the last analysis, is not in the words used to refer to women or body parts but in those that refer to money and its ability to transform living beings into objects of appropriation, trafficking, and commercial exchange.

chies, as the endless adoration of the members of the British royal family indicates at the present time, for instance. Faced with the inescapably frustrating condition of craving of what we can never have, we, also like William, become bitter and angry, prone to bouts of cursing and the spouting of improprieties. Also like William, too cowardly to admit to the irrationality of our way of life or to identify the real oppressors, we take our anger out on those whom we perceive as weaker. Thus, the targets of our rage, and the stepping stones by which we measure our own worth and advancement, are unequivocally defined as women, the poor, the homeless, working folk, immigrants and foreigners, LGBTQ persons, people of color, and other such groups.

In William's days, elaborate cultural work – songs, board games, gossip, courtly social occasions, and other forms of entertainment – guided the emotions, positive and negative, in the directions deemed desirable by the most powerful. In our own time, the same functions are performed by mainstream films, news, video games, digital social media, and also songs and music, ensuring that the objects of our love are fully identified with the property and the persons of the upper classes. The siren song of culture, love songs and hate songs, however, distracts and causes us to forget that, rather than lusting after wealth and status, moralizing language, or venting our discontent on the vulnerable, we should instead explicitly denounce those who are most responsible for the abjection of our condition. The problems of our world are indeed not caused by women or other fetishized targets of our frustrated ambitions, but by "the Man" himself, and ourselves as his agents, as well as by an abusive economic, social and political system under which we lack humanity and are rendered thoroughly powerless, reduced to silence, or, at best, to speak obscenities, for lack of more meaningful recourse.

So, an examination of the songs of William IX of Aquitaine and the circumstances of his life allows us to state that something indeed is very obscene in his poetic works. It is not, however, specific words or their referring to sexual organs and bodily functions. Rather, the obscenity is to be found in a way of life predicated on the invidious pursuit of property and status; the objectification and unrestrained exploitation of humans, animals and other living beings; the irrational assumption that it is possible recklessly to extract and consume resources without limit or fear of their exhaustion; the splitting of human society into classes of haves and have-nots, fixed in perpetuity by violence and hereditary right. Privileged by birth, property, and the brutality and shamelessness of character attendant to such circumstances, William no doubt was an oppressor and exploiter of others, as misogynistic and abusive as any of the worst. However, he also got to experience the short end of the stick at the hands of his own overlords and peers more powerful than himself. It is perhaps that variety of experiences

that allowed him to articulate verses that, for all of their obscenity and uncourtly rudeness, can help us identify what is wrong with his and with our own culture, which is not a matter of words or manners, but of the substance of a way of life that is fundamentally unjust, wasteful, violent, self-indulgent, and ultimately unsustainable. Perhaps the most obscene aspect of our disgraceful situation is the fact that we are not allowed to talk about or express, in direct and unequivocal ways, the understandable anger that such a way of life should arouse.

Doaa Omran

(Non)-Imaginary Ideal Communities in the Pre-Modern World: A Reading in the Utopian Works of al-Fārābi', Ibn Khaldūn, Christine de Pizan, and Thomas More

Abstract: In an attempt to find harmonizing alternatives during the high Middle Ages, contemporary writers and philosophers imagined and theorized about the characteristics of an ideal community. Whereas European authors projected their utopian communities in imaginary locales, Islamicate scholars placed their utopias within real cities. This is pertinent, I argue, as to how the word "ideal city" is understood in each respective culture because I compare the European concept of 'utopia' with its Arabic equivalent – *al-Madinah al-Fāḍilah*, virtuous city. This paper presents a reading of two works each from the Arabic and the European traditions in order to illustrate the conceptual and philosophical differences of utopia in the respective cultures. The Arabic works of al-Fārābi's *Principles of the Opinions of the Citizens of the Virtuous City* (950) and Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah* (1377) are read in conjunction with Christine de Pizan's *The Book of the City of Ladies* (1405) and Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516). By studying these four utopian works together, I posit that the Arabic utopias of al-Fārābi and Ibn Khaldūn, which are situated in real locales, were the authors of didactic social treatises intended to provide practical guidance in reforming civic life. On the other hand, the more imaginary European utopias of Christine de Pizan and Thomas More provided fictional alternatives to reality. Whereas Christine and Thomas More focused on the architecture and the layout of their utopias, Muslim theorists paid minimal heed to the physical description of the city and highlighted instead the expected necessary traits of the individuals and their rulers that contribute to the excellence of a community. The comparative readings presented here have implications for future global utopia studies as well as for comparative literature.

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Utopia and *al-madīnah al-fāḍilah:* Arab and European Intersections

When one's reality is harsh, one might resort to imagination to transcend tough realities, finding solace in visualizing a better place – "a utopia." Since it is too far-fetched to find heaven on earth, utopias are intermediary locales that meet one's temporal, geographical, and/or communal aspirations. Already during the Middle Ages, philosophers and thinkers theorized about utopias – real or imaginary, and this in clear contrast to many modern assumptions both by scholars and the general public concerning this genre. While the real utopia provides practical societal solutions, the imaginary utopia is situated in fanciful lands/ communities. Both utopian sub-genres offer more positive alternatives. Thus, utopian writings exist as a healthy means of transcending ugly realties and thinking beyond. Whether real or imaginary, these communities were ideal and reasonably well-run cities whose virtues and benefits would have offered optimistic alternatives to escape present-day realities. Medieval writers proposed such ideal substitutes that contrasted with the hard realities of everyday life that their communities were going through. This paper explores the depiction of the ideal city across Eastern and Western works and the expected characteristics and interactions – according to the points of view of the authors.[1] I argue that whereas European communal utopias such as Christine de Pizan's *The Book of the City of Ladies*[2] and Thomas More's *Utopia*[3] tended to be more fantastic and literary, situated in imaginary faraway locales, Islamicate utopias were more sociological renderings of communities. That is evident especially in al-Fārābi's (*Mabādi'*

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1 Albrecht Classen argues that the notion of the "ideal city" existed already in medieval times; "The Dream City in Medieval Literature, or Urban Imagination: The Case of the Anonymous Her zog Ernst (ca. 1170/ca. 1220), Konrad von Würzburg's *Partonopier und Meliur* (ca. 1280), and Marco Polo's *Le Devisement du Monde* (ca. 1310)," *Studia Neophilologica* 91.3 (2019): 336 54; id., "Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: Historical, Mental, Cultural, and Social Economic Investigations," *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 1 145.
2 Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, trans. Rosalind Brown Grant (London: Pen guin, 1999).
3 Thomas More, *Utopia* (London: Penguin), 2003.

Ārāʾ ahl al-Madīnah al-Fāḍilah) *The Principles of the Opinions of the Citizens of the Virtuous City*[4] and in Ibn Khaldūn's مقدمة *Muqaddimah* or *Prolegomena* ("Introduction").[5]

The distinction is not absolute: writers in the European tradition surely hoped to have some impact on political and social thought, while al-Fārābi and Ibn Khaldūn also had literary qualities, as I will illustrate below. In both cultures, imagination and transcending reality played a crucial role – "All Utopian thinking," observes Moses I. Finley, "has an element of fantasy, of dreaming, or at least of yearning, for a better life and a better world."[6] The comparative realness of community location, I argue, is one of the main factors that distinguishes Arab and European ideal community traditions. The greater wealth and stability of the Islamic world meant that they simply had more model communities to observe and write about. Moreover, the individual is created "upon the earth as a successive authority" to God (Qur'ān 2:30)[7] – and must "not commit abuse on the earth, spreading corruption" (Qur'ān 2:30).[8] Thus, theological reasons made Muslims envision a utopia as a real place on earth since an eternal perfect one exists already in heaven in the afterlife. In an attempt to understand this major distinction between the European and the Arabic traditions, this paper examines the historical and the cultural contexts in which these Arabic and Western utopias were produced.

Comparative History of Utopias

The term utopia was coined in the early sixteenth century by Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia* (1516), but the concept has existed since antiquity. The word 'utopia' comes from the Greek: small *ou* (not) and *topos* (place)[9] and literally means 'no-place.' There is also a pun on the Greek prefix *eu*, meaning 'good.' So, it is either "The Good Place" or "No Place" – and the pun in utopia suggests that such an

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4 Abū Nasr al Fārābi, *On the Perfect State*, trans. Richard Walzer (1985; Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World Inc, 1998).

5 Ibn Khaldūn, et al., *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal abridged and ed. N. J. Dawood. Bollingen Series (1958; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015).

6 Moses I. Finley, "Utopianism Ancient and Modern," *The Critical Spirit: Essays in Honor of Her bert Marcuse*, ed. K. H. Wolff and B. More (Boston, MD: Beacon Press, 1967), 3 30; here 3.

7 https://tanzil.net/#2:30 (last accessed on March 4, 2022).

8 https://tanzil.net/#2:60 (last accessed on March 4, 2022).

9 "Utopia, n." *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, 2021), www.oed.com/view/Entry/220784 (last accessed on March 4, 2022).

ideal place is impossible as the perfect place cannot really exist. The equivalent Arabic term for *utopia* is *al-madīnah al-fāḍilah* المدينة الفاضلة (virtuous city) – which refers to an actual city that is marked by the virtue of its people; in a sense, there is a connection with the pun on "good" in the Greek counterpart. However, in Arabic thought, being good is contingent on virtue and integrity – Arabic utopias are a pragmatic outcome of the virtuous behavior of its inhabitants. It is a circular relation between the well-mannered people and the city that they live in. Thus, the etymological roots of the ideal city in European languages and in Arabic has influenced the ways people understand utopias – or perhaps, it was the other way round; the understanding has affected the etymology. These different ways of conceptualizing the ideal have led to misunderstanding among scholars such as Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, who state on the first page of their *Utopian Thought in the Western World* that

> There are treatises on ideal states and stories about imaginary havens of delight among the Chinese, the Japanese, the Hindus, and the Arabs, but the profusion of Western utopias has not been equaled in any other culture. Perhaps the Chinese have been too worldly and practical, the Hindus too transcendental to recognize a tension between the Two Kingdoms and to resolve it in that myth of a heaven on earth which lies at the heart of utopian fantasy.[10]

Manuel and Manuel give a reason for the lack of utopias in the Hindu and the Chinese traditions, but they do not justify the alleged scarcity of utopian texts in Arabic – even though the Qur'ān is replete throughout with substantial and detailed utopian descriptions of heaven as the eternal "better" home (Qur'ān 16:30) for those who had striven to contribute to the welfare of the people during their earthly life.[11] Seventy percent of the Qur'ān is dedicated to how Muslim communities should run transactions. For example, the fourth surah of the Qur'ān offers detailed descriptions of exact percentages on how each family member is supposed to inherit. The Qur'ān also discusses divorce, war, and financial regulations – arguing that these are geared to bettering communities. Muslim writers such as al-Fārābi and Ibn Khaldūn thus base their communal utopias and social treatises on the Islamic premises of making this earth a "virtuous" place; this can only be attained when the community works together for its betterment. Failing to understand the concept of the ideal community in the Islamic tradition as contingent on the diligent and consolidatory work of its

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10 Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979), 1.

11 https://tanzil.net/#2:60 (last accessed on March 4, 2022).

members has led to erroneous conclusions that resulted in excluding pertinent Arabic works from mainstream Western scholarship.

Scholarship on Utopia and Its Limitations

A The Classical Non-European Tradition

al-Fārābī, Ibn Khaldūn, Christine de Pizan, and Thomas More fit into the larger tradition of authors depicting ideal communities. Western medieval utopias have been regarded as a continuation of the canonical tradition of the Greeks and the Romans. For example, Plato's *Republic* and Hesiod's *Golden Age* are among the founding texts in that tradition. Challenging this non-inclusive perspective, I posit that utopian imagery existed much earlier in ancient Egypt and Iraq. The *Epic of Gilgamesh* (2100 B.C.E.) depicts how after the traumatic experience of the death of his best friend Enkidu, Gilgamesh travels to multiple places until he walks into an idyllic garden:

> There was the garden of the gods; all round him stood bushes bearing gems. Seeing it he went down at once, for there was fruit of carnelian with the vine hanging from it, beautiful to look at; lapis lazuli leaves hung thick with fruit, sweet to see. For thorns and thistles there were hematite and rare stones, agate, and pearls from out of the sea. While Gilgamesh walked in the garden by the edge of the sea Shamash saw him, and he saw that he was dressed in the skins of animals and ate their flesh.[12]

Idyllic imagery of the afterlife overlapping with those of the present time is also manifest in *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor* which belongs to the Middle Kingdom of Egypt (2040 – 1782 B.C.E.). In that text, the ancient Egyptian belief in the cyclical nature of life is evident:

> The ancient Egyptians believed in the cyclical nature of life   that which dies returns again but in two distinct forms. The traditional belief of the Egyptians was that a person died and went on to The Field of Reeds, a paradise which was a mirror image of the life they had known on earth. The other understanding of the nature of life and death came to be known famously as The Transmigration of Souls popularized by the Greek philosopher Pythagoras and, even more so, by Plato. In *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor* there is no death and resurrection but the theme of an individual becoming lost in a strange and frightening

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12 https://arthistoryproject.com/timeline/the ancient world/mesopotamia/the epic of gilga mesh/gilgamesh 4 the search for everlasting life/ (last accessed on March 4, 2022).

land and then returning home is central and this would have resonated with an ancient Egyptian audience. [13]

The shipwrecked sailor lands on an isolated island that is also bountiful. "Fish were there together with birds. There was nothing that was not within it." He meets the king of the utopian island, a legendary snake whose:

> body was overlaid with gold. His eyebrows were real lapis lazuli ... he took [the sailor] to his dwelling, his place of happiness [and told him] ... "it is god who caused you to live, he brought you to this island of ka. There is nothing that is not within it; it is filled with all good things."[14]

Reference to gems is common in both the Egyptian and the Iraqi texts. Both protagonists experience transitional utopias of the soul in which they see jewels and treasures that are incomparable to anything they have seen before. The snake tells the sailor:

> You are not rich in myrrh being an owner of incense. It is I who am the lord of Punt and the myrrh, it belongs to me. And the incense that you spoke of bringing, it is abundant on this island. When it happens that you leave this place, it will not occur that you will see this island again, it having become water.[15]

The notion of the isolated island is reminiscent of Ibn Ṭufail's and Ibn al-Nafīs's desert islands, which I will explore below. Like these solitary island dwellers, the snake lacks company on the island after its retinue of 75 snakes was hit dead by a falling star. Like Gilgamesh who has strong ties to Enkidu who helped him become a better king through defending the community from Gilgamesh's atrocities against them, the snake experiences a severe sense of loss after the death of its family. Meanwhile, the gracious sailor "placed [him]self upon [his] belly [his] arms bent in respect before"[16] communicating with the snake.

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13 https://www.worldhistory.org/article/180/the tale of the shipwrecked sailor an egyptian epi/ (last accessed on March 4, 2022).
14 Online (see note 13).
15 Online (see note 13
16 Online (see note 13).

B Anglophone and German Scholarship on Utopia

Just as utopian examples from the classic Near East have been ignored by mainstream Anglophone academics, so were the medieval Arabic works of the al-Farābi and Ibn Khaldūn. German scholarship, on the other hand, has been more interested earlier in drawing Arabic connections. Michael Winter's encyclopedic *Compendium Utopiarum: Typologie und Bibliographie literarischer Utopien* (published in 1978) dedicates one-page entries to al-Fārābi[17] and Ibn Ṭufail,[18] placing Arabic utopias within the context of their western sisters. There has actually been a long-standing tradition of German scholars' interest in studying utopian experiences. Heiko Hartmann states that:

> German philosophers and sociologists have been particularly interested
> in developing a comprehensive theory of the utopia (cf. Ernst Bloch, *Das
> Prinzip Hoffnung*, 1959; Norbert Elias, Thomas Morus' *Staatskritik*, 1982;
> Max Horkheimer, *Anfänge der bürgerlichen Geschichtsphilosophie*, 1930; Karl
> Mannheim, *Ideologie und Utopie*, 1952).[19]

Albrecht Classen has examined utopia in German literary texts such as in his "Religious Utopia in Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan:* Was Gottfried Influenced by Mystics such as Hildegard von Bingen?,"[20] in which he examines the love cave "minnegrotte" in *Tristan* (1210) in comparison with Hildegard's mystical visions, and in his "Utopian Space in the Countryside: Love and Marriage between a Knight and a Peasant Girl in Medieval German Literature."[21] Tomas Tomasek's *Die Utopie im "Tristan" Gotfrids von Strassburg* reads the romance of Tristan as

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17 Michael Winter, *Compendium Utopiarum: Typologie und Bibliographie Literarischer Utopien.* Erster Teilband: *Von der Antike bis zur deutschen Frühaufklärung*. Repertorien zur Deutschen Lit eraturgeschichte (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1978), 12 13.

18 Winter, *Compendium Utopiarum* (see note 17), 13.

19 Heiko Hartmann, "Utopias / Utopian Thought," *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms Methods Trends,* ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), vol. 3, 1400 08; here 1401.

20 Albrecht Classen, "Religious Utopia in Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan:* Was Gottfried In fluenced by Mystics such as Hildegard von Bingen?" *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanis tik* 68 (2011): 143 67.

21 Albrecht Classen, "Utopian Space in the Countryside: Love and Marriage between a Knight and a Peasant Girl in Medieval German Literature. Hartmann Von Aue's *Der arme Heinrich*, Anonymous, 'Dis ist von dem Heselin,' Walther von der Vogelweide, Oswald von Wolkenstein, and Late Medieval Popular Poetry," *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: The Spatial Turn in Premodern Studies*, ed. Albrecht Classen with the collaboration of Christo pher R. Clason. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 9 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 251 80.

a utopian critique of the feudalistic community.[22] Romances such as Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (ca. 1205), which portrays instances of idealized Grail discovery experiences in the castle of the wounded Fisher King, offer a depiction of an idealized community. Similarly, Arthurian romances tend to portray an idealized community of knights who make great sacrifices to defend their king and create a harmonious society. Again, Heiko Hartmann states that

> Courtly romances continually produce images of a harmonic life, ultimately freed from social conflict, in which the tension between God and the world, knighthood and courtly love, individual and society, is largely resolved. In this context we must place the Arthurian and Grail worlds, but also those which are finally redeemed and liberated after struggle and battle in the Alexander and Aeneas romances.[23]

The homosocial bond between the Arthurian knights creates a strong communal utopia.[24] Perhaps the actual utopian communities that existed in Europe were monasteries. Medieval monasteries were studied as utopias by Ferdinand Seibt in his *Utopica: Modelle totaler Sozialplanung* (1972) and in his *Utopie als Funktion abendländischen Denkens* (1982).[25] This brings to mind the plan for the utopian monastery of St. Gall, or the connections between medieval utopias and the Bible discussed by Tomas Tomasek in his "Zur Poetik des Utopischen im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter,"[26] in which he describes Gottfried's *Tristan* as a utopia, based on Ernst Bloch's principles.

Other medieval visions of idyllic lands appear in the travel narratives attributed to John Mandeville (1357 and 1371),[27] the *Land of Cockayne* (1350s), or the voyage of St. Brendan. However, many of these accounts are more concerned with spiritual than with practical or administrative questions.

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22 Tomas Tomasek, *Die Utopie im 'Tristan' Gotfrids von Straßburg*. Hermaea. Germanistische Forschungen, Neue Folge, 49 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2012).

23 Hartmann, "Utopias / Utopian Thought" (see note 19), 1407.

24 Ying hsiu Lu, "King Arthur: Leadership, Masculinity and Homosocial Manhood," *Perceiving Power in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Francis K. H. So (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 85 102.

25 Ferdinand Seibt, *Utopica: Modelle totaler Sozialplanung* (Düsseldorf: Schwann Ed., 1972); id., "Utopie als Funktion abendländischen Denkens," *Utopieforschung: Interdisziplinäre Studien zur neuzeitlichen Utopie*, ed. Wilhelm Vosskamp (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1982), vol. 1, 254 79. Janet Coleman, "The Continuity of Utopian Thought in the Middle Ages: A Reassessment," *Vivarium* 20.1 (1982): 1 23

26 Tomas Tomasek, "Zur Poetik des Utopischen im Hoch und Spätmittelalter," *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein Gesellschaft* 13 (2001/02): 179 93.

27 John Mandeville, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (Harmondsworth and New York: Penguin Books, 1983).

Recent publications that study the concept of utopia, such as *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, by Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P Manuel (1979)[28] and the 2000 New York Public Library exhibition guide *Utopia: The Search for the Ideal Society in the Western World*[29] mostly focus on Thomas More's *Utopia* and ignore other relevant writers such as Christine de Pizan – not to mention the Arab al-Fārābi or Ibn Khaldūn. Lyman Tower Sargent, in his *Utopianism: A Very Short Introduction*, touches slightly on a number of Islamic medieval texts such as *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqzān* and The *Treatise of Kamil on the Prophet's Biography*.

Christine de Pizan's *The Book of the City of Ladies*[30] is a pioneering attempt at imagining a feminist utopia that challenges androcentric perspectives. According to Jean Bethke Elshtain, Christine de Pizan "plays against the grain of that tradition by creating a utopian city, not cast in a nationalist mode, where the virtues embodied in the feminine form have come to reign."[31] It is worth mentioning here that most studies on Christine de Pizan focus more on reading her as a political writer without making connections between the political and utopian. Examples of such studies are the edited volume *The City of Scholars: New Approaches to Christine de Pizan*[32] and Kate Langdon Forhan's *The Political Theory of Christine de Pizan*.[33] The only essay that I was able to find that seriously considers Christin de Pizan's utopian contributions comparatively with Thomas More is Leonardo de Lara Cardoso's "Utopias No Tempo: Estudo Comparativo Entre a *Cidade das Damas* de Christine de Pizan e *Utopia* de Thomas Morus."

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28 Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (see note 10).
29 New York Public Library, *Utopia: The Search for the Ideal Society in the Western World*, ed. Roland Schar, Gregory Claeys, and Lyman Tower Sargent (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
30 Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, trans. Rosalind Brown Grant (London: Penguin Books), 1999.
31 Jean Bethke Elshtain, Introduction to *Politics, Gender, and Genre: The Political Thought of Christine De Pizan*, ed. Margaret Brabant (London and New York: Westview Press, 1992), 3.
32 *The City of Scholars: New Approaches to Christine de Pizan*, ed. Margarete Zimmermann and Dina De Rentiis. European Cultures (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994).
33 Kate Langdon Forhan, *The Political Theory of Christine de Pizan* (Aldershot, Hampshire, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002); Nadia Margolis, *An Introduction to Christine de Pizan*. New Perspectives on Medieval Literature: Authors and Traditions (Gainesville, Tallahassee, et al.: University Press of Florida, 2012), 69 75, emphasizes Christine's major model, Augustine's *City of God*, but refrains from exploring utopian aspects in her poem.

Cardoso's rather short paper compares both utopias from a spatial perspective, but it does not touch on the concept of utopian community.[34]

Applying Mary Louis Pratt's portmanteau of "feminotopias" (feminine utopia), meaning "episodes that present idealized worlds of female autonomy, empowerment, and pleasure,"[35] Alexandra Verini argues that:

> Christine mimics the vocabulary and imagery of a male tradition of portraying women, but she repurposes this rhetoric to imagine a feminotopian space. Christine's mimicry thus at once sets her within an already established authorial tradition that objectifies women's bodies, enacting a collective theory of authorship, and enables her to carve out space for what had to be an individual female voice.[36]

Verini places Christine de Pizan as a forerunner of Thomas More, contesting the widespread notion that the latter is the late medieval/early modern founder of the field that has been mostly dominated by male writers. Verini contextualizes *The Book of the City of Ladies* among the works of medieval and early modern female writers which she classifies as "feminotopias" as opposed to the masculine utopian tradition. Despite these numerous attempts to study medieval utopias, much work remains to be done. Christine de Pizan's utopia, above all, needs further contextualization with other pertinent utopias.

Medieval Utopias in the Arabic and European World

In order to fill a lacuna in utopia studies, I decided to analyze in this paper four writers – al-Fārābi, Ibn Khaldūn, Christine de Pizan, and Thomas More – that is, two Arabic and two European texts – to create a balanced comparison, illuminating the common threads that unite diverse ideas of a better world. Reading Ara-

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34 Leonardo de Lara Cardoso, "Utopias no Tempo: Estudo comparativo entre a Cidade das Damas de Christine de Pizan e Utopia de Thomas Morus," *Seminário Internacional Fazendo Gên ero* 11 & 13th Women's Worlds Congress, *Florianóplis* (2017), 1 10. http://www.en.wwc2017. eventos.dype.com.br/resources/anais/1499034681 ARQUIVO Utopiasnotempo estudocompar ativoentreACidadedasDamasdeChristinedePizaneUtopiadeThomasMorus.pdf (last accessed on March 4, 2022).
35 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 166 67.
36 Alexandra Cassatt Verini, "'A New Kingdom of Femininity': Women's Utopias in Early Eng lish Culture and Imagination (1405 1666)," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, CA, 2018, 51.

bic and Western utopias jointly rather than as distinct traditions can help us construct a more global and inclusive understanding of the medieval world. I also incorporate in my discussion an analysis of the different nature of how such societies communicated with each other illustrating the social nature of utopias across different cultures.

Reading cultures from the perspectives of the archetypal, the imaginary, and the "transreal" enables us to see beyond rigid binary oppositions to recognize similarities among cultures. Utopian writings are an outcome of experiencing difficult living conditions and communities in the Middle Ages – both in Europe and in the Islamic empire – which were often plagued by internal and outside tensions. Whether situated in real or fictional locales, utopias, after all, revolve around thinking positively about a better future – which is a common feature of humanity. Indeed, it is a "political concern of philosophy ... [and] a plea for committed curiosity in the study of human affairs"[37] to study utopian communities in conjunction.

Arab Utopias

A Islamic Background and Exegesis

In order to understand how al-Fārābi and Ibn Khaldūn comprehended utopia, we need to explore the Islamic roots of the concept. The two most prominent Islamic utopias are a social utopia and a heavenly one: respectively, the early medieval Muslim community that inhabited Medina and al-Jannah or al-Furdaws (Paradise) – as mentioned in the Qur'ān and the *Hadith*. In Islam, according to Lyman Tower Sargent, there are

> two basic utopias, paradise and the early Muslim community at Medina. The Medina period of peace before the move to Mecca and the need to fight and defend the faith is the golden age of Islam.[38]

The perfect utopia ideally exists in heaven where the pious socialize together. The Qur'ān states in chapter 56, titled "al-Wāqi'ah" (The Occurrence), that the virtuous people meet in the afterlife in a heavenly locale:

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37 Finley, "Utopianism, Ancient and Modern" (see note 6), 8.
38 Lyman Tower Sargent, *Utopianism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 77.

In Gardens of Bliss:
A number of people from those of old,
And a few from those of later times.
(They will be) on Thrones encrusted (with gold and precious stones),
Reclining on them, facing each other.
Round about them will (serve) youths of perpetual (freshness),
With goblets, (shining) beakers, and cups (filled) out of clear flowing fountains
No after ache will they receive therefrom, nor will they suffer intoxication:
And with fruits, any that they may select:
And the flesh of fowls, any that they may desire.
And (there will be) Companions with beautiful, big, and lustrous eyes,
Like unto Pearls well guarded.
A Reward for the deeds of their past (life).
Not frivolity will they hear therein, nor any taint of ill,
Only the saying, "Peace! Peace".
The Companions of the Right Hand   what will be the Companions of the Right Hand?
(They will be) among Lote trees without thorns,
Among Talh trees with flowers (or fruits) piled one above another
In shade long extended,
By water flowing constantly,
And fruit in abundance.
Whose season is not limited, nor (supply) forbidden,
And on Thrones (of Dignity), raised high.
We have created (their Companions) of special creation.
And made them virgin   pure (and undefiled),
Beloved (by nature), equal in age
For the Companions of the Right Hand.
A (goodly) number from those of old,
And a (goodly) number from those of later times.[39]

Thus, in the Islamic tradition, as a reward for being virtuous in one's lifetime, one goes to heaven and is accompanied by other good people who enjoy good things such as fruit, trees, companions, etc. in such abundance and excellence which they have not imagined earlier. It is not only a matter of quantity but also the quality of the pleasures bestowed upon the believers in heaven. It is stated in the ḥadīth (sayings and actions of the Prophet) that Allah said, "I have prepared for My pious slaves things which have never been seen by an eye, or heard by an ear, or imagined by a human being."[40] This is exactly in tandem with the Greek origin of "utopia" that indicates a place with no earthly existence. Unlike Hesiod's fantastical *Golden Age*, which is located in a mythical past, the Islamic

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39 https://www.Quranwazaif.com/surah waqiah pdf full doa surat al waqiah mp3 translation english (last accessed on March 4, 2022).
40 http://qaalarasulallah.com/hadithView.php?ID=3116 (last accessed on March 4, 2022).

utopian paradise takes place in the future; in the afterlife where communities of different generations sit facing each other. One has no longer to toil even to pick fruit as the branches are hanging near (Qur'ān 69:23). It is worth mentioning here that since Muslims are not allowed to drink wine, they will drink non-sickening beverages with their heavenly community.

Such "wishful spaces" and "wishful times," as Alfred Doren formulated it,[41] happen only under the condition when one exercises self-control and practices piety during earthly life. The pragmatic and pious believers of earthly life are qualified to enjoy eternal happiness. Earthly life is full of suffering as God mentions in the Qur'ān that He "... certainly created man into hardship" (Qur'ān 90:4). Contrary to such Edenic utopias where no one needs to toil, Islamic social utopias encouraged their members to work collaboratively so that they can attain economic stability for their community. In order to attain such a heavenly utopia, one must strive really hard on earth to do good and contribute to the solidarity and cohesiveness of their communities. Among the well-known virtuous community-related hadiths of the prophet is: "The believers in their mutual kindness, compassion and sympathy are just like one body. When one of the limbs suffers, the whole body responds to it with wakefulness and fever."[42] This is reminiscent of al-Farābi's view that "the excellent city resembles the perfect and healthy body, all of whose limbs co-operate to make the life of the animal perfect and to preserve it in this state."[43] This body politic analogy, hence, existed in the heyday of Islam, and al-Fārābi reiterated it in his real utopia. Statesmen and householders, thus, need to ensure the well-being of their communities:

> Ibn 'Umar reported that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said "All of you are shepherds and each of you is responsible for his flock. A man is the shepherd of the people of his house, and he is responsible. A woman is the shepherd of the house of her husband and she is responsible. Each of you is a shepherd and each is responsible for his flock."[44]

In a sense, according to Islamic thought, rulers can attain heavenly utopias only if they do their best to create virtuous communities during their stay on earth – just as in the seventh-century experience in Medina – a "city of God" that is reminiscent of that described in St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei contra Paganos* (early

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41 Alfred Doren, "Wunschräume und Wunschzeiten," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* Vol. IV: *1924 1925* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1927), 158 205.

42 https://sunnah.com/riyadussalihin:224 (last accessed on March 4, 2022).

43 *Al Farabi on the Perfect State: Mabādi' Ārā' ahl al Madīna[h] sic al Fāḍilah*, ed. and trans. Richard Walzer (Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World, 1985), 231.

44 https://sunnah.com/adab/10 (last accessed on March 4, 2022).

fifth century) – in which he introduces the utopian concept of the City of God as opposed to the City of People illustrating that both communities are in eternal conflict.[45]

The second basic utopia in Islam, as identified by Lyman Tower Sargent,[46] is the first Caliphate or the Medinan regime of Prophet Mohamed (570 – 632) and his four righteous caliph companions (632– 661) that existed after the *Hijrah* (immigration) from Mecca to Medina. This community was infested with internal tribal conflicts, but its virtuous rulers – at least as projected – made all the difference. Tomas Tomasek[47] introduced the notion of the "wishful person" in western thinking (Alanus ab Insulis), who would revive the 'paradisiacal' nature of Adam and Eve before the Fall. The figure of the prophet as the ideal just leader inspired the Medina community to promote values such as work, defending the community, and *Zakat* (alms giving), among others. Surplus had been a phenomenon during the reign of the fifth Caliph Omar Ibn Abd al-'Aziz who is known to have said: "Spread wheat (أنثروا القمحَ على رؤوسِ الجبال لكي لا يقال : جاعَ طيرٌ في بلاد المسلمين" on the tops of the mountains so that it would not be said: A bird was hungry in Muslim countries"). Islamic utopias of al-Fārābī and Ibn Khaldūn aligned focus on ideas of relative economic surplus, and such was the case of the earlier days of Islam when the money of the community was under the possession of *Bayt al-Māl* (The House of Money) – an early concept of the secretary of finance/economy.

B Arabic Literary Utopias

After these short and (relatively) utopian times of the Islamic community, Muslim writers recorded their visions about ideal existence which was in essence isolated and community-less. Among the earliest who depicted a utopia based on pleasure and ecstasy is the Persian poet 'Umar al-Khayām (1048–1131) whose quartet poems known as *Rubā'yāt of 'Umar al-Khayyām* "has been described as the first Persian utopia."[48] This long poem is written in groups of four lines of alternating verse – the poet muses about the pleasures of drinking wine, stressing "pleasure and sexual desire, the emphasis is on oblivion found in

45 Jean Servier, *Histoire de l'utopie.* Collection idées, 127 (1967; Paris: Gallimard, 1970).
46 Sargent, *Utopianism* (see note 38), 77.
47 Tomas Tomasek, "Zur Poetik des Utopischen im Hoch und Spätmittelalter" (see note 26).
48 Sargent, *Utopianism* (see note 38), 85.

wine, a most un-Islamic emphasis." 'Umar al-Khayyām concludes the quartets with how closeness to the Creator is what leads one to ultimate bliss.[49]

Other Muslims authors wrote in prose about the ideal existence on isolated and uninhabited islands where protagonists learn important truths about the creator of the universe. Otto Gerhard Oexle[50] posits that there was a utopian notion of faraway islands of good fortune "Glücksinseln" (*insulae fortunatae*) in the Middle Ages. Even though Oexle focuses on Western utopias, the same concept can also be traced in the Islamic tradition. For example, Ibn Ṭufail's (1105 – 1185) *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqḍān* (1150) حي ابن يقظان – literally meaning "alive son of the awake" (*Philosophus Autodidactus* [The Self-Taught Philosopher]) – narrates the story of a feral child raised solely on an isolated island until his instinct and reasoning lead him eventually to the truth that this world has a Creator. Becoming aware of one's existence through logical reasoning is what makes one "alive" and "awake" to the facts of this universe. ʿAlāʾ-al-Dīn Abu al-Ḥassan ʿAli ibn Abi-Hazm al-Qarshi al-Dimashqi (also known as Ibn al-Nafīs) (1213 – 1288) wrote *The Treatise of Kamil on the Prophets Biography* (*Theologus Autodidactus* ["*The Self-taught Theologian*" الرسالة الكاملية في السيرة النبوية) (1270) as a response to *Philosophus Autodidactus*. *Theologus Autodidactus* narrates the experience of someone living solely on an isolated island and totally detached from community until the castaways arrive at the island and introduce him to civilization.[51] The protagonists of both works eventually learn from their seclusion that there has to be a creator of this world. Both *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqḍān* and *The Treatise of Kamil on the Prophets Biography* focus on a secluded individual and do not theorize utopia in the communal context. Such distant islands, however, were a "wishful [spiri-

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49 Arab people relate immensely to the religious part of the Ruba'yiaat. The poet laureate Ahmed Shawqi translated it from the Persian into Arabic. The legendary Umm Kalthum sang it in multiple concerts; causing this medieval utopian poem to become an all time masterpiece: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=szZKmZxqQgk (last accessed on March 4, 2022).

50 Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Utopisches Denken im Mittelalter: Pierre Dubois," *Historische Zeitschrift* 224.1 (1977): 293 – 339.

51 These works are thought to have inspired Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. Ḥayy Ibn Yaqḍān was translated into Latin in 1617 by Edward Pococke and was an inspiration for the European Enlightenment. See Mahmoud Baroud, *The Shipwrecked Sailor in Arabic and Western Literature: Ibn Tufayl and His Influence on European Writers* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, Bloomsbury Academic, 2012). For negative examples in the European context, see Albrecht Classen, "Caught on an Island: Geographic and Spiritual Isolation in Medieval German Courtly Literature: *Herzog Ernst*, *Gregorius*, *Tristan*, and *Partonopier und Meliur*," *Studia Neophilologica* 79 (2007): 69 – 80. Note from the editor: see also Horst Brunner, "Insel," *Literarische Orte in deutschsprachigen Erzählungen des Mittelalters: Ein Handbuch*, ed. Tilo Reny, Monika Hanauska, and Mathias Herweg (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 316 – 30. As to islands in courtly romances, see 322 – 28.

tual] space" that made one understand more about oneself through deep thinking about the Creator, and reaching this important conclusion made both texts possess utopian elements in this sense. It is worth mentioning here that Thomas More places his utopia on an island too, albeit one inhabited by an organized and hierarchical community not so different from that proposed by al-Fārābi in his *Virtuous City*.

C al-Fārābi's Utopian Community

Abu Nasr al-Fārābi (871–951) was a renowned early Islamic philosopher and jurist who wrote in the fields of political philosophy, metaphysics, ethics, and logic. He contributed a number of works, of which آراء أهل المدينة الفاضلة (*Mabādi' Ārā' ahl al-Madīnah al-Fāḍilah*; *The Opinions of the Citizens of the Virtuous City*) is his latest and most mature.[52] What we know about al-Fārābi's biography comes from Ibn Abi Uṣaybiᶜah (1203–1270), his ᶜ*Uyūn* (1242).[53] Ibn Abi Uṣaybiᶜah states that al-Fārābi's father was an army man of modest status who was of Persian origins. Even though he was born in Khorasan, al-Fārābi traveled to Iraq and Egypt but spent most of his life in Damascus – learning and producing knowledge. He used to work as a guard in an orchard so that he would have ample time for reading; he would spend the night browsing books under the lamps in the garden. He learned Greek logic under Christian teachers such as Yū-ḥanna bin Ḥailān and Ibrāhīm al-Marūzī. Ibn Abi Uṣaybiᶜah lists the titles of the 112 books that al-Farābi produced; unfortunately, however, many of these books have been lost. The Syrian Ḥamdāni prince, Saif al-Dawlah (915–967), a patron of culture, admired al-Fārābi and invited him to his court multiple times. The tenth-century Arab audience would have been familiar with the ancient philosophies, and al-Fārābi's books contributed insightful explanations and commentaries on logic and philosophy of Plato, Aristotle, and Plotinus, among others. Concerning the reception of this book, Richard Walzer states that *Ahl al-Madīnah al-Fāḍilah* "can be understood by every reader of Arabic; and there is sufficient evidence to show that it was known to Arabic-speaking Christians … and Jews such as Maimonides and Falaguera as well as to Muslims."[54] It is no wonder,

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52 Richard Walzer, introduction to *Al Farabi on the Perfect State* (see note 4), 4.

53 https://al maktaba.org/book/6687/596#p1 (303 10; last accessed on March 4, 2022).

54 Walzer, introduction to *Al Farabi on the Perfect State* (see note 52), 6.

thus, that al-Fārābi came to be known as "the Second Teacher," following Aristotle who was known as "the First Teacher."[55]

al-Fārābi is credited with having commented and paraphrased the original Greek philosophical texts of Plato and Aristotle. He transformed the classical Greek philosophies into an Islamic perspective without actually using Islamic terminology even when the principles of his virtuous city are Islamic. Formulating his theories of the virtuous city and the ideal Islamic community, al-Fārābi drew on Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Ethics*. In an earlier work titled Philosophy *of Aristotle*, al-Fārābi reads ethics in conjunction with Aristotle's theories of knowledge and happiness. It is worth noting here that al-Fārābi dedicated a separate earlier thesis titled *Attainment of Happiness* to the study of this concept. In *al-Madīnah al-Fāḍilah*, al-Fārābi proposes that achieving happiness is the ultimate purpose of the virtuous city. Taking virtuous responsible decisions toward oneself and community leads to happiness in the afterlife – the salvation of the individual is, thus, dependent on how he contributes to the body politic through obeying God. Like his two predecessors, al-Fārābi held that individuals can only thrive in communities in which people support each other economically – multiple communities support each other and people within the communities support each other:

> In order to preserve himself and to attain his highest perfections every human being is by his very nature in need of many things which he cannot provide all by himself; he is indeed in need of people who each supply him with some particular need of his. Everybody finds himself in the same relation to everybody in this respect. Therefore, an individual cannot attain perfection, for the sake of which his inborn nature has been given to him, unless many (societies of) people who co operate come together who each supply everybody else with some particular need of his, so that as a result of the contribution of the whole community all the things are brought together which everybody needs in order to preserve himself and to attain perfection. Therefore human individuals have come to exist in great numbers, and have settled in the inhabitable (inhabited?) region of the earth, so that human societies have come to exist in it, some of which are perfect, others imperfect.[56]

Thus, perfection is reached not only by one's own efforts but through the collaboration of the community as one unit – such communal thought is reiterated in the Islamic tradition throughout. It was also reiterated earlier by the Greek sages. Walzer states that

55 Ian Richard Netton, *Al Fārābī and His School*. Arabic Thought and Culture (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 1.
56 *Al Farabi on the Perfect State* (see note 4), 229.

since man ⎯ according to al Fārābi as well as to Plato and Aristotle ⎯ cannot live in isola
tion and cannot find fulfillment except as a member of society, his main concern ought to
thrive in a perfect state, madīna[h] al fāḍila[h], for an ethical society of the highest order
which conforms to the order of justice which is apparent in nature.[57]

For a community to be virtuous, it should seek justice. This justice can only be
implemented through an exceptional ruler, according to al-Fārābi:

The ruler of the excellent city cannot just be any man, because rulership requires two con
ditions: (a) he should be predisposed for it by his inborn nature, (b) he should have ac
quired the attitude and the habit of will for rulership which will develop in a man
whose inborn nature is disposed for it.[58]

al-Fārābi proceeds to innumerate the characters of the exceptional ruler who is
worthy of reigning the community of the virtuous city. Such characteristics in-
clude having intellect and courage, as well as being a good orator, and knowing
how to make his people happy:

He is the man who knows every action by which felicity can be reached. This is the first
condition for being a ruler. Moreover, he should be a good orator and able to rouse
[other people's] imagination by well chosen words. He should be able to lead people
well along the right path to felicity and to the actions by which felicity is reached. He
should, in addition, be of tough physique, in order to shoulder the tasks of war.

This is the sovereign over whom no other human being has any sovereignty whatsoever; he
is the Imām; he is the first sovereign of the excellent city, he is the sovereign of the excellent
nation, and the sovereign of the universal state (the *oikumenē*).[59]

Thus, an ideal community is connected to the broader concept of the Islamic na-
tion (*ummah*). Alexander Orwin, in his *Redefining the Muslim Community: Ethnic-
ity, Religion, and Politics in the Thought of Alfarabi*, states that

Alfarabi argues for the broad cultural, political, and religious significance of the Umma in
an era in which nationalism did not yet have any meaning. This is not to say that Alfarabi's
interest in the Umma lacks any specific historical cause. The Umma, which appears dozens
of times in the Qur'ān, had long since become the term of choice for Muslims in defining
their own religious community.[60]

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57 Walzer, introduction to *Al Farabi on the Perfect State* (see note 52), 8.

58 *Al Farabi on the Perfect State* (see note 4), 239.

59 *Al Farabi on the Perfect State* (see note 4), 247.

60 Alexander Orwin, *Redefining the Muslim Community: Ethnicity, Religion, and Politics in the
Thought of Alfarabi* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 3.

Thus, the notion of an ideal community according to Muslims is always tied to what jurisprudence entails about nationhood and solidarity. Ideally speaking, a plethora of virtuous communities constitute a healthy and strong *ummah*. The analogy of the Muslim community as a body (politic), that I have mentioned above, is indispensable to understanding al-Fārābi's discussion of an ideal society. It is worth mentioning here that the political situation of the ninth century required that Arabs viewed themselves as a nation constituted of smaller communities – these communities should attain perfection so that the *ummah* can withstand rival nations. In her chapter in this volume, Asmaa Ahmed Youssef Moawad explains that the Abbasid Caliph Al-Mu'tasim Billah (833–842 C.E.) deliberately maintained a strong Muslim nation that regarded itself as one larger community – *Ummah*. Moawad argues that such values were maintained through the genre of hamasa (enthusiastic poetry). Asmaa explores how Abū Tammām's "Ode on the Conquest of Amorium" (838 C.E.) focuses on Muslims conquest of Amorium and the defeat of the Byzantines.

In his *A History of Islamic Philosophy*, Majid Fakhry posits that

> this close association between metaphysics and politics in al Fārābi's thought further illus
> trates the organic view of man in relation to God and the universe and to his fellow men, is
> embodied in the Islamic system of beliefs. On this view, politics and ethics are conceived as
> an extension or development of metaphysics or its highest manifestation, theology, i.e., the
> science of God.[61]

Thus, according to al-Fārābi's realistic utopia the divine, the universe, state, and the individual are intricately interlinked and mirror each other. *al-Madīnah al-Fāḍilah* is divided into two parts: the nature of the divine and the characteristics of a virtuous city. In order to understand al-Fārābi's take on the ideal community, we have to comprehend first his conception of the divine. He discusses the nature of God according to Islamic thought; people can live in a virtuous city when they follow the guidance of God. al-Fārābi viewed the community as a hierarchical structure, on the top of which should reside the cosmic ruler – God, who is on top of the ladder. A virtuous city, al-Fārābi implies, cannot exist without understanding the nature of its Creator in conjunction with heavenly spheres and the sublunar world. al-Fārābi provides a cosmic and a comprehensive image of his ideal society in which human beings are part of a chain that links them to the Creator – an approach that is reminiscent of the tradition of the hierarchical Great Chain of Being. al-Fārābi in his non-religious jargon describes God in the

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61 Majid Fakhry, *History of Islamic Philosophy*. Third ed. (1970; New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 121.

first two chapters as "the First Cause"– a term that Plato and Aristotle also had used.[62] Having talked about the ontology of the Creator and proven its origin in relation to the planets and the sublunar world, al-Fārābi discusses in the second half of his treatise how the fair ruler is above the other people in the hierarchy of the virtuous city. Through following virtue, a community can attain "happiness." Happiness is an inevitable outcome of any virtuous community. Human beings need to meet in an optimal form of cooperation so justice can prevail. The inhabitants of the virtuous city would then enjoy happiness, and their virtues enable them to withstand in the face of "ignorant cities."

Thus, al-Fārābi emphasizes the social and symbiotic nature of a harmonious human community. According to al-Fārābi, "an isolated individual could not achieve all the perfections by himself, without the aid of other individuals," and that it is the "innate disposition of every man to join another human being or other men in the labor he ought to perform." He concluded that to "achieve what he can of that perfection, every man needs to stay in the neighborhood of others and associate with them." Thus, *Principles of the Opinions of the Citizens of the Virtuous City* is one of the early treatises to deal with social psychology, emphasizing that a virtuous community that uses its resources responsibly lives in ultimate happiness; perfection is reached through one's own efforts. al-Fārābi was an advocate of the concept of freedom of choice and proposed that an individual has free will to choose between good and evil.[63] It is worth noting here that al-Fārābi followed a Sufi-like way of life which is evident in his description of the virtuous city.

Both al-Fārābi and Ibn Khaldūn set their utopias in real communities and offered models of how a virtuous community can excel without mentioning actual location at all. They assumed that their model is applicable throughout the Islamicate. Neither Ibn Khaldūn nor al-Fārābi imply that they are writing about ethereal or imaginary communities. Instead, they both offer practical guides for the caliphate that was challenged by outside forces. al-Fārābi witnessed the Abbasids in Iraq and the Ismāʿīlīs (Shiites who established a rival Fātimid Caliphate in Egypt in 910) while Ibn Khaldūn witnessed the Mongol conquest and the fall of Andalusia. These empirical experiences gave both insights into the traits of successful communities. The main difference between al-Fārābi and Ibn Khaldun, I would argue, is whereas the former focused in his treatise more on the smaller virtuous community, the latter was more dedicated to studying effective bigger societies over the course of history. Perhaps it was because the historical

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62 *Al Farabi on the Perfect State* (see note 4), 334.
63 *Al Farabi on the Perfect State* (see note 4), 205.

events that Ibn Khaldūn survived were more dramatic and critical to the future of the *ummah* that he theorized about larger scale communities.

D Ibn Khaldūn

Like al-Fārābi, Ibn Khaldun, situated his ideal state in a real locale and did not place his utopias in imaginary spaces, like Christine de Pizan and Thomas More as illustrated below. However, whereas al-Fārābi theorized about a virtuous city, Ibn Khaldūn in his renowned مقدمة*Muqaddimah* or *Prolegomena* ("Introduction") written in 1377 introduces a more pragmatic reading of larger-scale communities. The *Prolegomena* is a pioneering work in analyzing the common laws that govern salient social phenomena throughout the history of different communities. Ibn Khaldūn reads the socio-economic-geographical universal history of empires and governments – building his theories on Aristotle's logical approach to history and applying that to the contemporaneous Muslim empire which encompassed a third of the world population at the time.[64] The work compiles the rules that constitute an ideal community calling it "the conditions of human community" – أحوال الاجتماع الإنساني – this forms even the foundation of present-day sociology.[65]

Ibn Khaldūn based his social theories on personal and empirical experiences. Like the mobile al-Fārābi, Ibn Khaldūn lived, traveled, and worked as a stateman in different places of the Islamic Empire: Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Syria, and Egypt. However, al-Fārābi's life was more that of a cynical middle-class philosopher than of an aristocratic intellectual statesman; such was the case of Ibn Khaldūn who came from a well-established family of politicians who provided him with the best education of the day.[66] His father was his first teacher, who hired other teachers to educate him in Arabic, the seven readings of the Qur'ān, *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), philosophy, and history. This knowledge qualified him to work as a teacher of the Māliki maḍhab which is a school of Islam in Cairo. He also worked as a statesman in different countries and was a judge in Cairo and was close to the Sultan name who was dethroned by the Mon-

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64 https://soundcloud.com/reginateatern reginateatern/philosophy tea 171212 ibn Khaldūn (last accessed on March 4, 2022).
65 Syed Hussein Alatas, "The Autonomous, the Universal and the Future of Sociology," *Current Sociology* 54 (2006): 7 23; here 15.
66 Ibn Khaldūn's family came from Andalusia and was of Yemeni origins   Ibn Khaldūn emphasized his authentic Arab roots in Yemen repeatedly, because he was born in Tunis, and people might have underestimated his Arabness.

gol conquest led by Tamerlane (1336–1405) in 1402. In order to understand how the communities of the lands he conquered functioned and thought, Tamerlane met Ibn Khaldūn among the other intellectuals – an episode that Ibn Khaldūn records at length in his autobiography titled *al-Taʿrīf bi Ibn Khaldūn wa Rihlatahu Gharaban wa Sharqan.* التعريف بابن خلدون و رحلته شرقا و غربا (Introducing Ibn Khaldūn and his Journey to the West and to the East).[67] Such vast exposure to different cultures and witnessing the downfall of kingdoms in al-Andalus and the East Islamicate as well as the Mongol conquest enriched Ibn Khaldūn's perceptive with analytical insights into the reasons why communities flourish and perish. Ibn Khaldūn states that people exist in organized communities as it is part of their instinct to co-operate; he states that

> human beings have to dwell in common and settle together in cities and hamlets for the comforts of companionship and for the satisfaction of human needs, as a result of the nat ural disposition of human beings toward co operation in order to be able to make a living, as we shall explain. Civilization may be either desert (Bedouin) civilization as found in out lying regions and mountains, in hamlets (near) pastures in waste regions, and on the fring es of sandy deserts; or it may be sedentary civilization as found in cities, villages, towns, and small communities that serve the purpose of protection and fortification by means of walls. In all these different conditions, there are things that affect civilization essentially in as far as it is social organization.[68]

Like his predecessor al-Fārābi, Ibn Khaldūn, was also interested in social psychology. The psychology of the community and their relationship with God is an essential element for Ibn Khaldūn who states in the *Muqaddimah* that

> social organization is necessary to the human species. Without it, the existence of human beings would be incomplete. God's desire to settle the world with human beings and to leave them as His representatives on earth would not materialize. This is the meaning of civilization, the object of the science under discussion.[69]

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67 Ibn Khaldūn, *al Taʿrīf bi Ibn Khaldūn wa Rihlatahu Sharqan wa Gharaban.* التعريف بابن خلدون و رحلته غربا و شرقا *Introducing Ibn Khaldūn and his Journey West and East*, ed. Mohammad Tāwīt al Ṭanjī (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Lajnat al Taʿlīf wa al Tarjamah wa al Nashr, 1951), 276 366.
This was the transliteration of the Arabic title of the book, then the Arabic title, then a translation of the title. The book has not been translated into modern English yet. This is trans literated of the name of the Arabic publisher.
68 Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Khaldūn, et al., *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* (see note 5), 43.
69 Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Khaldūn, et al., *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* (see note 5), 46.

Muslim philosophers and sociologists viewed the ideal society as a result of gen-uine faith, which leads ultimately to happiness. Ibn Khaldūn, like al-Fārābi con-nected the welfare of the community to the Aristotelian concept of happiness stating that "[T]he purpose of human beings is not only their worldly welfare. This entire world is trifling and futile. It ends in death and annihilation. The pur-pose of human beings is their religion, which leads them to happiness in the other world."[70] This resounded also with al-Fārābi. Furthermore, this is reminis-cent of the definitions of the divine in the opening lines of Plato's writings that had tangible impact not only upon al-Fārābi but also upon Ibn Khaldun as they adapted the hierarchical relationship between the ᶜaābid (worshipper/human) toward the Ma'būd (Worshipped/Divine) from the Greeks and introduced it through an Islamic lens that suited the medieval Islamicate, and coined terms that described the traits of ideal Muslim communities.

To illustrate this, Ibn Khaldūn introduced the concept of ᶜaṣabiyah (social cohesion, group spirit); it is a group feeling that forms an inner bond and brings about solidarity within the group. ᶜaṣabiyah is one of the moving forces of any ideal community and one of the factors that cement any society together. Ibn Khaldūn argues that this civic virtue is most present among Bedouin and rural societies as they are bonded more closely than people living in urban centers. 'aṣabiyah entails that the group members defend each other against invaders and do not need an army as the case would be in more "civilized" communities. Moreover, groups that are bonded by ᶜaṣabiyah would often intermarry and be-come powerful. Thus, primitive communities like Bedouins – and Mongols – are privileged with a strong "group spirit":

> Bedouins are more rooted in desert life and penetrate deeper into the desert than any other nation. They have less need of the products and grain of the hills, because they are used to a tough, hard life. Therefore, they can dispense with other people. It is difficult for them to subordinate themselves to each other, because they are not used to (any control) and be cause they are in a state of savagery. Their leader needs them mostly for the group spirit that is necessary for purposes of defence. He is, therefore, forced to rule them kindly and to avoid antagonizing them. Otherwise, he would have trouble with the group spirit, resulting in his undoing and theirs. Royal leadership and government, on the other hand, require the leader to exercise a restraining influence by force. If not, his leadership would not last.[71]

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70 Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Khaldūn, et al., *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* (see note 5), 154.

71 Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Khaldūn, et al., *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* (see note 5), 120.

That group spirit, as I posit, can also be witnessed among the Mongols whose strong bonds with the ruler and the community enabled them to sack substantial parts of the Islamicate during Ibn Khaldūn's time. Benedict Anderson's notion of the imagined community is not feasible in this case as the group is a real and yet ideal community rather than a created imagined one.[72] Groups with strong feelings of social cohesion are generally self-righteous and would resent any wrongdoings/wrongdoers in their tribe; this enables them to conquer neighboring urban areas and forming an even stronger community. Ibn Khaldun's Darwinian concept – perhaps the term is anachronistic – assumes that societies used to luxury are often defeated by cruder rougher ones.

Ibn Khaldūn relates ᶜaṣabiyah to Islamic notions and God's wishes. The concept is traceable in the Qur'ān, as in "... if it were not for Allah checking [some] people by means of others, the earth would have been corrupted ..."[73] Believing in the cyclical nature of history, Ibn Khaldūn promoted the idea that hard unfortunate times create strong men – considering it recurring phenomena in communities. Communities form empires and they also are of cyclical nature. Surviving the impending fall of Andalusia and the havoc of the mogul conquest, Ibn Khaldūn saw that ᶜaṣabiyah is what makes communities thrive in different times. The Berbers of North Africa did not have a sense of belonging in the Islamic Empire, and

> [t]hey tried to maintain their power with the help of clients and followers and with that of the Zantah and other Berber tribes which infiltrated Spain from the (African) shore. They imitated the way the Umayyad dynasty in its last stages had tried to maintain its power with their help. (These newcomers) founded large states. Each one of them had control over a section of Spain. They also had a large share of royal authority, corresponding to (that of) the dynasty they had divided up. They thus remained in power until the Almoravids, who shared in the strong Lamtûnah group feeling, crossed the sea. The latter came and replaced and dislodged them from their centers. They obliterated all traces of (the small princes) who were unable to defend themselves because they had no (longer any) group feeling.[74]

This political disorder would ultimately lead to the gradual deterioration of al-Andalus and its fall. The Berbers could not identify or feel socially cohesive with the larger group. This is what happens when minorities are excluded and

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72 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised and extended edition. (London and New York: Verso, 1991).

73 https://tanzil.net/#2:251 (last accessed on March 4, 2022).

74 Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Khaldūn, et al., *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* (see note 5), 125.

marginalized and are denied their civil rights. Hence, Ibn Khaldūn and al-Farabi had always the overall interest of the Muslim community of the larger caliphate or the Ummah in mind so that such external – and often neglected – threats could be avoided.

Ibn Khaldūn talks intensively about injustice and gives suggestions as to how the ruler should handle it. In his description of the just government, Ibn Khaldūn follows the same path as al-Fārābi. He comments:

> Government decisions are as a rule unjust, because pure justice is found only in the legal caliphate that lasted only a short while. Muḥammad said: 'The caliphate after me will last thirty years; then, it will revert to being tyrannic royal authority.' Therefore, the owner of property and conspicuous wealth in a given community needs a protective force to defend him, as well as a rank on which he may rely. (This purpose may be met by) a person related to the ruler, or a close friend of (the ruler), or a group feeling that the ruler will respect. In its shade, he may rest and live peacefully, safe from hostile attacks. If he does not have that, he will find himself robbed by all kinds of tricks and legal pretexts.[75]

Ibn Khaldūn assumed that governments by nature are unjust, and he was trying to show them how to be more just. The days of the ideal seventh-century Medina were over, so rulers needed to take rigorous measures in order to maintain a reasonable degree of justice for the community.

Ibn Khaldūn also promoted that established groups invest in education and are immersed in culture. According to him, it is *fikr* (the faculty to think) that defines human behavior and distinguishes one society from another:

> Dynasty and government serve as the world's marketplace, attracting to it the products of scholarship and craftsmanship alike. Wayward wisdom and forgotten lore turn up there. In this market stories are told and items of historical information are delivered. Whatever is in demand on this market is in general demand everywhere else. Now, whenever the established dynasty avoids injustice, prejudice, weakness, and double dealing, with determination keeping to the right path and never swerving from it, the wares on its market are as pure silver and fine gold. However, when it is influenced by selfish interests and rivalries, or swayed by vendors of tyranny and dishonesty, the wares of its market place become as dross and debased metals. The intelligent critic must judge for himself as he looks around, examining this, admiring that, and choosing this.[76]

Whereas al-Fārābi theorized on the communal level, Ibn Khaldūn explored the larger societal level. al-Fārābi's and Ibn Khaldun's utopias existed in actual cit-

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75 Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Khaldūn, et al., *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* (see note 5), 281 82.
76 Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Khaldūn, et al., *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* (see note 5), 290.

ies they lived in, and their writings were basically concerned with ameliorating these communities. Even though neither of them spent his entire life in on single country of the Islamicate, their ideal cities could have existed within its confines. Their treatises addressed the larger community of Muslims expounding the traits of communities they should be living in. Their utopias were bound-free and were purely Islamic in nature and could exist in any community as long as it was inhabited by Muslims.

Another Islamic utopia/dystopia was written by the more down-to-earth fourteenth-century sociologist and statesman, Ibn Khaldūn. European Renaissance writers such as Nicoli Machiavili acknowledged the writings of Ibn Khaldūn and the two figures are often compared with each other.

European Utopias

Unlike the virtuous cities of the Arabs, European utopias of Christine de Pizan and Thomas More have intricate archetypal descriptions. Such "wishful spaces" are reminiscent of Homer's description in books seven and eight of the *Odyssey* which explore the self-sufficient fantastical land of the Phaeacians.

A Christine de Pizan

In addition to her most renowned *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames* (1405; *The Book of the City of Ladies*), Christine de Pizan was a prolific writer who composed social treatises such as *Le Livre des trois vertus* (1405; *The Book of Three Virtues*), *Le Livre du corps de policie* (1407; *The Book of the Body Politic*), and *Le Livre de paix* (1413; *The Book of Peace*)). In *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames*, Christine de Pizan created a symbolic city populated only by women who are both powerful and empowering to their female peers. After having read the *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris (first part) and especially Jean de Meun (second part), Christine de Pizan responded to it by writing her treatise which portrays a community populated only by women, whereas men have no access to such a feminine utopian sphere. Christine de Pizan's feminine territory is illustrative of a consolidatory community in which women are depicted as autonomous beings. Such empowering female characters establish a self-sufficient feminine community which can resist circulating oppressive male discourses.

I posit here that Christine de Pizan's "city" is an essential liminal space for such a feminine community to exist. Micro-space represents Christine de Pizan's study room where she has been reading *Roman de la Rose*, while macro-space

enacts the city with its encompassing walls. Thus, the city and its encircled women's community are "public spheres" (Öffentlichkeit) in which women can negotiate their position in the outside larger non-segregated community. Space and community are intertwined and dependent concepts through which "querelle des femmes" (the woman's question or argument) can be explored and arbitrated in regard to *The Book of the City of Ladies*, especially with reference to other women's cities in history or mythology, such as that of the "Amazons," where women lived in segregated communities.[77]

Christine's city is more imaginary than one based on actual cities as it is inhabited by a community of allegorical characters such as Lady Virtue, Lady Justice, and Lady Rectitude who come to visit Christine in a dream-like vision as she falls asleep while reading in her study – or her micro utopia. They engage with her in an intellectual discussion about how philosophers have accused women of lack of virtue. Among the scholars whom Christine and the ladies are specially displeased with are Cecco d'Ascoli and Aristotle. She is also critical of the *Secreta Mulierum* – a book that has been ascribed to Aristotle. Lady Reason tells Christine that "though some may attribute the book to Aristotle, it is unthinkable that a philosopher as great as he would have produced such outrageous nonsense" (21). Other ideas such as that men are active whereas women are passive were propagated by St. Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologie* echo Aristotle's political theory and were widely circulating during the Middle Ages. Revolting against such salient unfair accusations that women lack virtue and are poor thinkers, the three anima-like characters build their own feminine locale; it is a city that banishes men to the outside world. Lady Reason tells Christine:

> For this reason, we three ladies whom you see before you have been moved by pity to tell you that you are to construct a building in the shape of a walled city, sturdy and impregnable. This has been decreed by God, who has chosen you to do this with our help and guidance. Only ladies who are of good reputation and worthy of praise will be admitted into this city. To those lacking in virtue, its gates will remain forever closed (11).

Thus, the act of building this new utopia is contingent upon deconstructing unfavorable ideas about women and exiling men to an unadorned womanless world; providing a fictional alternative to a harsh communal reality.

> In order to lay the foundations, you shall draw fresh water from us three as from a clear spring. We will bring you building materials which will be stronger and more durable

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77 Christine dedicates three chapters to the Amazons. Following, I will cite from her *The Book of the City of Ladies* (see note 2).

than solid, uncemented marble. Your city will be unparalleled in splendor and will last for all eternity (12).

Lady Justice says also:

> I have been chosen by the three of us to help you finish off your city, my task being to con struct the high turrets of the great towers, houses and palaces which will all be covered in bright gold. I will not only fill the city full of worthy ladies
>
> for you but I will also bring you their noble queen who shall be revered and honored above all the other great ladies present. Before I hand you the keys to your finished city, I will need your help to fortify it and make it safe with strong gates that will be brought down for you from heaven (15).

Not only is the architecture and the materials are spectacular, but the community that dwells in the City of Ladies is also fantastical. Statues of historical characters from across the globe such as Mary Magdaline, Semiramis, and the Queen of Sheba are used to adorn the external walls of her city/community. Like Ibn Khaldūn, Christine de Pizan emphasizes the value of education as *The Book of the City of Ladies* which is populated by well-read women such as Sappho and Pompeia Paulina. Moreover, Christine de Pizan re-imagines a matriarchal space in which feminine personas (whether "virtual" or historical) can interact with the writer – and possibly with other contemporary women. This transnational and trans-historical feminine domain functions as utopian learning community in which women can exchange knowledge and experience in an exclusively feminine sphere which acknowledges "that man has gained far more through Mary than he ever lost through Eve" (23). Like previous utopiates, Christine de Pizan uses religious examples when theorizing about her imaginary utopia.

The Book of the City of Ladies introduces a physical but imaginary community suggesting reform to an actual community, which is a feature shared with all former utopias. Similar to al-Farābi in his *Virtuous City*, Christine was interested in exploring the same concept as evident in her *Le Livre des trois vertus*. She even discussed it later on in *Le Livre de paix* in which she states that

> Tully says: "Nothing is more pleasing or more apt to be loved than 'virtue'; and Seneca in his epistle to Lucilius: 'Virtue alone gives lasting joy.' And Aristotle proves the truth that in virtue there is every joy: since glory and unmixed delight could not inhere in anything evanescent or mutable (that is, changeable from one thing into another, such as ordinary delights that decay into sadness), there can be no true felicity (that is, true joy) except in

things possessed of such a high degree of goodness and stability that they cannot be cor rupted or unsettled by any manner of disturbance" (66).[78]

Once more like al-Fārābi's *Attainment of Happiness* and *Virtuous City*, Christine understands virtue in tandem with "joy." In order to achieve peace in a certain community, the ruler has to spread virtue; and that eventually leads to joy. According to Christine de Pizan, the successful and virtuous ruler should maintain peace and happiness in his community:

> what a very happy thing it is to achieve rule without contention, meaning that when a prince knows how to exercise his rule without discord among his subjects, it is a sign that he is wise and virtuous. And for this reason Cassiodorus also says, most aptly, that a realm shows itself fortunate if it is resplendent and endowed with many citizens: it is a sign that a city is in good condition, and great, rich, and well governed, when one sees very many illustrious burghers there. These words lead us to consider that through good government, and by keeping peace among his people, a prince increases and main tains the happiness of the realm (133).

This Platonist argument for happiness as contingent on virtue has been going on since the days of Aristotle and sustained until the Middle Ages as illustrated above. Christine maintains that a ruler should be loved – as opposed to the later Niccolò Machiavelli who was more in favor that the ruler should be feared.

In order to critique the misogynist society that she lived in, Christine de Pizan invented a fictional lady land in *The Book of the City of Ladies*, that gave insights into the challenges women were going through during the time. Her *Book of Peace* is quite similar to Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah*, albeit the later theorized more thoroughly about broader aspects of societal life. The main distinction between the Eastern and Western traditions remains to be the factual community in al-Fārābi and Ibn Khaldun as opposed to the imaginative architecture and layout of the city that we find in both Christine de Pizan and Thomas More.

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78 Christine de Pizan, ed. Karen Green, with the assistance of Alan Crosier. Penn State Romance Studies (University Park, PA: State University Press, 2016), 66; Moses I. Finley, "Utopianism An cient and Modern," *The Critical Spirit: Essays in Honor of Herbert Marcuse*, ed. Kurt H. Wolff and Barrington More (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1967), 3 30; here 3.

B Thomas More

Like Christine de Pizan's fantastical lady land, More's *Utopia* constructs another imaginary community and a fictional paradise. Corresponding to Christine de Pizan's locale, More's *Utopia* exists outside the distinctive geographic realms of the community; it is situated on a deserted crescent-shaped island with an imaginary capital. This isolated island is reminiscent of the earlier *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor* and *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqdan*. Whereas these two earlier Near Eastern utopias lack a community, More's utopia is populated and functions as a cohesive self-sufficient community.

In order to critique Tudor England, More uses the technique of defamiliarization by placing his utopia outside the fringes of Europe. He even imagines a community that uses a distinct alphabet as well as a language – not related by far or by near to English. In order to authenticate the locale, More incorporates poetry and a map. *Utopia* is open to diversity; it is inclusive of different religions as well as being open to women's rights – an idea that brings to mind Ibn Khaldūn's support of women in his community. Ibn Khaldun suggests that midwifery is a crucial profession in any community as it maintains the continuousness of the human race. Christine de Pizan, of course, gave an alternative imaginative feminine scenario.

Similar to Ibn Khaldūn who propagated the value of education, the *City of Ladies* is inhabited by a community of well-educated and well-read women, More's utopia favors well-educated people as it exempts distinguished students from doing menial labor. Since it is a utopia that supports education, laborers are expected to cultivate their minds in their leisure time as this eventually leads to happiness – a quality that was cherished by previous philosophers. In a six-hour work day people would have time to read.

Work is very crucial in More's utopia. Whereas women did not have jobs in More's sixteenth-century England, they were industrious in *Utopia* and contributed to this self-sufficient community – an idea that was brought up earlier by al-Farābi and Ibn Khaldūn. Utopians worked on the field by rotation and were expected to cultivate large portions of land. In addition, they were expected to learn crafts such as carpentry so that they could serve other members of their communities.

Reflection and Conclusion

I have discussed four political philosophies that theorized about different scenarios of better communities. The notion that a nation is imagined aligns with

Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*.[79] Anderson proposes that a nation is an invented political entity which is

> imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately, it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to dies for such limited imagin ings. [80]

Anderson argues that, even though all the members of a certain community might never meet in reality, certain values and interests bring them together. These values are what makes them believe that they belong to one integrated and cohesive social group. Different communities, Anderson posits, form a nation. al-Fārābi brings up this notion in his *al-Madīnah al-Fāḍilah* as he focuses on smaller communities that in turn will form a bigger Islamic nation – *ummah*.

Platonic and Aristotelian theorizations about ideal cities and communities seem to have inspired Arab and European thinkers in the Middle Ages. Christine de Pizan read Aristotle, but was quite critical of his misogynist ideas. Similarly, the earlier al-Fārābi and Ibn Khaldūn were familiar with those texts and critiqued them on Islamic grounds taking the teachings with a pinch of salt when such Greek teachings were not in tandem with their religious beliefs.

Nowadays, with the oppressive political regimes in the Middle East, utopian texts set in fictional locales are trendy. The Islamic *ummah* is at its lowest at this particular point in history, offering realistic remedies might not be applicable. Hence, connections between utopia and sci-fiction as a combined genre is becoming more common nowadays in Arab modernist writings.

Paradise, however, remains the ultimate utopia in Arabic and Islamic thought. Earlier non-communal attempts such as *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqzān* (1150) and *The Treatise of Kamil on the Prophet's Biography* (1270) and later ones such as the tenth-century *al-Madīnah and al-Fādilah* of al-Fārābi are earthly utopian imaginings of 'Duniyah.' The term 'Duniyah' has two interrelated meanings in Arabic: (1) worldly life and (2) minor. In other words, this life is after all negligible and the 'major' aim is to attain everlasting paradise. This can only be achieved through caring for the wellness of one's earthly community – as I have illustrated above.

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79 Benedict Richard O'Gorman Anderson. *Imagined Communities* (see note 72), 7.
80 Benedict Richard O'Gorman Anderson. *Imagined Communities* (see note 72), 7.

After all, the four writers not only belonged to communities that they were trying to improve, but they also were distinguished thinkers of their "discourse communities" – a term developed by linguist John M. Swales in his *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings.* Swales proposes six defining criteria for a discourse community; these include: "common goals, participatory mechanisms, information exchange, community specific genres, a highly specialized terminology, and a high general level of expertise."[81] Whether imaginary or realistic, all writers belong to literate communities that have common goals of becoming a better nation/*ummah*, or community. That was done through the production of knowledge that circulated in written texts. Both traditions used the expository political thought genre; the Europeans preferred the imaginary subgenre whereas the Arabs resorted to the more factual that has Islamic concepts as its basis – even when not directly referring to them.

European utopias, on the other hand, were less factual and more fictional. The religious framing seems to be more present in the formation of the communities of al-Fārābi and Ibn Khaldūn and less present in Christine de Pizan and especially More, whose utopia was even mostly secular. After all, England – and Europe– were already heading toward the age of Humanism. Nevertheless, all four writers were trying to attain paradise on earth – or at least to make their communities better places. The global Anthropocenic perspective that the internet, global warming, and COVID-19 have brought about since the late twentieth century (and now since 2020) was still nascent at those times.

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81 John M. Swales, *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings.* Cambridge Applied Linguistics Series (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 29.

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A Jewish Moneylender, Miscommunication, and a Lie: Gonzalo de Berceo's *Milagro* no. 23

Abstract: Gonzalo de Berceo's thirteenth-century *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* includes a version of a popular tale found in many collections of Marian miracles composed in Latin and the various European vernaculars. The tale, known as "The Trusting Merchant" or "A Debt Repaid," is no. 23 in Berceo's collection and is an adaptation, rather than a direct translation, of the author's Latin source text. In this miracle narrative, a Jewish moneylender and his Christian borrower enter into a financial arrangement based on miscommunication. The Christian proposes Christ and the Virgin Mary as sureties on a loan and the Jew accepts them. The Christian has faith that his guarantors will indeed pay the Jew if he is unable to do so. The Jew, however, accepts Jesus and His mother thinking them incapable of acting on the Christian's behalf. When the heavenly pair intervenes to repay the Jew, it is revealed that he had lied about receiving payment. When his lie is publically exposed before both the Jewish and Christian communities, the Christian's steadfast faith contrasts with the disbelief of the Jew. The latter is shamed and willingly converts to Christianity when confronted with the truth.

Keywords: Gonzalo de Berceo, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, Jewish moneylenders, usury, conversion

Gonzalo de Berceo was a lay brother in the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla in Old Castile during the first half of the thirteenth century. He wrote a number of texts, all of a religious nature, including three hymns translated from Latin, four hagiographies, two doctrinal works, and three Marian texts.[1] Among the latter group, the work that has received the most critical attention is his collection

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1 Berceo's other Marian works are *Loores de Nuestra Señora* (*Praises of Our Lady*) and *Duelo que fizo la Virgen el día de la Pasión de su Hijo* (*Mourning of the Virgin on the Day of the Passion of Her Son*). Gonzalo de Berceo, "Introduction," *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, ed. Michael Gerli. Letras Hispánicas, 224 (Madrid: Cátedra, 2020), 9 74; here 15 16. For an online version, see http://www.bibliotecagonzalodeberceo.com/tesis/milagros.pdf (last accessed on Jan. 17, 2022).

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of miracles attributed to Holy Mary, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* (*Miracles of Our Lady*). This work contains an allegorical introduction in praise of the Virgin followed by twenty-five tales written in mono-rhythmed quatrains. None of Berceo's narratives are original and exist in Latin collections as well as those in several vernaculars. The *Milagros* is not a direct translation of a particular manuscript, but an adaptation of twenty-five of a core of 100 miracles attributed to the Virgin circulating throughout Europe beginning in the eleventh century. However, two manuscripts have been identified that are very similar to Berceo's. One is manuscript Thott 128 of the Royal Library of Copenhagen[2] and another very similar one is housed at the Spanish National Library in Madrid with the signature MS 110.[3] Although *Milagros* does not correspond exactly to either of these two manuscripts, the Copenhagen codex is thought to be very similar to Berceo's direct source.[4] Berceo's adaptation is far from a direct translation of this rather dry Latin text but rather a lively version using popular language and turns of phrase with an eye to capturing, especially, the attention of a non-clerical audience.[5]

One such example is his version of a popular tale known as the "The Trusting Merchant" or "A Debt Repaid" that Berceo includes as *Milagro* no. 23.[6] In this narrative, a Jewish moneylender and his Christian borrower enter into a financial

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2 Published in 1910 by Richard Becker as his doctoral thesis at the University of Strasburg (then Germany). Gerli, ed. *Milagros* (see note 1), 28.

3 This manuscript was identified as a probable source for Berceo by Richard Kinkade in an article, "A New Latin Source for Berceo's *Milagros:* MS 110 of Madrid's Biblioteca Nacional," *Romance Philology* 25 (1971): 188 92. Gerli, ed. *Milagros* (see note 1), 29.

4 Gerli, ed. *Milagros* (see note 1), 28 29.

5 For this issue of translation in a wider sense, see now the contribution to this volume by Jane Beal.

6 This tale is also found in John of Garland's *Miracula beatae Mariae virginis* (ca. 1248), Gautier de Coinci's *Les miracles de Nostre Dame* (ca. 1218), and *Le Gracial* d'Adgar (1170). In Spain, Alfonso X included the tale in his *Cantigas de Santa Maria* as no. 25. Centre for the Study of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Oxford University, http://csm.mml.ox.ac.uk/index.php?p=poemdata view&rec=25 (last accessed on January 17, 2022). The *Cantigas* were composed a few decades after Berceo's *Milagros*. Although both Marian collections include the Virgin as one of the guarantors for the loan made to the Christian, in Alfonso's version, Mary's role is more prominent since she speaks directly to the Jewish moneylender condemning him and all Jews as liars. In response to the Christian's plea before her statue to affirm that the moneylender had been repaid, the statue of the Virgin addresses the Jew calling him "maldito," i.e., cursed or wicked. As in Berceo's version, she then proclaims, for all present to hear, that he has been repaid in full and that the money is hidden under his bed. Also, as in Berceo's tale, the Jewish moneylender converts to Christianity after his encounter with the talking statue. Alfonso X, el Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, ed. Walter Mettmann, 3 vols. Clásicos Castalia, 134, 172, 178 (Madrid: Castalia, 1986 1989), I: 117 22.

arrangement based on miscommunication. The Christian proposes Christ and the Virgin Mary as sureties on a loan and the Jew accepts them. The Christian has faith that his guarantors will indeed pay the Jew if he is unable to do so. The Jew, however, accepts Jesus and His mother thinking them incapable of acting on the Christian's behalf. When the heavenly pair intervene to repay the Jew, it is revealed that he had lied about receiving payment. When his lie is publically exposed before both the Jewish and Christian communities, the Christian's steadfast faith contrasts with the disbelief of the Jew. The latter is shamed and willingly converts to Christianity when confronted with the truth.

In the remainder of this essay, I will address first the characterization of the protagonists of *Milagro* no. 23 – a Christian borrower and a Jewish moneylender. Second, the depiction of the practices of moneylending and usury in the tale; third, the legal formulation for the loan and the dispute over its repayment; and, fourth, the Jew's change in attitude from denying Christ's divinity to acceptance of the Christian faith after witnessing a miracle. In each of these aspects of the tale we find issues of miscommunication between the two protagonists, especially the lie perpetuated by the moneylender, and the effects on an entire community who witness the circumstances surrounding the Jew's miraculous conversion.[7]

From the outset it should be noted that *Milagro* no. 23 is among four tales in the collection that feature Jewish characters.[8] While Jews are portrayed negatively in all these narratives, only in no. 23 does the Jew convert and renounce his former beliefs. The Jewish protagonist of *Milagro* no. 23 is a moneylender, a stereotypical role for Jews. However, although the lender practices usury, he is not initially depicted in a negative light. It is only when he tries to deceive a Christian, that his characterization takes a negative turn, presenting him as greedy and willing to lie to increase a payment.[9] Within the plot, as noted, we find var-

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7 For a discussion of how lies lead to miscommunication that can result in conflict, see Albrect Classen's contribution to present volume, dealing with the verse narratives by the late medieval German poet Heinrich Kaufringer.

8 The others are no. 16, "El judezno" ("The Little Jewish Boy"); no. 18, "Cristo y los judíos de Toledo" ("Christ and the Jews of Toledo"); and, no. 25, "De cómo Teófilo fizo carta con el diablo de su ánima et después fue convertido e salvo" ("How Theophilus made a pact with the devil for his soul and later was converted and saved").

9 On this point, see Gisela Roitman, "Nuevas lecturas sobre lo judío en el *Milagro XVI* de los *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* de Berceo," *Letras* 61 62 (2010): 267 78; here 270. As to the actual role of usury in the thirteenth century, especially in the world of late medieval Jews, see now Albrecht Classen, "Wucher als Thema bei spätmittelalterlichen didaktischen Autoren. Wo aber sind die 'Wucherjuden'?," to appear in *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik*. In remark able contrast to the general assumption, even in Berceo, the Jew does not charge excessive in

ious incidents of miscommunication, reluctant acquiescence, and a lie that complicates a narrative that manages to condemn as well as eventually to redeem its Jewish protagonist.

The two protagonists of this *Milagro* are a rich and generous Christian citizen of Constantinople[10] and a Jewish lender. The rich man is described as "de muy grand corazón" ("having a very great heart") (627a)[11] who freely gives of his wealth to all who ask him. Our author further tells us that his generosity is motivated by a desire to "sobir en grand precio" ("to be held in high esteem") (627b) and "por exaltar su fama, el su precio crecer" ("to heighten his reputation and prestige") (628a). Thus, although described as charitable to a fault, his motives could also be construed as excessive concern to win the approval of others or, even, as the sin of pride. The poet next tells us that the man spent so lavishly that, at times, he had to borrow from his neighbors to cover requests and that he squandered their money: "prendié de sus veçinos mudado volunter" ("he took money from his neighbors with pleasure") (628d). By presenting the Christian as less than perfect, even though he is called a good man, Berceo will likewise not paint an entirely negative portrait of the moneylender who will soon appear in this tale. The Christian protagonist's motives for largesse are, in part, self-serving, whereas the Jewish moneylender will be portrayed as supportive, the only person willing to lend money to his spendthrift neighbor and accept the terms the Christian stipulates.

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terest on the loan. The narrative is not even concerned with usury at that point, but with the question who could guarantee the repayment of the loan.

10 Richard Burkard, and other critics, have commented on Constantinople as the setting for this miracle as found in strophe 626: "Enna cibdat que es de Costantín nomnada, / ca Costantín la ovo otro tiempo poblada, / el que dio a Sant Peidro Roma pora posada, / avié ý un bon omne de fazienda granada" ("In the city called Constantinople, / because it was long ago populated by Constantine, / he who gave Saint Peter Rome for a home, / there lived a good man of great means"). Burkard notes that the verses reference a charter, known as the "Donation of Constantine," which is not found in Berceo's Latin source. The charter was a forgery from the eighth or ninth century that was used to justify papal claims to political control in Italy. Burkard concludes that Berceo introduces this reference "for the sake of fostering church hegemony." Richard Burkard, "The Absent Tempter in Berceo's 'Milagro de Teófilo'," *Hispanófila* 139 (2003): 1 15; here 11. Gerli adds that the document was also intended to give the Pope power to name the Holy Roman Emperor. Gerli, ed. *Milagros* (see note 1), 200, n. 626c. Juan Carlos Bayo and Ian Michael specify that the "Donation of Constantine" was included in the *Decretum* of Gratian, a fact that confirms that Berceo was well versed in Canonical Law. See *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, ed. Juan Carlos Bayo and Ian Michael, Clásicos Castalia (Madrid: Castalia, 2006), 265.

11 All quotes from the *Milagros* are from the edition of Michael Gerli (see note 1), citing strophe number and verse(s) of the quatrain. All translations are mine.

Once the Christian has spent all his money, including that obtained from his neighbors, he still makes shows of munificence, hosting as many as 100 people at his home. But his lavish spending finally catches up to him and he finds himself penniless. Due to his failure to repay others, he finds no one, not even friends or family members, who will lend him any more money. At this point in the narrative, we have the first mention of loans and usury: "non trovava mudado nin fallava usura" ("he could not find *mudado* nor could he find *usura*") (630c). *Mudado* implies a simple loan which must be repaid in full, but *usura* (usury), by definition, indicates a loan that accrues interest that must be paid in addition to the amount loaned. Loaning money with the expectation of return of only the principle was not considered usurious and was a common practice.[12] Usury, however, was condemned in secular law, canonical statutes, papal encyclicals, and biblical teaching. The fact that the text stipulates that the man cannot obtain money, even if he agreed to pay interest, clearly indicates that he had tried to obtain funds from moneylenders who practiced usury. As noted, the characterization of the Christian protagonist of *Milagro* no. 23 is mixed, at best. While Berceo's audience might have been favorably impressed by the extremes of his generosity, his primary motives for giving freely to others are to win their favor and heighten his own prestige. Furthermore, he fails to repay neighbors who lend to him and he seeks out those who engage in the sinful practice of usury when all other sources fail him. His sin of pride and the willingness to seek out lenders who charge interest call into question the uninterested magnanimity of the tale's protagonist.

In dire straits, the Christian turns to God praying for Him to deliver him from ruin. In his prayer, he freely admits that he is responsible for his present situation and admits that he has sinned: "só ya por mis peccados en falliment caído" ("now, because of my sins, I have fallen into ruin") (633b). He specifically asks God for advice on how to extricate himself from his current impoverishment. Although the text does not stipulate that God speaks directly to him, He does answer the Christian's prayer by guiding him toward a viable solution:

> Demientre que orava, quísoli Dios prestar,
> ovo un buen consejo el burgés a asmar;

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12 "En los empeños se prohibía terminantemente la estipulación de intereses, como se hacía en la usura. Y de la usura al empeño cabía un abismo de moralidad" ("It was strictly forbidden to stipulate interest to be paid on pawning, as was done in usury. Between usury and pawning there was a moral abyss"). Miguel Garci Gómez, "Don Rachel e Vidas, amigos caros: Replanteamiento," *Revista de Filología Española* 56.3 4 (1973): 209 28; here 222.

non vino por su seso, mas quísolo guiar
el que el mundo todo ave de gobernar. (635abcd)

[While he was praying, God wanted to help him,
He gave him good advice through a thought;
it did not come to him by his own wits, but he was guided by
He who governs the entire world.]

He suddenly remembers a Jew, who is described as the richest man in town, as a likely source for a loan. Moneylenders in thirteenth-century Iberia, as well as in other parts of Europe, were Jews since lending with interest was prohibited to Christians and Muslims alike.[13] Despite other references in the Old Testament that prohibit making a loan with interest,[14] verses in the Book of Deuteronomy seem to condone the practice if a Jew is lending to a non-Jew: "Do not charge a fellow Israelite interest, whether on money or food or anything else that may earn interest. You may charge a foreigner interest, but not a fellow Israelite, so that the Lord your God may bless you in everything you put your hand to in the land you are entering to possess" (23:19–20).[15] Christians, however, could not make any loan that carried interest payments.[16] Beginning as early as the Church Council of Nicea (325 C.E.), doctors of the Church, theologians, and commentators espoused that Christian doctrine only permitted the practice of loaning if no interest was charged and that any loan that carried additional charges

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13 Joël Saugnieux explains that the practice was exclusive to the Jews "se explica por la evo lución de la sociedad occidental, que excluyó a los hebreos de su sistema, les prohibió numer osas actividades y les limitó a los oficios vergonzosos aunque necesarios" ("it is explained by the evolution of Western society that excluded Jews from its system, prohibited them from nu merous activities and limited them to shameful, but necessary, occupations"). Joël Saugnieux, *Berceo y las culturas del siglo XIII*. Biblioteca de Temas Riojanos, 7 (Logroño: Instituto de Estu dios Riojanos, 1982), 95.

14 For example, Exodus 22:25 "If you lend money to one of my people among you who is needy, do not treat it like a business deal; charge no interest." Also, Leviticus 25: 35 37: "If any of your fellow Israelites become poor and are unable to support themselves among you, help them as you would a foreigner and stranger, so they can continue to live among you. Do not take interest or any profit from them, but fear your God, so that they may continue to live among you. You must not lend them money at interest or sell them food at a profit." *Bible,* New International Version. https://www.biblestudytools.com/niv/ (last accessed on January 17, 2022).

15 *Bible,* New International Version (see note 14).

16 The New Testament text most often cited concerning this prohibition is Luke 6:34 "And if you lend to those from whom you expect repayment, what credit is that to you? Even sinners lend to sinners, expecting to be repaid in full." *Bible,* New International Version (see note 14).

would be considered usurious.[17] By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, loans that required payment of interest on the principle were exclusively in the control of Jews. Nicasio Salvador Miguel cites, as example, the Fuero of Cuenca (1189) in which the law dedicated to loans with interest only speaks of Jews as eligible lenders.[18] The *Siete Partidas*, Partida 5, Title 11, Law 31 also forbids usury:

> como la promision que es fecha en manera de vsura non vale. Ueinte marauedis o otra quantia çierta dando vn onbre a otro resçebiendo promission del que le de treinta maraue dis o quarenta por ellos. Tal promission no vale nin es tenudo de la conplir el que la faze sino de los veinte marauedis que resçebio. E esto es porque es manera de vsura.

> [For a loan that is made in the manner of usury is not valid. Twenty maravedíes or other certain quantity given to a man and another asking for thirty or forty maravedíes in return. Such a loan is not valid nor does one have to give over more than the twenty maravedíes he had received. This is because otherwise it is usury.][19]

As mentioned, usury was also forbidden for Muslims. There are at least twelve references to usury in the Quran. Some examples are "Allah destroys usury and nourishes charities" (2:276), "You who believe do not consume usurious interest doubled and redoubled" (3:130), and "for they took usury or interest while they were forbidden from it" (4:161).[20]

When the protagonist of *Milagro* no. 23 visits the Jew, he is warmly received since the text tells us that they already know each other and that the Jew is aware of the financial situation of his acquaintance: "de otras sazones lo avié conocido / e todo el su pleito bien lo avié oído" ("he knew him from other occasions / and he had heard all about his problems," 637cd). The Christian requests a loan, an "empresto" (638c), and the Jew agrees. However, in an effort to avoid any misunderstanding or miscommunication about the terms of the loan or its

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17 Salvador Miguel states that by the time of Alfonso VI there existed legislation regarding Jews lending to Christians. He cites a law issued in 1091 that stipulated the guarantees and proofs required for loans made by Jews. Nicasio Salvador Miguel, "Reflexiones sobre el episodio de Ra chel y Vidas en *El Cantar de Mio Cid*," *Revista de Filología Española* 59.1 4 (1977): 183 224; here 206.

18 Salvador Miguel, "Reflexiones" (see note 17), 206.

19 Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*, ed. P. Sánchez Prieto Borja, Rocío Díaz Moreno, Elena Trujillo Belso. Edición de textos alfonsíes en Real Academia Española (Madrid: Real Academia Españo la, 2006); available also online at https://ebuah.uah.es/dspace/bitstream/handle/10017/7299/ Siete%20Partidas.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y; see also an older online version at: https:// www.boe.es/biblioteca juridica/abrir pdf.php?id=PUB LH 2011 60 1 (both last accessed on June 23, 2021). See now Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X, The Justinian of His Age: Law and Jus tice in Thirteenth Century Castile* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2019).

20 Quran.com. https://quran.com/search?q=usury%20 (last accessed on January 17, 2022).

repayment, the lender wants a guarantor for the loan, fearing that without some surety, he may not be repaid. This lack of confidence in his borrower may be explained in several ways. Firstly, he knows of the man's penchant to freely give away any money he earns and he fears that he may share any future funds with others rather than direct them toward repayment of the loan. Secondly, most probably, it is the lender's customary practice to require some sort of collateral or guarantor since, in this way, at least he will be assured repayment of an amount equal to the value of the loan.[21] Thirdly, he may harbor doubts that the borrower, given his present ruinous circumstances, will be able to amass sufficient funds as no mention is made of how he plans to accumulate wealth in the future.

Since the Christian has nothing left of value to offer as collateral to the Jew, he tells him that the only one who can insure the loan is Christ. In answer to the Christian's proposal to offer as guarantor of the loan "Christo, mi Dios e mi Sennor, / Fijo de la Gloriosa, del mundo Salvador" ("Christ, my God and my Lord, / Son of the glorious one and Savior of the world," 642cd), the Jewish lender replies that, although he considers Jesus a wise prophet, he cannot accept him as the Son of God:

> Díssoli el judío: Yo creer non podría
> que éssi que tú dizes, que nació de María,
> que Dios es; mas fo omne cuerdo e sin follía,
> profeta verdadero   yo ál non creería. (643abcd)

> [The Jew told him: I cannot believe
> that He who you have named, born to Mary
> is God; but He was a wise man without fault,
> a true prophet   nothing else will I believe.]

The Jew seems here as if he wants to avoid any miscommunication, by making it clear that acceptance of the Christian's guarantors, in no way implies that he believes in Christ as God, born of the Virgin Mary. His reply manifests one of the central Christian tenets concerning the Jews, i.e., that they are blind to the truths manifest in the Christian faith because of their rejection of Jesus as the Son of God.

The Jews' denial of Christ's divinity is reiterated elsewhere in Berceo's works. For example, in the *Loores de Nuestro Señora*, he calls the Jews "gent' ciega e

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21 José Luis Bermejo Cabrero cites medieval practices regarding guarantors for loans, stating that the guarantors were under the same legal obligation to pay the debt as was the original bor rower. José Luis Bermejo Cabrero, "El mundo jurídico de Berceo," *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid* 18 (1969): 33 52; here 43.

sorda, dura de corazón / nin quier creder la letra, nin atender razón" ("blind and deaf people with hard hearts / they don't want to believe what is written or listen to reason") (15cd).[22] In other texts in the *Milagros*, Berceo also presents Jews in a markedly negative light. For example, in no. 16, "El judezno" ("The Little Jewish Boy"), he recounts the story of a Jewish father who tries to burn his son alive for the sin of having taken communion with his Christian friends. No. 18, "Cristo y los judíos de Toledo" ("Christ and the Jews of Toledo"), relates the massacre of Jews after the accusation that they were crucifying a waxen image of Christ, one of the ritual crimes which Jews frequently were reported to commit. In Berceo's version of the Theophilus legend, no. 25 of the collection, it is a Jewish sorcerer who instructs Theophilus to make his pact with the devil. The demonic figure's presence in the tale reflects another popular belief concerning the Jews, i.e., that they were enchanters in league with the Devil and diabolic or magical forces.[23]

Even though these portrayals of Jewish characters are derisive, I agree with Gisela Roitman who rejects the label of anti-Semitic for such depictions. She prefers the term anti-Jewish as more appropriate for medieval portraits of Jews and argues that negative views of Jews during the Middle Ages were based on religious grounds because they were seen as enemies of the true faith. She associates anti-Semitism with the establishment of the modern State when antipathy for Jews became more centered on socio-economic prejudice than religious hostility.[24] Although *Milagro* no. 23 clearly deals with an economic transaction between a Christian and a Jew, Berceo emphasizes the latter's skepticism about

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22 Gonzalo de Berceo, *Loores de Nuestra Señora*. Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra visor/loores de nuestra senora 0/html/fedee694 82b1 11df acc7 002185ce6064 2.html (last accessed on January 17, 2022).
23 Saugnieux, *Berceo y las culturas* (see note 13), 89. David Navarro points out that the association of the Jew with magic and sorcery was more common in the rest of Europe than in Iberia. Referring specifically to Berceo and his version of the miracle of Theophilus, he states: "Berceo introduce al lector en el oficio del judío como mago y hechicero, convirtiéndole en una novedad dentro del panorama literario peninsular del momento" ("Berceo introduces the reader to the Jew as a magician or sorcerer, presenting him as a novelty in the literary panorama of the penisula at that time.") He recognizes, however, that the magician in this miracle is also Jewish in the Latin source Berceo used for his tale. David Navarro, "Presencia del diablo y conspiración judía en el medievo peninsular: una mirada particular a *El milagro de Teófilo* de Gonzalo de Berceo," *Medievalia* 44 (2012): 20 31; here 25. Regarding the Jews' connection with the devil, Marta Ana Diz states that this association is "atestiguada ampliamente en la iconografía medieval" ("amply testified in medieval iconography") and that it is "otra manifestación tópica de las acusaciones estereotipadas contra comunidades o grupos especiales en la Edad Media" ("another topical manifestation of the stereotyped accusations against communities or special groups in the Middle Ages."), Marta Ana Diz, "Berceo: la ordalía del niño judío," *Filología* 23.1 (1988): 3 15; here 8.
24 Roitman, "Nuevas lecturas" (see note 9), 269.

Christ's ability to guarantee the loan as a key component in his characterization of the moneylender. If we contrast no. 23 with the other *Milagros* that feature Jewish characters, the introduction of an economic issue is, in fact, a rare occurrence in the collection.[25] Berceo more commonly underscores the Jews' open hostility to Christian belief, their profanation of Christian practices, or their association with demonic forces.

Even though the Jew in this miracle denies Christ's divinity, up to this point in the narrative, his portrayal has been otherwise positive. When the Christian offers Christ as guarantor, the Jew, at first, is reluctant to accept despite holding Jesus in esteem as a great prophet. He fails to see how someone not of this world can possibly assure that his money will be repaid:

> Yo non sé de quál guisa lo podiesse aver,
> ca non es en est mundo secúnd el mi creer;
> non esperes que venga pora ti acorrer ..." (645abc)

> [I don't see how this can be,
> for He is not of this world, I am sure;
> don't wait for Him to come here to help you ...]

The borrower admits that what he proposes may sound crazy or vain, but he promises the moneylender that Christ is the most reliable surety he can offer. He proposes that the Jew accompany him to church where he will swear before the statues of Jesus and His mother that the lender will be repaid. The Jew agrees and the borrower shows him the statutes, stating that Christ and Mary always provide for those who believe in them but that anyone who fails to believe "bevrá fuego e flama" ("will drink fire and flames") (650d). In other words, even though he is seeking the Jew's assistance, he indirectly tells his benefactor that he will be condemned to hell since he lacks faith in Christ and His mother – a somewhat strange strategy for one who is trying to persuade someone to make him a loan. Nonetheless, the moneylender agrees to accept Christ and Mary as guarantors but tells the Christian that, if he should default on the loan, he will appeal directly to the Heavenly pair for repayment. The Christian and the Jew agree on a date by which the money must be repaid. Although the text does not state a specific amount of interest the loan will accrue, the implication is that the amount to be repaid will increase significantly if payment is not made by the stipulated date.

Now with funds in hand, the Christian protagonist gives thanks to God, vowing that the Jew will not have recourse to demand payment from his heavenly

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sureties. However, if for whatever reason he cannot return the Jew's money within the time agreed upon, he asks God to find a way to deliver the funds to the moneylender:

> Sennor si por ventura fuero yo alongado,
> que non pueda venir a término tajado,
> porrélo ante ti que me ás enfiado,
> e tú como que quiere féslo a él pagado. (658abcd)

> [Lord, if by chance I am far away
> and cannot return to pay by the date agreed,
> I will do it before You, since You are my guarantor
> and You, in some way, will repay him.]

After finalizing his contract with the moneylender the Christian sets off for Flanders and France where he has very successful business dealings.[26] He becomes rich and so absorbed with his commercial interests that he forgets about the date by which he had agreed to repay the loan. With only one day left before the stipulated date, he suddenly remembers the terms of his agreement with the Jew. He is distraught thinking that, since he cannot pay his debt, Christ and His mother will be shamed as unreliable guarantors. Desperate, he prays to God to give him advice so that the Son and His mother will not be discredited. The Christian's prayer here is reminiscent of his prayer near the beginning of this tale in which he asked God for counsel about how to alleviate his financial woes. Compare verse 634a, "Sennor, dame consejo por alguna manera" ("Lord give me advice in some way") with verse 665c, "Sennor, dáme consejo por la tu pïadat" ("Lord, give me advice in your great mercy"). Similarly, in both instances when he prays to God for advice, the Christian attributes his dilemma to his own sins – "só ya por mis peccados en falliment caído" ("for my sins I have failed to live up to the agreement") (633b) and the narrator reiterates this sentiment – "por sus peccados graves aviélo oblidado" ("for his grave sins he had forgotten about the loan") (662d).

The borrower puts the entire amount he owes the Jew in a sack and throws it into the sea. Natacha Crocoll notes that the sea is a plot device in this and other *Milagros* and denotes an immense space without limits, a site metaphorically associated with the dangers inherent in life. The Christian uses the sea as a means

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26 David Nirenberg sees a specific contrast between the Jew and the Christian with regard to the accumulation of wealth: "In 'La Deuda pagada' (miracle 23) … , he [Berceo] opposes a Jewish moneylender with a Christian merchant in order to demonstrate the difference between a 'Jew ish' attitude toward money and profit and a 'Christian' one." David Nirenberg, "Discourses of Judaizing and Judaism in Medieval Spain," *La Corónica* 41.1 (2012): 207 33; here 213.

by which to fulfill his promise to the Jew realizing that it is a perilous place where safe arrival of the money will depend on the power of the Virgin and her Son to deliver it to the lender. His audience's association of the sea with perils as well as its metaphorical link with hazards on the soul's pilgrimage on earth made this choice particularly apt.[27] This also applies well since the Christian is traveling, often by sea, as he accumulates newfound riches, so his decision to cast the money into the ocean is a logical choice, at least within the medieval literary context.

After throwing the sack into the sea, he returns to prayer and asks Christ and the Virgin, as his sure guarantors, to guide the money safely to the lender. Although he is still traveling and far from Constantinople, he is filled with certain faith that he is now clear of his debt when he states "Yo a vos lo comiendo, cuento que é pagado, / yo por quito me tengo ca a vos lo é dado" ("I commend it to You, I am sure that I have paid, / I am free of my debt because I have given it over to You") (671ab).[28] Once he considers himself free of his debt, he no longer sees the Jewish moneylender as a benefactor because he now begins to refer to him as a "trufán" ("crook") (671d). Again, in the following strophe, the narrator identifies the Jew as a crook, "trufán descreído" ("an unbelieving crook") (672d). By adding the adjective, "descreído" ("unbelieving"), Berceo returns to the theme of the Jew's disbelief in the divinity of Christ as a means to demean him. In addition, the repetitive use of the word "trufán" ("crook"), implies that the Jew's business practices, i.e., usury, are suspect.

Back in Constantinople, the following morning a group of Jews is taking a stroll on the beach as is their daily habit. Berceo does not single out the moneylender here for discredit but rather calls the entire group of Jews a "compannuela baldera" ("a despicable crowd") (674b). When they spy the sack, some of the young men wade into the sea to retrieve it but the package evades all their efforts. Their actions attract a crowd of other Jews as well as Christian bystanders. Some of the Christians try to catch hold of the sack with hooks and gaffes but it again escapes retrieval. However, when the Jewish moneylender by chance passes by, the bag floats easily to him. He takes it home and discovers that it contains a trove of gold and silver equal to the amount of the loan. He stashes the money in the sack under his bed.

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27 Natacha Crocoll, "La construcción del espacio en la obra de Berceo: oposición y permeabilidad en las esferas del universo," *Revisitando a Berceo: Lecturas del siglo XXI*, ed. Francisco Domínguez Matito and Elisa Borsari. Medievalia Hispánica, 28 (Madrid and Frankfurt a. M.: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2020), 37 49; here 45.

28 On the legal aspect of the debt hereby repaid, see Bermejo Cabrero, "El mundo jurídico" (see note 21), 42.

In relating these events, Berceo, twice in a single strophe, again labels the moneylender "trufán" ("crook") (678a) and "trufán renegado" ("a renegade crook") (678d). He repeats this epithet in strophe 679 in which he calls the Jew a "trufán alevoso, natura cobdiciosa" ("a treacherous crook, greedy by nature") (679a) and in the following verse he labels him "el astroso" ("shabby") (679b). Berceo's language stresses his attributes of greed and treachery, common tropes associated with the image of Jewish moneylenders.[29] As if to add to this now negative portrayal of the Jew, the moneylender lies about the money, claiming that the Christian had not repaid him. He bemoans his loss to anyone who will listen, calling the Christian borrower "boca mintrosa" ("a lying mouth") (679d). The whole Jewish community thinks he had been a fool to lend money with the only guarantors being wooden statues:

> Reprávalo la aljama, essa mala natura,
> que perdió so aver por su mala locura;
> nunqua omne non fizo tan loca fiadura,
> que priso por fianza una imagen dura. (680abcd)

> [The Jews of the neighborhood reproached him for his bad decision,
> for he had lost his money by committing a folly;
> no one had ever made such a bad contract,
> taking as guarantor a wooden statue.]

The narrative then shifts from the Jew to the Christian, but not before Berceo calls the moneylender a greedy profiteer – "goloso e logrero" (681a). The Christian is distraught that he was unable to personally repay his lender by the appointed time. He continues his journeys, however, and becomes increasingly richer. He finally decides to return to Constantinople and, when news of his arrival reaches the Jew, he is exceedingly glad because he intends to collect double the amount he had loaned to the Christian since repayment is so long overdue. The moneylender goes to the man's home and demands his payment to which the Christian replies that he owes him nothing and that he had been repaid on time, as stipulated in their agreement. The Jew threatens a legal dispute, claiming that he has witnesses to testify that he had not been repaid.

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29 Saugnieux likens the Jew of *Milagro* no. 23 to Raquel and Vidas in the *Cantar de Mio Cid*. Saugnieux, *Berceo y las culturas* (see note 13), 96. Heanon Wilkins similarly draws a parallel with the moneylenders of the *Cantar:* "Este retrato del judío avariento y astuto recuerda el ejem plo clásico de los dos prestamistas judíos, Raquel y Vidas, en el *Cantar de Mio Cid*" ("This por trait of the avaricious and astute Jew is reminiscent of the classic example of the two moneylend ers, Raquel and Vidas, in the *Cantar de Mio Cid*."), Heanon Wilkins, "El judío y el diablo como 'otro' en los *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* de Berceo," *Letras* 40 (1999): 13 18; here 16.

Berceo often includes juridical references in the *Milagros* and here the Jew appears on firm legal footing since it is the debtor who must present proof of payment.[30] He regrets having put his faith in mere statues and he speaks of the figures disparagingly, telling the Christian:

> Fié en el tu Christo, un grand galeador,
> e en su madreziella que fo poco mejor;
> levaré tal derecho qual prisi fiador,
> qui más en vos crediere tal prenda o peor. (687abcd)

> [I trusted in your Christ, a great con artist,
> and in his little mother, who is no better,
> I will demand justice, for one who accepts as surety
> those in whom you believe is bound to receive a bad deal.]

Although at the time that the Christian had proposed Christ and His mother as sureties on the loan, the Jew had called Christ "omne cuerdo e sin follía, / profeta verdadero" ("a wise man without fault, a true prophet") (643cd), he now calls Jesus "un grand galeador" ("a great con artist or swindler") and His mother as cut from the same cloth. Wilkins comments on this insult to Holy Mary, stating that "Es posible que Berceo añadiera la susodicha blasfema para incitar la ira de su público cristiano" ("It is possible that Berceo added the aforementioned blasphemy to incite the ire of his Christian audience").[31]

The Christian rejects the Jew's characterization of Christ and the Virgin and insists that his heavenly protectors will bear witness that he has paid the moneylender in full. Just as the Jew had claimed witnesses to support that he had not received payment, the Christian counters in the same legal terms, saying that he, too, can produce witnesses that he had repaid the loan.[32] He even offers to pay a

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30 Bermejo Cabrero, "El mundo jurídico" (see note 21), 42. For other instances of legal terminology and procedures referenced in the *Milagros*, see the disputes for the destiny of souls between demons and the Virgin that occur in nos. 2 and no. 8. Legal arguments are also present in Berceo's tale of the Theophilus legend, no. 25.

31 Wilkins, "El judío y el diablo" (see note 29), 16.

32 Bermejo Cabrero futher comments concerning Berceo's attention to the legalities of the loan and its repayment in *Milagro* no. 23: "Lo que causa sorpresa es la forma que tiene Berceo de tratar el milagro. Podía haber reducido la tramitación jurídica a muy poca cosa y nos la ofrece en extenso, con toda suerte de detalles. No hay nada parecido en las fuentes castellanas de aquel entonces" (43) ("What surprises is the way in which Berceo treats the miracle. He could have reduced the legal process to mere mention but he offers an extensive rendition in detail. There is nothing similar in Castilian sources of the time"). Bermejo Cabrero, "El mundo jurídico" (see note 21), 42 43.

larger amount to the moneylender if his witnesses do not corroborate his version of events:

> El aver que me disti, bien seo segurado,
> buenos testigo tengo, bien te lo é pagado;
> aún si de non dices, fer·t é mayor mercado,
> díganlo las fianzas que ovisti tomado. (689abcd)

> [As for the money that you gave me, I am very sure,
> and I have good witnesses to the fact that I have repaid it
> although you say I have not, but I will pay you even more,
> for my guarantors will attest that you have received it.]

The Jew is happy with this response since he thinks that the Christian's witnesses, the statues before which they had made their pact, are mere inanimate objects, unable to testify to anything: "Cuidó que la imagen que non avié sentido, / non fablarié palabra por que fuese vencido" ("He thought that the image was lifeless, / that it would not speak a word that would contradict him") (690cd). Furthermore, he anticipates a large payment of interest in addition to the value of the original loan since he has no faith in the borrower's guarantors. The two men go to the church and many others follow to see what the outcome will be. This dispute has now become a concern for the entire community with both Christians and Jews eager to see who will prove to be telling the truth.

When they are before the statues, the borrower speaks to the image of Christ and asks Him to judge the affair. The image responds saying that the Jew is lying, that he was paid promptly on the day agreed upon for repayment, and that he is hiding the sack with the money under his bed. Upon hearing these words, the crowd marches to the moneylender's home and finds the bundle of coins just where the statue had indicated that he had hidden it.[33] When his deception is revealed the text records the Jew's reaction: "fincó el trufán malo confuso e maltrecho" ("the bad crook was left confused and defeated") (695d). Again, we find the word "trufán" ("crook") used to describe the moneylender. The dispute obviously has been settled in the borrower's favor, leaving the lender "triste e desmedrido" ("sad and intimidated") (696a). The miraculous experience causes him to convert and he lives the rest of his life as a good Christian.[34]

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33 Diz notes that the presence of a community of witnesses to a miracle is a common feature in Berceo's *Milagros*. Diz, "Berceo: la ordalía" (see note 23), 3.
34 Roitman points out that the Jew actually recognizes the validity of two miracles: first, that Christ had guided the sack of coins directly to him and, second, that the statues speak and reveal that he is lying about receiving repayment. Roitman, "Nuevas lecturas" (see note 9), 270.

This instance of Jewish conversion has obvious propagandistic overtones; not only does it prove that the Jew was in error for failing to believe in Christ's divinity, it also shows that, when he had persisted in the Jewish faith, he had been guilty of committing the grievous sins of usury, greed, and deception. Roitman claims that the moneylender's recognition of the error of his ways and his conversion to Christianity make Berceo's position clear: "solo es bueno el judío que va a dejar de serlo" ("the only good Jew is one who ceases to be one").[35]

In a kind of epilogue to the tale, the text relates that the day when the statues spoke was celebrated with a festival every year in Constantinople. The people offer praises to Christ and the Virgin and enjoy banquets with abundant food and fine wine for rich and poor alike. Later an Archdeacon from a foreign land is visiting on the feast day and inquires about the reasons for the celebration. A good Christian relates the miracle they are commemorating, and the Archdeacon decides to make a written version of it. The tale thus ends with an explanation for Berceo's written source for his narrative and praises the individual who had originally composed it. The last two verses of *Milagro* no. 23 refer to the Archdeacon's salvation, owed in part to his efforts to preserve the miracle in writing: "Metióló en escripto la su mano cabosa, / déli Dios paraíso e folganza sabrosa" ("He set it down in writing with his precious hand, / May God grant him paradise and sweet rest") (702cd).[36]

An important element of any Marian miracle tale is its written account which can be retold, or reread, and thus serves to increase Christians' faith in the Virgin's power. Berceo actively participates in this all-important form of proselytizing through the composition of his own collection of Marian miracles. A reference to a source for his version of a tale is common for Berceo and similar explanations are also found in his saints' lives. The most probable source for *Milagro* no. 23, the Latin text of ms. Thott 128, *Miracula Beate Marie Virginis*, similarly contains a reference to an Archdeacon who makes a written version of the miracle of the speaking statue and the resultant conversion of the Jewish moneylender.[37]

Returning to the issues posited at the beginning of this study, we have seen that Berceo avoids a black and white portrayal of a Jewish moneylender and a generous Christian. In the first part of the tale, the Jew is presented somewhat

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35 Roitman, "Nuevas lecturas" (see note 9), 270.

36 Mary Jane Kelley cites these verses as evidence that "the extradiegetic narrator sees a direct connection between narration and divine intervention in favor of the author's salvation." Mary Jane Kelley, "Spinning Virgin Yarns: Narrative, Miracles, and Salvation in Gonzalo de Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*," *Hispania* 74.4 (1991): 814 23; here 819.

37 Gerli, ed., *Milagros* (see note 1), 287.

sympathetically since he is willing to loan money to the Christian when no one else will, and he agrees to accept Christ and the Virgin as guarantors, even though he does not believe in Christ's divinity. However, in the second half of the tale, the lender is presented much less favorably.[38] It should be noted that, beginning with strophe 648 through strophe 695, Berceo calls the Jewish moneylender a swindler or a crook ("trufán") no fewer than eleven times.

The practice of usury is singled out not only in terms of religious prohibition but as an economic reality since the Christian is left with no alternative than to accept a loan that accrues interest, though there are no words about the rate being excessive – hence, usury. Saugnieux cites *Milagro* no. 23 as a rare version of a negative presentation of a Jewish character not based solely on religious difference but also on economic issues.[39] The legalized language which Berceo uses to describe the men's ultimate disagreement about the repayment of the loan is both accurate and reflects how such disputes were resolved in the community.

A key element in the conflicting versions about the repayment is the lie that the moneylender tells after he receives payment vis-à-vis the money in the bundle the Christian threw into the sea. After the Jew stashes the sack of money under his bed, Berceo predicts that he will lie about receiving funds long before the Christian confronts him. In strophe 679, just after the moneylender hides the sack, Berceo describes the Jew, to repeat this aspect once again, as: "El trufán alevoso, natura cobdiciosa, / non metié el astroso mientes en otra cosa" ("The treacherous crook, naturally greedy, / his only thought was of lying") (679ab).[40]

The Jew in *Milagro* no. 23 is a usurer, an occupation Berceo defines as inherently coupled to the sin of greed. He is also guilty of mendacity, lying to the Christian in the hope of extorting more money from him. As the narrative develops, the moneylender is seen as ever more despicable, a non-believer who does not recognize his errors and his sins until he is confronted with a miracle. Ultimately, there is miscommunication since the Jew did not truly believe that Christ and His mother could insure the loan, even though he did agree to accept them as guarantors. His true motivation, in the end, is revealed since he had thought to make a significant profit from his loan to the Christian. His lie is the culmination of a series of miscommunications, a blatant falsehood that lays bare his greed and willingness to deceive. He does not admit that he is lying until he con-

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38 Saugnieux, *Berceo y las culturas* (see note 13), 97.

39 Saugnieux, *Berceo y las culturas* (see note 13), 96.

40 Heanon Wilkins specifically cies strophe 679 and states that "Berceo, anticipando las acciones del malintencionado judío, da rienda suelta a su aversión y repugnancia" ("Berceo, anticipating the bad intentions of the Jew, gives free rein to his aversion and repugnance"). Wilkins, "El judío y el diablo" (see note 29), 16.

fronts the miraculous speaking statue. In contrast to the conflicting messages of the two protagonists, the statues' communication is crystal clear and the Jew is so affected by their message that he converts.

Berceo's aim, of course, is to promote the conversion of Jews but, at the same time, he paints a picture of two imperfect protagonists. The Jew is mendacious and stubborn since he persists in his faith while the Christian found himself in dire straits for trying to ingratiate himself with others through lavish spending. Greed meets pride in the persons of the Jew and the Christian, but the Christian has the one true faith on his side. He will ultimately triumph in his legal dispute with the Jew because he has unwavering faith in Christ and Mary. For the Jew, no less than a miracle is needed to persuade him to see the errors of his ways and convert to the truth faith.

Berceo composed his Marian tales for a particular, local audience, most probably pilgrims on the Road to Santiago de Compostela. The recitation of his *Milagros* at the Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla on the pilgrimage route was a tool to attract these pilgrims who would leave donations to the religious community in shows of gratitude. By treating themes and characters familiar to his audience, Berceo not only promoted devotion to the Virgin Mary but also had a very practical aim in mind.[41] It is therefore not surprising that he includes a tale that deals with an economic issue. Moreover, the presence of a Jewish moneylender and usurious practices would have been familiar, and perhaps unpleasant, realities for his audience. The Christian protagonist of *Milagro* no. 23, who takes a bold and potentially reckless measure to fulfill his obligation to repay a loan, served as an example of sure faith in Christ and His mother. Berceo's pilgrim public would have needed such faith to make the long and hazardous journey toward Santiago de Compostela. At San Millán they found a source of inspiration and formed a community of believers, emboldened by the examples of Marian devotion portrayed in the tales of the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*.

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41 On this point, see Gerli, ed. *Milagros* (see note 1), 25 26.

Daniel F. Pigg

Words, Signs, Meanings: William Langland's *Piers Plowman* as a Window on Linguistic Chaos

Abstract: William Langland's *Piers Plowman*, a text written and rewritten between the 1360s and 1390, presents the poet's examination of the way that communication is thwarted in the social world through intentional action of corruption in the way words signify. Through an examination of the *Visio* (Prologue through Passus 7 of the B text), readers can see how Langland's exploration of word and sign corruption can occur at the king's court, in the confessional, and in the all-important action of reading the pardon which Truth has sent to Piers the Plowman. Developing his poetics of signs through recourse to grammar, rhetoric, logic, biblical interpretation, and analysis of liturgical and para-liturgical components, this essay argues that Langland crafts a thick description of how communication works in three areas with the intention of correcting error. Access to Truth is thwarted by a corruption of the process of signification. Langland shows that while there are attempts to undermine the integrity of the communications model, by and large the court, the confessor in the confessional, and at least Piers in the reading of the pardon manage to keep the system working effectively. Langland's world, however, is precarious. Desire always threatens to undermine the process of signification.

Keywords: St. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*, Augustine's *De Magistro*, Donatus, Priscian, Isidore of Seville, Realist, Platonist, grammar, rhetoric, logic, biblical interpretation, liturgy, semiological, confession, bribery, pardon

Few texts of fourteenth-century England demonstrate more complexity than William Langland's *Piers Plowman*.[1] That complexity is a result of several different elements. A poem that underwent expansions and revisions at least three times during the period between the1360s and the 1390s, *Piers Plowman* is a response to the very heart of social and religious challenges that specifically relate to the

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problems of linguistic signs, how they signify and how they may be abused in the process of daily encounter. Rooted in a traditional, realist notion of signs and their meanings, William Langland explores a world that he believes is on the brink of its own destruction as a result of the corruption of systems that produce meaning. In the first portion of the poem (Prologue-Passus VII, entitled by scribes as the *Visio*), Langland depicts a society in which the clergy are barely able to read the service in Latin, where the meaning of words has been upended in the confessional, and where documents themselves have contributed to the shattering of meaning. Piers himself seems to be an important key to many of these elements of restoration of the social and religious order, even if the poem keeps moving his role into a more distant future. But Langland is not an existentialist in the sense of simply waiting for Godot to return. There is much that remains that can simply be reformed.

To understand how this problem has happened, Langland gives us three worlds through a kind of anthropological thick description in which he explores the circuits of power relations and communications: the world of the court, the world the confessional, and the world of pardons. Through an analysis of each domain, Langland presents a vision whereby the very means of communication is not only hampered, but most often undermined. Such events lead the Dreamer Will on his pilgrimage for meaning, a pilgrimage that lasts the lifetime of the character named Will. The poem provides a searing analysis of the three areas of corruption that are of concern in this essay.

What do words mean? That is a question that plagues the poet and remains at the heart of his rewriting and expanding of his poem. Do words have stable meaning? Is Latin more stable than the vernacular? Does truth lie within the linguistic utterance itself? How do people attempt to use language both to enclose and disclose meaning? How do we know what we know? If it seems like these are questions without easy answers, readers will find Langland's *Piers Plowman* as struggling with the very meaning of language itself.

In this essay, recourse to ideas about language from Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, various realist and nominalist philosophers helps to frame Langland's question. Some have called him a proto-Reformation figure, but that is far too easy with respect to his skepticism about social conventions, religious rituals, and language systems. At the same time, he is asking those very questions that occupied the Protestant Reformation about the nature and future of the Church.[2] From the modern perspective, Langland will strike readers as having

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2 David Aers, "Langland on the Church and the End of Cardinal Virtues," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance* Studies 42.1 (Winter 2012): 59 81; David Aers, *Beyond Reformation: An Essay*

a kind of sociological mind that attempts to get into the deep structures of social and linguistic systems that provide for meaning-their grammar. His success in many ways highlights the flaws within the systems corrupted by human desire.[3] Meaning is still possible, but it rests in the flawed and multivalent figure of Piers the Plowman, who remains a hope.

Constructing an Early Medieval Theory of Signs in Communication

What is Langland's understanding of words, signs, and meaning? Scholarship on *Piers Plowman* has paid considerable attention to the indebtedness of the poem to Augustine's works. Many scholars have searched the commentaries of Augustine to explain Langland's use of personifications, of special textual references assigned to certain characters, and of ideas to shape the structure of the poem. Lawrence Clopper, for instance, notes that the structure of *Visio* and *Vita* follow Augustine's attempt to understand the Trinity by looking for "vestiges" or signs on various levels: the physical world, the mind, and the soul.[4] Teresa M. Tavormina contends that Langland, following Augustine's conception of the *imago Dei*, sees a device structuring social interaction at work at every level of life, but particularly in the matrimonial simile which Abraham uses.[5]

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on William Langland's Piers Plowman and the End of Constantinian Christianity (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2015); James Simpson, "Religious Forms and Institutions in *Piers Plowman*," *The Cambridge Companions to Piers Plowman,* ed. Andrew Cole and Andrew Gallo way (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 97 114; here 104 05.

3 Nocolette Zeeman, *Piers Plowman and the Medieval Discourse of Desire*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 59 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1 37. See also Conrad van Dijk, "'Nede Hath No Lawe': The State of Exemption in Gower and Langland," *Accessus: A Journal of Premodern Literature and* Media 2.2 (2015): article 2; https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/accessus/ (last accessed on 13 April 2022); Diane Cady, *The Gender of Money in Middle English Literature: Value and Economy in Late Medieval England* (London: Palgrave McMillan, 2019). For more general discussions of the use of words as signs, see Gillian Rudd, *Managing Language in Piers Plowman*, Piers Plowman Studies (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994); Helen Barr, *Signes and Sothe: Language in the Piers Plowman Tradition*. Piers Plowman Studies (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994).

4 Lawrence M. Clopper, "The Contemplative Matrix of *Piers Plowman B*," *Modern Language Quarterly* 46.1 (1986): 3 28; here 6 7.

5 Teresa M. Tavormina, "Kindly Similitude: Langland's Matrimonial Trinity," *Modern Philology* 80 (1982): 117 28; here 128. See also Teresa M. Tavormina, *Kindly Similitudes: Marriage and Family in Piers Plowman*. Piers Plowman Studies (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995).

That Langland is a "structuralist" – one who believes in a plan or organization which mirrors heavenly mysteries – comes as no surprise. He is a Platonist; he seems to place emphasis upon the concept of ideal forms that exist above in heaven or the realm of the ideal. Langland engages the process of signification on two levels at the same time. First, the poet contemplates the world of phenomena with his senses. Second, he takes that knowledge communicated through several kinds of signs as the subject matter for his poem, and then he writes a poem which creatively imagines the events. His methods encompass more than tracing the vestiges of the Trinity; it involves using several aspects of Augustine's sign theory as espoused as a reading strategy *in De Doctrina Christiana* (ca. 397 C.E.) *or De Magistro* (ca. 388 C.E.) Two areas of Augustinian sign theory seem particularly significant: the categories of natural and conventional signs and the elevation of the signified over the signifier. That faith was required in reading to achieve a correct reading was also well known in *De Magistro*.

Medieval philosophers and theologians distinguished two types of signs: natural and conventional. Augustine, often regarded as "the origin of semiological consciousness of the Christian West"[6] and one of the most frequently cited authorities on signification, made this distinction. Augustine's impact on the understanding of the signification process is most readily discernable in texts of theologians such as Anselm and Aquinas, who developed their theories of signs in grammar and dialectic based on Augustine's perception of signs in rhetoric.[7] *De Doctrina Christiana* (ca. 397 C.E.), Augustine's work intended to instruct one in the correct method of interpreting scripture, and one of the most often-quoted works on scriptural exegesis in the Middle Ages, provides a well-articulated explanation of natural and conventional signs. At the beginning of Book Two, he defines a natural sign according to a cause-effect relationship:

> Signum est enim res praeter speciem, quam ingerit sensibus, aliud aliquid ex se faciens in congitationem uenire, sicut uestigio uestigio uiso transisseanimal, cuius uestigium est, cog itamus et fumo uiso ignem subesse cognoscimus et uoco animantis audita affectionem animi eius aduertimus et tuba sonate milites uel progredise uel regredi et, si quid aliud purna postulat, oportere nouerunt.[8]

> [A sign is a thing which causes us to think of something beyond the impression the thing itself makes upon the senses. Thus if we see a track, we think of the animal that made the

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6 Eugene Vance, *Mervelous Signals: Poetics and Sign Theory in the Middle Ages.* Regents Studies in Medieval Culture (Lincoln, NE, and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 34.

7 Marcia L. Colish, *The Mirror of Language: A Study in the Medieval Theory of Knowledge*, rev. ed. (1968; Lincoln, NE, and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), ix.

8 Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, ed. Joseph Martin, *Aurelii Augustini Opera* 4.2. CCSL 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), 2.1.1, 32.

track; if we see smoke, we know that there is a fire which causes it, if we hear the voice of a living being, we attend to the emotion it expresses; and when a trumpet sounds, a solider should know whether it is necessary to advance or to retreat, or whether the battle de mands some other response.[9]]

A sign is termed "natural" because it conveys meaning without intending to do so, and signification relies on the hearer or viewer's knowing the code based upon having heard or seen the thing to which the sign refers previously. Knowledge which is based on the code in the memory is gained experientially, most often by observing phenomena in the real world.

Conventional signs, on the other hand, signify actively because the presenter must exert efforts to generate the sign to convey the idea in his or her mind to a hearer. As with natural signs, conventional ones are understood with the aid of codes – most of them culturally based – but in this case, the codes are placed in the memory through the process of education. As Augustine explains,

> Data uero signa sunt, quae sibi quaeque uiuentia inuicem dant ad demonstrandos, quan tum possunt, motus animi sui uel sensa aut intellectaqualibet, Nec ulla causa nodis signif icandi, id est signi dandi, nisi ad depromendum et traicidenum in alterius animum id, est signi dandi, nisi ad depromendum et traiciendum in alterius animum id quod animo gerit, qui signum dat.[10]

> [Conventional signs are those which living creatures show to one another for the purpose of conveying, in so far as they are able, the motion of their spirits or something which they have understood. Nor is there any other reason for signifying, or giving signs, except for bringing forth and transferring to another mind the action of the mind in the person who makes the sign.[11]]

For conventional signs, then, we may employ the words "standing for" to indicate the intermediate state between presenter and receiver or between the person thinking and the thing about which he or she is thinking.

For Augustine, signification is a process which has external and internal components. And it is to some extent arbitrary and limited, based on the understanding of the Fall.[12] These imperfect signs rely upon the senses – especially the auditory and visual – as channels through which the external stimuli can be re-

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9 Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, trans. D. W. Robertson, Jr. The Library of Liberal Arts, 80 (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1958), 34.

10 Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana* (see note 8), 2.2.3, 32.

11 Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine* (see note 9), 34 35.

12 R. Howard Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 34 35.

ceived and translated. The mental faculties, then, decode these signs into the things or ides which they represent. These principles underlie many medieval discussions of signs.

Another significant contribution that Augustine made to the development of sign theory was elevating the signified (the thing or knowledge of the thing) over the signifier. In *De Magistro*, a dialogue between Augustine and his sixteen-year-old son Adeodatus concerning the relationship of teaching and knowledge, Augustine states that

> In illa igitur sententia nostra, quamquam sit falsum res omnes signis suis praeponi oportere, non tamen falsum est omne, quod propter aliud est, uilius esse quam id, propter quod est. Cognitio quippe caeni, propter quam hoc nomen est institutum, pluris habenda est ipso nomine, quod eidem caeno praeponendum esse comperimus. Non enim ob aliud ista cognito signo de quo agimus antelata est, nisi quia illud propter hanc, non haec propter illud esse conuincitur.[13]

> [Although it may be false, in our opinion, that all realities should be valued above their signs, it still remains true that everyone that exists for the sake of something else is of less value than that for which it exists. To be sure, the knowledge of filth, for the sake of which the word "filth" has been coined, should be more highly esteemed that the world itself which, in turn, must be preferred, as we have seen, to filth itself. The sole reason why this knowledge has been preferred to the sign of the former, not the former for the sake of the latter.[14]]

Augustine further concludes in *De Magistro* that signs do not produce knowledge, but only call to the memory prior knowledge of the thing. Such an elevation of the signified over the signifier was instrumental in several areas of sign phenomena in the early Middle Ages. In the study of grammar, the signifier/signified relationship placed greater emphasis on the meaning of the word apart from its function in a syntactical unit; and it also formed the basis of etymological quest for the meaning of words, a tradition most clearly exemplified in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*.[15]

In biblical studies, the elevation of the signified over the signifier was related to the greater importance which early medieval exegetes, following early Christian practice, placed upon the spiritual senses of the sacred text. To

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13 Augustine, *De Magistro*, ed. W. M. Green. Aurelii Augustini Opera 2.2. CCSL 29 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1970), 9.26, 185.

14 Augustine, *The Teacher* in *The Teacher, The Free Choice of the Will and Grace and Free Will*, trans. Robert P. Russell. The Fathers of the Church, 59 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1968), 9.26, 39.

15 Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies* (see note 12), 44 53.

dwell on the literal was seen as an act of idolatry. While the Augustinian understanding of the hierarchy of signified over signifier remained a topic of discussion throughout the Middle Ages, from the twelfth century on, as grammarians and logicians in particular began to question the relationship between linguistic signs and reality.[16] The change was particularly noticeable in the works of Abelard and the *Modistae*.[17]

Throughout the Middle Ages, grammar was one of the most important disciplines, perhaps because it was the first area which a beginning student at any level was to master before proceeding to other areas of the trivium or to the study of theology, medicine, or law. Langland draws on the signifying world of grammar, logic, biblical interpretation, and liturgical and paraliturgical actions.

Langland refers to the grammarian Donatus, and from the world of grammar he draws the conception of his text. The focus in early grammars such as Donatus's *Ars Grammatica* and Priscian's *Institutiones Grammaticae* (early 6th century C.E.) was on the ontology of grammar, in the sense of etymologies that we find in the work of Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636). Grammar itself was concerned as the "nurse of language" and as a science of the literal and the straight. Grammar was understood as a corrective and a guide to avoid deviating from sound and meaning. Both texts proceeded from "the definition of sound (*vox*) and letters to the discussion of syllables, syntactic construction, and errors of diction, which when intentional, constitute rhetorical figures."[18] Both Donatus and Priscian privileged the meaning of words above any other aspect of grammar,[19] and thus contributed to the ontological focus on early medieval grammar. Clearly, both emphases are important in an era when knowledge of the Latin language was thought to be declining. Correctness of forms was essential. Since every verbal sign had its referent in the world, it was absolutely necessary to establish communication at a level where such relationships were recognizable. Even as late as John of Salibury's *Metalogicon* (ca. 1159), grammar dealt with linearity and correctness as prerequisites for meaning.[20] Bad grammar meant bad moral behavior! The way to obtain this correctness was through study of ancient

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16 Colish, *The Mirror of Language* (see note 7), 23.

17 Theresa Coletti, *Naming the Rose: Eco, Medieval Signs, and Modern Theo*ry (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 24; Janet Coleman, *Piers Plowman and the Moderni*. Letture di Pensiero e d'Arte (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1981).

18 Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies* (see note 12), 43.

19 G. L. Bursill Hall, *Speculative Grammars of the Middle Ages: The Doctrine of Partes Orationis of the Modistae*. Approaches to Semiotics, 11 (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), 21.

20 Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies* (see note 12), 52.

texts, but of course, this method was often thought to be suspect because it drew examples from pagan authors. But beginning in the twelfth century, grammar became more philosophically based, due in large part to the introduction of Aristotelian logic into the study of grammar. Actually, however, the introduction of Aristotelian causation into the study of signification changed the central question from "what do words mean?" to "how do these words signify?"

Often identified as the *Modistae*, such grammarians as Thomas of Erfurt (early fourteenth century) were concerned with syntactical relationships within statements.[21] Their efforts in creating a metalanguage to describe the function of word classes, and their methods of analyzing a text created a supplementary text. What seems clear, however, is that their concerns for language were more those of the university, hence someone above the educational level that we posit typically for Langland based on a passage in the C text. What Langland does, however, in the B text is to refer to grammar as the "ground of al" (B.15.372). Grammar's corruption, whether at court, in the confessional, or in society at large surrounding pardons plagued Langland. Further, corruption in grammar not only made intelligibility impossible, but for Langland made the movement from earthly signs to heavenly things problematic if not impossible.

Like grammar, logic or dialectic – terms often used synonymously – occupied an important place in education. Students were introduced to logic most frequently during the arts course at a university.[22] Thus if we place Langland at some point in his life at a university – an idea with the "autobiographical" portion of the C text may partially substantiate – it seems likely that he would have been exposed to training in logical methods. References to Aristotle and "logic" (B.12.267) indicate that he had some knowledge of logic and its implications for signification. Langland's texts, so concerned with the nature of propositions and definitions of terms, shows knowledge of logic "as a tool, used for almost every sport of abstract speculation."[23] During the high and late Middle Ages, texts focused on logic concentrated on the nature of signs as parts of propositions. When pressed into the service of theology, logic became a means by which these signs and their referents could be texts as in Theology's discussion on the nature of Meed and her parentage. Commentaries on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* during the 1330s and 1340s use logical methods to understand scripture

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21 R. H. Robbins, *A Short History of Linguistics.* Indiana University Studies in the History and Theory of Linguistics (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1967), 80 81.

22 William J. Courtney, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth Century England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 18.

23 John Marenbon, *Later Medieval Philosophy (1150 1350): An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1987), 35.

and the Church Fathers.[24] University sermons also bristle with syllogistic logic as a means of understanding complex theological topics. Underlying these studies of logic, however, is the Augustinian notion of temporal signs. Yet rather than dealing with signs that have referents in the physical world, studies in logic deal with signs whose referents are in the mind.

In addition to texts of grammar and logic, another major source of medieval sign theory that has implications for communication and understanding/misinterpretation in the Augustinian tradition is commentaries on scripture and on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* – the most important text on theology in the Middle Ages. Medieval education offered training in theology at several levels. No doubt some of the ideas discussed in university lectures on the Bible or the *Sentences* filtered down to the monastic and cathedral schools. Often those schools were staffed by former masters of theology who had occupied chairs at the universities. Particularly useful here are the discussions of medieval exegetes about the nature of texts. An overlooked area, prologues to biblical commentaries, particularly in the High and Late Middle Ages, provide the most advanced treatments of literary criticism and theory. Typically, these prologues, growing out of university lectures, discuss subjects such as senses present in the text, organization, style, and authorship, both human and divine.

Analyses of the biblical text in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages were much indebted to the methods of the Alexandrine school which favored a reading of a text for both its literal and symbolic senses (allegorical, tropological, and anagogical). The practice of the early Church Fathers such as Clement of Alexandria and Origen assigned more emphasis to the symbolic senses.[25] Augustine and Gregory the Great are often credited with serving as "transmitters" of this privileging of the signified (a multivalent one) over the signifier to medieval commentators, who would have read their commentaries.[26] Writers separated the "letter" from the "spirit" of the text.[27] *Sententiae* (meaning) according to Augustine in *De Cathechizardus* were superior to the literal words just as the spirit was superior to the body. This dichotomy gave rise to a multi-level analysis of the sacred text. The single sign-to-referent relationship was widened in an attempt to signal all the

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24 Courtney, *Schools and Scholars* (see note 22), 261 62.

25 G. R. Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible: The Earlier Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cam bridge University Press, 1984), 114.

26 Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible*, (see note 25), 114. See also Alastair Minnis, *Me dieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*. Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984).

27 Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (1941; Oxford: Basil Black well, 1984), 8 9.

possible meanings of the sign, with particular reference to those senses under the literal level. Such an understanding of sign theory can be found in the works of a number of commentators, including Ambrose, John Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine, and other medieval writers such as Gregory treat and Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153 C.E.), all of whom Langland names in *Piers Plowman*. The *Glossa Ordinaria* (twelfth century), in particular, as instrumental in communicating their understanding of early medieval sign theory through the Middle Ages.

Another major source of medieval sign theory that had a direct bearing on *Piers Plowman* and medieval sign theory in general is found in texts treating liturgical matters as well as the more generalized practices of ritual as practiced in penitence and also in the mass. Liturgy was a part of life at all levels of medieval society. Thus, much of what was understood about signs in the Middle Ages was understood by recourse to events in liturgical and penitential contexts. Unlike linguistic signs, however, liturgical signs were not abrogated in heaven but found their perfection in heavenly rituals, such as the heavenly banquet of which the Eucharist was a sign. Manuals were written to instruct parish priests in the proper method of administering the sacraments, since proper administration of the sign was essential to receiving the grace intended. A text such as *Fasciculus Morum* was written with the intention of helping the preacher and confessor to understand the nature of sin through examples.[28] John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests* is a good example of a semiological application to understanding because it places significance of the meaning of the administration through performance. It is a practical kind of how-to guide. At the other end of the spectrum are the works that allegorize the mass. Rupert of Deutz's *De Divinis Officiis* was intended as a handbook to help monk-priests understand the allegorical implications of the mass also through an analysis of the lectionary for a given service.[29]

If we were going to reconstruct the Langlandian poetics of communication, it would likely contain the following components:

1. Augustine's notion of natural and conventional signs as components of the communication process.
2. Augustine's privileging of the signified over the signifier.

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28 John A. Alford, "The Figure of Repentance," *Suche Werkis to Werche: Essays on Piers Plowman in Honor of David C. Fowler*, ed. Miceal F. Vaughan (East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press, 1993), 3 28; here 15. See *Fasciculus Morum: A Fourteenth Century Preacher's Handbook*, ed. and trans. Siegfried Wenzel (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1989).

29 John H. Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*. Publication of the Center of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 18 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), 61 67.

3. Grammar as the foundation of all intelligible communication.
4. Logic as a system for investigating the significance of terms.
5. Biblical exegesis as a method of textual expansion and interpretation.
6. Liturgy as an ultimate means for understanding via performance of the rituals.

Because Langland's model of communication is tied to an understanding of social hierarches, it will not function well in a society in the midst of decay of feudalism, which must certainly have been the case in post-Plague England.[30] There is a vehemence against those elements in society in all three versions of the poem for those whose actions and words threaten to undermine his idealized system, his vision of the ecology in life within the community in post-Plague England. In the beginning of the poem, he seems to focus on an ecology that sees waste as detrimental to life,[31] and that seems to be connected to his communications model that sees verbal waste as a kind of abuse. His communications model is not progressive in the sense of later medieval philosophers and theologians, especially the Nominalists, who were divorcing the connection between the signifier and signified and between language and reality. For Langland, these people are just as vicious as the friars who gloss the gospel for their own benefit as readers are warned in the Prologue to the poem. Langland's model of communication is more closely aligned with an early medieval model which emphasizes ontology. Readers will find throughout the poem a privileging of a reading that rises above the literal, given greater attention to the signified. Grammar called the "ground of all" (B.15.372) is foundational to the encoding and decoding of any linguistic expression, even the ability to read the service at church in Latin.

While Langland seems to worry about the false use of logic, particularly in the masterful hands of the friars who were dominating the university in the fourteenth century, the ability to use logic was important. The ability to interpret the biblical text itself is foundational for Langland, so it is not surprising that he is quick to point out misreadings that thwart access to truth. Finally, the liturgy, whether in a church setting, or in a paraliturgical act such as confession was important to Langland's signifying system that conceives Truth as the highest goal. Langland envisions his world in decay, so a reasserting of these various traditions holds a key for restoring meaning on multiple levels. That he is unable

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30 John A. Alford, "The Design of the Poem," *A Companion to Piers Plowman*, ed. John A. Alford (Berkeley, CA, and London: University of California Press, 1988), 32 34.

31 Eleanor Johnson, "The Poetics of Waste: Medieval English Ecocriticism," *PMLA* 127.3 (May 2012): 460 76.

to solve the problem in the *Visio* at court, in the confessional, and in the field is thus no surprise.

Visualizing Corruption in the Langlandian World

Corruption of the Court and Legal Action

From the Prologue onward, Langland is concerned about the way that language itself is corrupted. On the Fair Field of Folk, he notes a diversity of practices going forward with respect to language, whether pilgrims who lie about their experiences and convert them into stories to share thereafter or the more pointed reference to "Iaperes and Iangeleres, Iudas children, / [Fonden] hem fantasies and fooles hem makeþ" (B.Prol.35–36; Jokers and jangelers, Judas' children, find themselves fantasies and make themselves fools). They are contrasted with minstrels who get their money without harm. Others include the four orders of friars who entrusted with preaching actually engage in that activity for their economic gain, not the instruction of the people.[32] The entire scene on the fair field is rife with what David Aers calls "pervasive commodification," seen in "law, marriage, governance and the Church."[33] That commodification is rooted in language, even in the very words exchanged in the market for the selling of hot pies. This tableau exists between the levels of heaven and hell created by the tower above the field, interpreted by Lady Holy Church in Passus One.

Whatever might be wrong with linguistic usage in the poem's opening seems to be held in check by the poem's first authoritative interpreter. While she may have an answer, it also seems ineffectual and rooted in a failed system. That Conscience at the end of the poem in the B and C text versions leaves the Church in search of Piers should not be a surprise, but the poem takes some time to show the Church in ruins. Artfully and recursively, she encloses meaning in her repeated phrase "Whan all tresors ben tried treuþe is þe beste" (B.1.135, 207; When all treasures are tried truth is the best). Katharine Breen has argued that the representation on Lady Holy Church draws on Boethius' representation of Philosophy

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32 Lawrence Clopper, *Langland and the Franciscans*. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Civilization (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 4 17. See also Michael Calabrese, *An Introduction to Piers Plowman*. New Perspectives on Medieval Literature (Gainesville, Tallahassee, et al., Fl: University Press of Florida, 2016), 23 33, for an exploration of the development of the Prologue across the text tradition.

33 David Aers, "Langland on the Church and the End of Cardinal Virtues" (see note 2), 59 60.

and her "lapses in decorum are tied specifically to her femininity."[34] If she is a major authority, she is hardly beyond reproach and is very much rooted in the mediation between this world and the next. Thus, does she interpret signs correctly, or is she too rooted in her own subjectivity?

That the Dreamer does not seem to understand Holy Church's explanation of the scene suggests that perhaps the most traditional interpreter of language is unable to assist in the current state. Nonetheless, she holds to the traditional forms of reading as a stay against the growing presence of linguistic corruption – a sin against love – and a product of desire to corrupt. The Dreamer suggests that it is impossible to know Truth without Falsehood, so he desires to know more than the authoritative voice of Lady Holy Church can provide. At the start of Passus 2, the poet confronts in his dreaming persona the first full-scale attempt to corrupt language. The site that provides such an opportunity is the king's court at Westminster.

Passus 2 at the start continues the attempt of Holy Church to instruct the Dreamer. That he is beginning to understand the dialectic method, derived from logic, which she employs is evident in his request to "Kenne me by som craft to knowe þe false" (B.2.4; Teach me by some craft to know to know falsehood). The Dreamer attempts to understand the system of values which underlines the "fair feeld ful of folk" (B.Prol.17) and which motivates the production of signs. Passus 1 presents the authoritative voice of justice with its several polysemic meanings. Passus 2 then, must show injustice both in terms of its origins – its ontology to establish a grammar – and its methodological way of corrupting justice and truth. Again, the poet introduces the Dreamer to a female as the center of ideological power.

Unlike Lady Holy Church, Lady Meed shares a clothing code which signals deception and the proper use of goods, the visual and the verbal:

> I loked on my left half as þe lady me tauȝte
> And was war of a womman [wonder]liche ycloþed,
> Purfiled wiþ Pelure, þe [purest on] erþe,
> Ycorouned [in] a croune, þe kyng haþ noon bettre,
> Fetisliche hire fyngres were fretted with gold wyr
> And þeron [riche] Rubies as rede as any gleede,
> And Diamaundes of derrest pris and double manere Sphires,
> Orientals and Ewages enuenymes to destroye.
> Hire Robe was ful riche, of red scarlet engreyned,
> Wiþ Ribanes of reed gold, and of riches stones. (B.2.7 16)

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34 Katharine Breen, *Machines of the Mind: Personification in Medieval Literature* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2021), 290 93.

[I looked on my left side as the lady taught me
And was aware of a woman wonderfully clothed,
Edged with fun, the finest on earth
Crowned with a crown, the king has none better,
Fetishly her fingers were fretted with gold wire
And thereon rich rubies as red as any coals
And diamonds of the dearest price and two different kinds of sapphires.
Pearls and precious water stones to thwart poisons
Her robe was very rich, of red scareed dyed,
With ribbons of red gold and of rich stones.]

The iconographic display is remarkable. Standing to the left of Lady Holy Church and the Dreamer connotes associations with evil.[35] The description of the garments associates her intertextually with Richesse in *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris, but more directly the "scarlet" robe signifies the Whore of Babylon in Revelation.[36] Traditionally, historical readings have suggested that she is Langland's imagining of the power of Alice Perrers, a mistress of Edward III, at least in the A text version.[37] Again Holy Church contextualizes Meed as an entity in human society. She has free course in the world and even in the Pope's palace. Identified as the daughter of Wrong, Lady Meed is placed paternally and ontologically in a context that reveals her true nature – her grammar. Holy Church announces the upcoming marriage of Lady Meed to False, and warns the Dreamer that he must keep himself apart from Meed's corruption if he wishes to dwell with Truth; and she then departs. What may strike readers as unusual here is the jealousy that exists between Lady Holy Church and Meed, at least from Lady Holy Church's perspective. What seems interesting is that she seems to most be concerned with her losing out to Meed as the objecctd of male desire.[38] Without question, Meed – false reward – is treated as a significant sexual commodity that threatens to undermine the work of Truth.

The poet next moves directly into the scene where the marriage is announced and a corrupt charter is read. As in the Prologue, there is no attempt to assign meaning to the events as did Holy Church throughout Passus 1 and

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35 D. W. Robertson, Jr., and Bernard F. Huppe, *Piers Plowman and Scriptural Tradition*. Princeton Studies in English, 31 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951), 49.

36 Myra Stokes, *Justice and Mercy in Piers Plowman: A Reading of the B Text Visio* (London: Crown Helm, 1984), 99; Lavinia Griffiths, *Personification in Piers Plowman*. Piers Plowman Studies (Cambridge: Brewer, 1985), 27.

37 There are many scholars how have made such identification since the work of Oscar Cargill in 1932. For a systematic treatment of this idea, see Andrew Galloway, *The Penn Commentary on Piers Plowman* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), vol. 1, 216 22.

38 Breen, *Machines of the Mind* (see note 34), 292 94.

at the beginning of Passus 2. Simony and Civil read the corrupt contract (B. 2. 75–107) that demonstrates the way that forms have been corrupted by linguistic power to spread evil under the guise of the Seven Deadly Sins and the breaking of the Ten Commandments, elements both of which will be important to correcting linguistic abuse later. That Civil and Simony are reading the document is significant. By having the two operate together, the poet is "narrowing" the normal role of simony so that it applies only to the "legal establishment."[39] As Myra Stokes notes, it is appropriate that they be presented here because in actual courts they are noted corrupters of marital concerns.[40] Langland would expect his readers to interpret this scene against their knowledge of actual court situations. The document that Civil and Simony read is the first of several documents held up for scrutiny in the poem. This parodic text follows the established form of a charter. It allows False and Meed to corrupt the entire world. A document usually intended as a limiting device to set limits on ownership, this charter allows ownership and ultimately power to extend beyond limits. What problem in Langland's world is he addressing? As Beverly Gilbert notes, a paper bull in 1396 was sent to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York "complaining of notaries who prepared documents containing false statements."[41] The overall intent of the document is to show the Dreamer how the power structure of Church courts could be used to corrupt the structural order of signification by putting signs of truth in false documents.[42]

At the conclusion of the reading of the deed, Theology, another authoritative voice in *Piers*, protests the document and the marriage of Meed to False. In the poem, Theology signifies academic study of the subject he personifies.[43] He is related to Holy Church, yet since he signifies a source of authority from the medieval academy, his voice is of lesser importance in the scope of the poem. His analysis highlights the nature of the error which the marriage of legitimate Meed and illegitimate False would cause. All, including Simony who must be bribed, agree to the arbitration by the king's court in Westminster to solve the dilemma of the marriage. Theology has momentarily prevented the corruption of signs in communication from spreading over the entire world. Readers or hearers

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39 Beverly Ann Gilbert, "'Civil' and the Notaries in *Piers Plowman*," *Medium Aevum* 50 (1981): 49 63; here 57.

40 Stokes, *Justice and Mercy in Piers* Plowman (see note 36), 106.

41 Gilbert, "'Civil' and the Notaries" (see note 39), 60.

42 See also the contribution to this volume by Nere Jone Intxaustegi Jauregi on the role of no taries in late medieval and early modern Catalonia.

43 Alexander Barrett, "The Character 'Civil' and 'Theology' in *Piers Plowman*," *Traditio* 38 (1082): 352 64; here 363.

of this episode would have recognized Langland's intention to illustrate how recourse to theology can stop error. Theology occupies the world of hybridity, combining quite a number of sign reading systems from the trivium and, of course, from scholastic theology from the university.

The closing of Passus 2 provides a structural analysis of how the various corrupters of signs take up their places among various groups, having been warned to scatter before they reach the king's court. Only Meed will go there, and she will present the greatest challenge to monarchy. On the way, however, the poem presents an archeology of sign corruption in the social contract. Langland imaginatively represents their entrance into the tripartite model of society. False takes up residence with the friars, so that the signs they use in preaching may appear as honest on the surface, but are actually the product of a deceptive mind. Guile first takes up residence with the merchants in order to corrupt business practices. He is particularly clever in destroying the exchange of money for goods and services. But being multivalent in his ability to corrupt, he then goes to the pardoners where he learns to sell pardons; but these pardons really are not signs that signify "pardon." They signify falsely because they have their source not from God but from corrupt clergy. Guile's progress continues, and he later takes residence with the friars. He possesses the "fair speche" (B.2.232) that friars use.

They use verbal signs which attract the attention of the hearers, not to teach truth but to please people. Langland sees this aspect as a corruption of the teaching of God's signs or the Word. For Langland, the friars are the greatest corrupters of the signification process. Other deceivers in the group fall and leave Meed to be carried forward to the king's court. What could possibly go wrong with the use of Meed in the court of the king to ascertain action that might not be morally defensible? Jennifer Hole has observed that during the fourteenth century, not only did the concerns about bribery surface in literature, but also an anxiety of the court itself in the legal action of lower courts. Simply put, Lady Meed "represents the rich and powerful who bribe in order to further their own interests."[44]

Meed's force in the sphere of governmental administration is clear. As we would expect, she wishes to see craftsmen and guildsmen acquire just the thing of which she is the embodiment: false reward. In the social context, as the poet notes "Maires and Maceres" (B.3.76; Mayors and Mace Bearers) mediate the position between the king and the commons. They are to administer judg-

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44 Jennifer Hole, "Expediency versus Ethics: The Problem of Bribery in Late Medieval England," *Parergon* 37.1 (2020); 113 31; here 116.

ments against those – here brewers, bakers, butchers, and cooks – who are most concerned with satisfying the natural needs of all people. That "þei [p]oisone þe peple pryueliche [wel] ofte" (B.3.82; they poison the people secretly and in portions) may be both literal and symbolic simultaneously. Meed asks the mayor to revalue justice so that it become injustice. Invoking the authoritative words of Solomon, the poet warns that fire will consume those who take Meed. Langland shows how quickly the corruption of signs is occurring in daily practice. When the king approaches Meed, he recognizes her power and desires to contain her energies by the institutionally recognizable marriage to Conscience. At the same time, however, Conscience is all too aware of the ambiguity of Meed's character.

As the personification of a mental faculty, the combination of *synderesis* and *conscientia*,[45] he is able to decode the false signs which this lady represents and to show how she operates in social, historical contexts. She is historicized as responsible for the regicide of the king's father. She poisons the head of the Church. She devalues sexual activity through promiscuity. She defrauds the owners of property and circumvents the justice system, an aspect dramatized in Passus 4 with the violation of the Peace through Wrong, with an attempt to commute compensation for bodily harm to a monetary payment. The King, however, will not allow that. Meed corrupts the power of the Church by selling bulls, ordaining bishops, and maintaining the lower clergy. These charges are severe, yet Meed, a shrewd manipulator of language, undermining Conscience's own behavior, shows the value of payment to get those actors to participate in necessary events such as war.

That the King is taken in by all this suggests that even kings are aware of the way in which false payments are necessary at times. Conscience, however, through the use of *distinction* separates two kinds of Meed, which Lady Meed carefully blurs: the false meed and the true meed. Conscience suggests that "intention" is what makes the distinction.[46] In the C version of the poem, the poet adds the term *mercede* to help in this distinction, but here simply distinguishes true from false. By citing Psalm 25:10 (B.3.249), Conscience allies his actions with those of the Psalmist who condemns those who take bribes: their judgment is already determined. Money given for services rendered is not meed, but wage earnings.[47] Having defeated Meed on her own grounds, Conscience depicts a

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45 Morton Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman as Fourteenth Century Apocalypse* (New Brunswick, NY: Rutgers University Press, 1961), 111.

46 Arvind Thomas, *Piers Plowman and the Reinvention of Church Law in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 107 08.

47 John Lawlor, *Piers Plowman: An Essay in Criticism* (London: Arnold, 1962), 29.

coming age after the apocalyptic destruction of false payments and bribes with the reign of an ideal king. This portent of an ideal king (B.3.291–330) presupposes an ideal age that would likely have been of great encouragement to readers and hearers of the A text in the late 1360s and of the B text in the 1370s as they held out expectation for a future king who would usher in the reign of truth. The images or signs Conscience employs are those common to biblical apocalyptic literature.[48] That it takes Passus 4, and the trial of the violation of Peace to bring the current king to his senses and his desire to reign with the aid of Conscience and Reason should not be a surprise. Meed's appeal is strong, and false payment, including bribes, corrupts both words and the evaluation of actions. Yet in the end, justice is served in the King's court; Meed is devalued, and linguistic competence in the form of reading is restored.

The Corruption of the Confessional and the Sacrament of Penance

Passus 5 begins with the King and his knights going to church for matins and mass. The opening of this vision takes place on the "feld ful of folk" (B.5.10) where Reason preaches a sermon which interprets the natural signs of the disaster of 1361–62 as well as the plague of 1349–1351.[49] This same Reason, who is a key advisor to the king's court, here has altered the way he is represented. Reason's carrying a cross probably identifies him as an Episcopal visitor.[50] Following the sermon, the Confession of the Seven Deadly Sins, represents a microcosmic movement down to the atomic level of society. While confession of sin had long been an established practice from the early days of the Church, it was only with Canon 21, *Omnis Utriusque Sexus* of the Fourth Lateral Council in 1215 that confession at least once each year during the Easter Season become mandatory.[51] Penitential manuals began to appear to instruct a clergy not yet prepared to accept the responsibility of perceiving the intent, nature, and motive of a given sin, not to mention the way confession itself was conducted as a paraliturgical event.

48 Donaldson and Huppe, *Piers Plowman and the Scriptural* Tradition, (see note 35), 64.

49 J. A. W. Bennett, *Piers Plowman* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 152.

50 J. A. Burrow, "The Action of Langland's Second Vision," *Essays on Medieval Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 79 101; here 81 82.

51 Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 20 22; Mary Flowers Braswell, *The Medieval Sinner: Characterization and Confession in the Literature of Medieval England* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1983), 25 31.

From the study that Thomas N. Tentler has done on the topic, it would seem that the most relevant areas to the Confession of the Seven Deadly Sins relate to the confessor's encouraging a "good confession," to determine how the person understands his or her sin, and to establish the level of penitence at which the confession was made.[52] The confession, itself a monologue, consists of verbal signs which the confessor must interpret according to the codes found in the manuals to be able to establish the nature of the sin and what penitential acts are appropriate. The confessor attaches values to the verbal signs and attempts to instruct the penitent about the things – here the sins – for which the words are signs. A breach in the communications model – what either the confessor or penitent understands the words to signify – at any point will render the confession ineffective. Langland was keenly aware of these possibilities. The sacrament of Penance in Passus 5 has become part of the way to St. Truth.

The confessions follow a sequence that readers might expect, with Pride being first. The confessions of Envy and Avarice, however, are the most interesting and demonstrable of the abuse of language. Envy rewrites the character of his neighbor through verbal violence that he would like to make physical. He bears false witness against neighbor, again a corruption of language. To his earlier description of Envy in the A text version, Langland adds material that focuses even more attention on the corruption of verbal communication:

> Ech a word þat he warp was of a Neddres tonge;
> Of chidynge and chalangynge was his chief liflode;
> Wiþ bakbitynge and bismere and berynge of fals witnesse;
> [This was al his curteisie where þat euere he shewed hym.]
> "I wolde ben yshryue," quode þis sherewe, "and I for shame dorste.
> I wold be gladder, by god! Þat Gybbe had meschaunce
> Than þouȝ I hadde þis wouke ywonne a weye to Essex chese."
>
> (B. 5. 86 92)

> [Each part of a word that he spat out was of the Adder's tongue.
> For childing and bringing charges were his chief livelihood.
> With backbiting and scorn and bearing of false witness
> Scorn was all his courtesy wherever he showed himself.
> I will be shriven said this shrewd one, and I for shame I dared.
> I would be gladder that Gib had bad luck
> Than if I won this week a measure of Essex Cheese.]

Connecting Envy's words with the tongue of an adder is an interesting concept in terms of sign theory. From the time of Alcuin, the Genesis story of Satan's enter-

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52 Tentler, *Sin and Confession* (see note 51), 84 94, 240 42.

ing the body of the snake and thus manipulating the snake to speak to Eve was regarded as an example of the corruption of the process of signification – a gap between *intellectus* and *vox*.[53] In a similar way Envy enters the mind of a person and corrupts that same linkage between *intellectus* and *vox* so that the sign produced is a corrupt poem. Clearly, Envy, like the other sins, knows the appropriate signs of the confession; but his words, actions, and mental concepts reveal a corruption of the meaning of the terms which he uses. A master deconstructionist like Envy who separates the signifier and the signified violates Langland's model of the theory of signs which always asserts a perceivable relation between both parts. He dissembles piety.

After a somewhat lengthy description of Envy's activities, Repentance admonishes him to repentance: but the word "Sorwe" (B. 5.127) in Repentance's understanding is not that of Envy's "sory" (B.5.128). The problem here is not "slippage" of the sign and meaning – the point of departure for a deconstructive reading that would benefit Envy, but that they understand the words in different way. For Repentance, "sorwe" is a verbal sign of an internal, mental thing – contrition. But for Envy, "sory" does not signify anything except that he has not been able to externalize his violence. The term signifies that no change of mind about his former actions has occurred. Envy fails at sacramental confession, and this skillful confessor has caught it. Neither does Repentance absolve Wrath who seems to have memorized just the right words to say! Since Langland was aware that friars were popular confessors of the day, he was also of the opinion that money governed and corrupted sacramental confession. A less astute confessor would have given absolution to Envy.

Avarice's confession is by far the most detailed and the most complex with its grammatical metaphor. He learned his lessons among craftsmen and merchants. Education itself has corrupted the speaker whose first "lesson" (B.5.202) was "Wikkedly to weye" (B.5.202; to weigh goods incorrectly). As an apprentice, Avarice was on his way to becoming a member of the guild and likely to gain the freedom the city, which would allow him to pursue his activities under the sign of civic authority. With the "grace of gyle" (B.5.205; grace of gile) he was able to sell almost worthless fabrics at the fairs in Winchester and Wy, not far from Langland's home in the Malvern Hills. Among the drapers he learned other deceitful practices. Avarice's "donet" (B.5.207) refers to the text of the fourth-century grammarian Donatus, whose text was the standard for elementary

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53 G. R. Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible: The Earlier Middle Ages* (see note 25), 72 73.

grammar throughout the Middle Ages.[54] Here, Avarice's term signifies metaphori-
cally as it refers to his foundational studies in corruption among the drapers.
They taught him his grammar of corruption. He "rendred a lesson" (B.5.209; re-
corded a lesson) which allowed him to make ten yards into thirteen. His wife,
Rose the Regatour, a brewer of ale, is even more deceptive than he selling
poor ale, while keeping the good in the bed chamber. Here the poet shows
how Avarice has taken residence among the craft and merchants guilds who
were becoming the dominant voice in city government after the Black Death.
Through the grammatical metaphors, Langland charts the education and growth
of corruption among a rising social class.

The confession of Avarice in the B text assumes the form of a dialogue com-
mon to the other confessions, and the additions underscore the indeterminacy
which is endemic to conventional signs. After Avarice delivers his monologue,
Repentance, acting as a confessor, needs to discover further Avarice's under-
standing of central code words to the confessional:

> "Repentedestow euere," quod Repentaunce, "or restitucion madest?"
> ȝis, ones I was yherberwed," quod he "wiþ ad heep of chapmen;
> I roos whan þei were areste and riflede hir males."
> "That was no resitucion," quod Repentaunce, "but a robberis þefte;
> Thow haddest be better worþi ben hanged þerfore."
> "I wende riflying were restitucion for I learned neuere rede on boke,
> And I kan no frenssh in feiþ but of þe ferþest ende of Northfolk." (B.5. 230 36)

> ["Have you ever repented," asked repentance or made restitution?
> "Yes, once I was in an inn," said he "with a group of chapmen.
> I rose when they were asleep and rifled through their bags.
> That was not restitution, said Repentance, but a robber's theft.
> You should have been hung for that.
> I thought riflying was restitution for I never learned to read books,
> I do not know any French except of the far end of Norfolk.]

The word "restitucion" (B.5.230, 233) is not understood by a shared code. The key
to understanding the signified of the verbal sign lies in knowing grammatical
etymology. Language are reality in Langland theory of signs are closely connect-
ed by convention. Avarice's inability to understand the word "restitucion"
(B.5.230, 233) arises from his lack of learning. This same sense of not understand-
ing the connection to reality – signifier to signified – manifests itself on the so-

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54 Ralph Hanna, *The Penn Commentary on Piers Plowman,* vol. 2: *C Passus 5 9; B Passus 5 7; A
Passus 5 8* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Philadelphia Press, 2017), 121. Hanna includes an ex
tended discussion of Langland's method and changes to traditions which directly relate to pen
itential manuals. See pages 73 80 in particular.

cial plane of action where Avarice engages in usury and disregards the corporate acts of mercy. For this sin there can be no absolution because there are no signs of restitution. The knowledge of grammatical etymology, which in Langland's theory of signs structures avariciousness, has been undermined in the confession.

The confession scene as a whole does not go well, but Repentance tries to put a cap on it as the pilgrims decide to seek Truth with the aid of Piers the Plowman. If this sounds like a scaffolding toward disaster, we are literally waiting for it to happen. The macrocosmic and microcosmic of the fair field reveal a shocking corruption of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, not to mention a debasement of the sacrament of penance. The events following the plowing of the half acre where the priest reads Piers' pardon brings on the final layer of corruption in the communications model.

The Plowing of the Half Acre, the Pardon, and Realization

The plowing of the half acre begins the last significant event in the *Visio*, but the scaffolding of some failures in the body politic observable in the failed confession sequence suggests that human need and greed are likely to compromise the efforts. Did Langland really think his figure Piers the Plowman could return England to its pre-Plague economy? If so, it works momentarily, but larger institutional changes prevent it from reaching fruition. The final passus of the *Visio*, Passus 8, opens with the interrelated events of Truth's granting Piers a pardon and Truth's mandate for Piers to continue his plowing. Piers and the productive members of the half acre pursue pilgrimage with the intention of gaining a pardon.[55] Here that plowing of the half acre becomes a substitutionary pilgrimage is to continue after the pardon is given suggests that both elements, pilgrimage and pardon, are assigned values which differ from those in practice in late medieval society. Pardons in the Middle Ages were subject to corruption, but Langland's pardon is not.[56] This pardon, "a pena & a culpa" (B.7.3), signifies a papal pardon of the highest order.[57] As a document it conveys a certain authority by virtue of

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55 Mary Carruthers, *The Search for St. Truth: A Study of Meaning in Piers Plowman* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1973), 66.

56 Donald R. Howard, *The Three Temptations: Medieval Man in Search of the World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966), 175.

57 J. A. W. Bennett, *Piers Plowman* (see note 49), 216.

its existence. Its authority is unquestionable, at least at the time it is given. The pardon grants participation to all who pursue their proper activities in life.

The confrontation between Piers and the priest dramatizes methods of interpretation. The priest, as an authoritative figure, announces "Piers ... þi pardon moste I rede, / 'For I [shal] construe ech clause and kenne it þee on englissh'" (B.7.107–08; Piers I must read your pardon and translate each clause to you in English). Translation, itself is a communication event – because it exchanges one sign for another. Unfortunately, however, when he is unable to find the word "pardon" – for the priest the only recognizable sign – he rejects the idea of the document's being a pardon.[58] The priest then says "I kan no pardon fynde / But do wel and haue wel, and god shal haue þi soule, / And do yuel and haue yuel, [and] hope þow noon ooþer (B.7.116–18; I can find no pardon here/ Only do wel and be well and god will have your soul/ And do evil and be evil and hope for none other). As William Elford Rogets notes, the priests "false expectations now come to sound more like a threat."[59] This priest has not only "lost touch with Christian idealism,"[60] but he has also given only a carnal reading.[61] That might suggest his own rooting in idolatry, give that he relies solely on the letter of the text.

He merely exchanges English for Latin words. Piers reacts by tearing the Pardon in the A and B texts, and then he offers a symbolic reading. Piers quotes Psalm 22:4: "*Si ambulauero in medio umbre / Non timebo mala quoniam tu mecum es*" (B.7.120–21; Even if I walk in the midst of shadow of death I will fear no evil because you are with me). The passage seems to make little sense in this context, at least if we read it literally. But Piers is not going to fall into the priest's literal reading. The line expresses a resolute faith in the validity of the words of the pardon.[62] Since the priest cannot give an authoritative gloss on the pardon text, Piers provides one – one of greater authority. Piers's decision to shift professions where "preieres" and "penaunce" (B.7.124; prayers and penance) shall be his plow shows that he reassigns meaning to his own activities. In a sense, his own active life is a gloss on the text. Clearly Piers has learned some-

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58 Carruthers, *The Search for St. Truth* (see note 55), 77.

59 William Elford Rogers, *Interpretation in Piers Plowman* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2002), 184. For a good overview of readings of the pardon and pardon tearing moment, see pages 180 206.

60 Howard, *The Three Temptations* (see note 56),

61 A. V. C Schmidt, *The Clerkly Maker: Langland's Poetic Art*. Piers Plowman Studies (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987), 86.

62 Robert W. Frank, *Piers Plowman and the Scheme of Salvation: An Interpretation of Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest*. Yale Studies in English, 136 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957), 29.

thing from the confrontation, and it is this knowledge which changes the method of proceeding in the poem. From this time forward in the course of the poem, the Dreamer looks to Piers as the authoritative one, the one who can restore what sense of order is possible. This segment ends with the Dreamer announcing a quest for Piers and that in a sense re-echoes at the poem's conclusion when Conscience goes in search of Piers. As the master interpreter, he becomes the means for restoring the order, which is also restoring the potential of meaning and communication.

Conclusion

In one sense, *Piers Plowman* and the quest for restoring the way that words mean, checking the abuse of words on the fair field of folk, hearing confessions and beginning again in a search for a restored order within and without seem futile. Readers could almost have sensed that it would fail from the beginning, but such a quick generalization overlooks the actual success in amending communication in the first portion of the poem, even in the midst of an overpowering desire to destroy institutions and their sense of purpose.

Nicolette Zeeman argues that "many of the most urgent and enigmatic aspects of the narrative of *Pier* Plowman can be associated with the iconography of quest found in thirteenth-century French grail romances."[63] That very strong sense of quest is particularly observable in the sequence of the *Visio*. Such can be traced from the fair field to the King's court, to the confessional, to the quest for pilgrimage and pardon. The results may, however, surprise. The king's court is actually able to defeat the power of Meed; it is successful in putting down her attempt to destroy moral action through carefully selected words. The atomic-level confession of the Seven Deadly Sins actually challenged the confessional, but none of the Seven Deadly Sins was given absolution without upholding the foundational principles of penance. Finally, Piers does not participate in the faulty world of pardon giving in the late Middle Ages because he has access to the pardon on which all others rest, even seen in the Athanasian Creed. Piers will become the symbolic reader of that dimension of interpretation that will restore the world. What looks like failure at first actually contains seeds of hope for change, for reordering, and for restoring communication within Langland's community.

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63 Nicolette Zeeman, *The Art of Disruption: Allegory and Piers Plowman*. Oxford Studies in Medieval Literature and Culture (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 5.

Jane Beal
The Chaucerian Translator

Translation is a mode. To comprehend it as mode one must go back to the original, for that contains the law governing the translation: its translatability. The question of whether a work is translatable has a dual meaning. Either: Will an adequate translator ever be found among the totality of its readers? Or, more pertinently: Does its nature lend itself to translation and, therefore, in view of the significance of the mode, call for it?

Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator" (1923)

Grant translateur, noble Geffroy Chaucier!
Eustache Deschamps (1346 1407)

Abstract: The Chaucerian narrator could easily and perhaps more readily be called the Chaucerian translator. He characterizes the vast majority of his works "translations" in the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* and in his Retraction to *The Canterbury Tales*. This self-conception deserves more critical consideration as does the process of development that the Chaucerian translator undergoes from Chaucer's early to later works. Indeed, remarks by the Chaucerian translator throughout Chaucer's corpus give readers some ideas about how Chaucer the author wanted his audience to perceive how he conceived of the work of translation. First, the Chaucerian translator – especially when acting as a compiler – is dependent upon his authors and their authority. Second, the Chaucerian translator may act as a *fidus interpres* ("a faithful translator") without translating *verbum pro verbo* ("word for word"). Third, when Chaucer the author ventriloquizes his pilgrims in *The Canterbury Tales*, such as the Nun's Priest and the Parson, mistranslation (or lack of translation) may serve the purposes of satire or, on the opposite end of the spectrum, sincerity, for a multilingual audience. Finally, the Chaucerian translator, whatever his rhetoric might otherwise imply, ultimately takes responsibility for his translations, which he believes may have a damning or salvific effect for his soul, if we as the audience take his remarks in the Retraction seriously. This is a significant development in the Chaucerian translator's persona near the chronological end of Chaucer's literary career.

Keywords: Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, *fidus interpres*, *The Legend of Good Women*, Lollius, narrator, Nun's Priest's Tale, Parson's Tale, Retraction, Tale of Melibee, Tale of Sir Thopas, translator, *verbum pro verbo*

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The Chaucerian Translator

Chaucer's narrator is a multifaceted character who appears in most of Chaucer's works. In *The Canterbury Tales,* the Chaucerian narrator is often known to both students and scholars as "Chaucer the Pilgrim" (much like Dante the Pilgrim in *The Divine Comedy*), in order to distinguish him from Chaucer the author. The narrator-pilgrim is an essential part of the "frame narrative" of *The Canterbury Tales*, meeting with Harry Bailey, the host, at the Tabard Inn along with the other pilgrims. He tells his own tales on the journey to Canterbury: "Sir Thopas" and "The Tale of Melibee." Chaucer's narrator plays a significant role in other works, too: he appears as a naïve, over-awed, sleep-deprived dreamer in *Book of the Duchess, House of Fame*, and *Parliament of Fowls,* which is to be expected, as these are all dream visions, and the "obtuse" narrator is a standard part of the genre.[1] As one scholar has remarked, making a tongue-in-cheek allusion to the first sentence of Jane Austen's novel *Pride and Prejudice:*

> "It is a truth universally acknowledged" that Chaucer's dream narrators are characters with distinctive personalities who play a dramatic role in his fictions and are, therefore, to be interpreted as one interprets *dramatis personae*, not as the direct or only slightly disguised voice of the poet.[2]

But it is not only in the dream visions – and, of course, in *The Canterbury Tales* – that the Chaucerian narrator emerges as a character in his own right. Like Troilus in *Troilus and Criseyde,* Chaucer's famous Trojan romance, the Chaucerian narra-

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1 On Chaucer's "obtuse" narrator, see David M. Bevington, "The Obtuse Narrator in Chaucer's *House of Fame,*" *Speculum* 36:2 (April 1961): 288 98 and Arthur Bahr, "The Rhetorical Construc tion of Narrator and Narrative in Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess,*" *The Chaucer Review* 35:1 (2000): 43 59. On the role of the slow witted dreamer narrator in medieval dream visions who has something to learn, see also James Winny, *Chaucer's Dream Poems* (New York: Barnes, 1973), esp. 149, and Kevin Marti "Dream Vision," *A Companion to Old and Middle English Liter ature,* ed. Laura Cooner Lambdin and Robert Thomas Lambdin (Westport, CT: Greenwood Pub lishing Group, 2002), 178 209. Other scholars have traced the influence of Chaucer's character ization of his dream vision narrators to medieval French literature: see Charles Muscatine, *Chaucer and the French Tradition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1960), and James Wimsatt, *Chaucer and the French Love Poets: The Literary Background of the Book of the Duchess.* Studies in Comparative Literature, 43 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1968). Note that the dreamers of *Pearl*, *The Vision of Piers Plowman,* and the *Confessio Amantis* and other fourteenth century Middle English dream vision poems share this "obtuse" quality as well.
2 John Finlayson, "*The Roman de la Rose* and Chaucer's Narrators," *The Chaucer Review* 24.3 (Winter 1990): 187 210; esp. 187.

tor himself apparently falls in love with Criseyde over the course of the narrative poem.[3] When the distance between the narrator's voice and the author's voice seems to collapse to almost nothing in some of his lyric poems (e.g., "The Complaint of Chaucer to his Purse") and the *Treatise on an Astrolabe,* dedicated to "little Louis," the author's son, the distinction between the two nevertheless still holds.[4] This distinction can be understood in part, from a literary critical perspective, by the fact that the Chaucerian narrator matures and changes over the chronological course of his appearances in different literary works by Chaucer the author. This development can be seen in a particular facet of the Chaucerian narrator: his role as a translator.

In the case of many of Chaucer's literary works, the Chaucerian narrator could easily and perhaps more readily be called the Chaucerian translator. Clearly, Chaucer the author conceived of himself not only as a "maker," a poet, but also as a translator. He calls the vast majority of his works "translacions" in the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* (LGW) and in his Retraction. This self-conception deserves more critical consideration as does the process of development that the Chaucerian translator undergoes between the *Legend* and the Retraction added to the end of *The Canterbury Tales.*[5] To be clear, in this chapter,

3 This idea was first introduced to me by Eugene Soules, Professor of English at Sonoma State University, who had written about it as part of his own dissertation: "Troilus and Criseyde: A Study in Chaucer's Narrative Technique" (Ph D. diss., University of the Pacific, Stockton, 1966). Kittridge has argued that the narrator's attitude toward Criseyde is one of "avuncular love." For discussion of the Chaucerian narrator and his attitudes in the *Troilus*, see Richard Waswo, "The Narrator of *Troilus and Criseyde*," *English Literary History* 50.1 (1983): 1 25.

4 E. Talbot Donaldson helped to establish the literary critical distinction between Chaucer the author and Chaucer the narrator in his book, *Speaking of Chaucer* (London: Athlone, 1970). For further discussion, see David Lawton, *Chaucer's Narrators* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1985), who discusses not only the Chaucerian narrator, but Chaucer's development of narrators in the dream visions, *Troilus and Criseyde*, and *The Canterbury Tales*, esp. "The Pardoner's Tale" and "The Squire's Tale." On the Chaucerian narrator specifically in *The Canterbury Tales,* see also David Benson, "The Telling Difference: Chaucer the Pilgrim and His Two Contrasting Tales," *The Chaucer Review* 18 (1983): 61 76.

5 For an introduction to Chaucer as a translator, and for an overview of his corpus of transla tions, see Marilyn Corrie, "Chaucer and Translation," *A Companion to Medieval Translation,* ed. Jeannette Beer (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019), 133 42; Barry Windeatt, "Geoffrey Chaucer," *The Oxford History of Literary Translation. Vol. 1: To 1550,* ed. Roger Ellis (Oxford: Oxford Univer sity Press, 2008), 137 48, and Roger Ellis, "Translation," *A Companion to Chaucer,* ed. Peter Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 443 58. See also Warren Ginsberg, *Tellers, Tales, and Translation in Chaucer's* Canterbury Tales (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), who considers Ovid, Dante, and Bocaccio as Chaucer's models for translation and then exam ines the tales of the Franklin, Wife of Bath, Clerk, Merchant, Pardoner, and Miller specifically. As Glending Olson has observed, it is possible to view Chaucer's entire corpus of works as if

"Chaucer the translator" refers to the historical man who lived in fourteenth-century England while "the Chaucerian translator" refers to Chaucer's self-representation in many of his works, who has been called the Chaucerian narrator, but who specifically appears as a character in Chaucer's works that performs acts of translation.

Remarks by the Chaucerian translator throughout Chaucer's corpus give readers some ideas about how Chaucer the author wanted his audience to recognize how he conceived of the work of translation. To an extent, that conception is traditional and informed by Chaucer's literary and cultural contexts. First, the translator – especially when acting as a compiler – is dependent upon his authors.[6] However, he is not compelled to acknowledge them, although he sometimes does so, especially if he derives authority from them. Second, the Chaucerian translator may act as a *fidus interpres* ("a faithful translator") without translating *verbum pro verbo* ("word for word"). That is to say, for Chaucer's translator, faithful translation is possible when translating meaning-for-meaning rather than word-for-word. At the same time, when Chaucer the author ventriloquizes his pilgrims in *The Canterbury Tales*, such as the Nun's Priest and the Parson, deliberate mistranslation (or lack of translation) may serve the purposes of satire or, on the opposite end of the spectrum, sincerity, for a multilingual audience.

Finally, the Chaucerian translator, whatever his rhetoric might otherwise imply, ultimately takes responsibility for his translations, which he believes may have a damning or salvific effect for his soul, if we as the audience take his remarks in the Retraction seriously.[7] This is a significant development in the Chaucerian translator's persona near the chronological end of Chaucer's lit-

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it were composed of different kinds of translation. See Olson, "Geoffrey Chaucer," *The Cam bridge Companion to Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999), 566 88.

6 See Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984; rev. ed. rpt. Aldershot: Gower Books and Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988; 2nd ed. rpt. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009). See also *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism,* Vol. 2: *The Middle Ages*, ed. Alastair Minnis and Ian Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

7 Note that, as Anita Obermeier has pointed out, Chaucer's Retraction is part of an established genre. It has more than thirty sources or analogues in the writings of such authors as Horace, Bede, Ramon Llull, Llywelyn Goch, and Chaucer himself. See Obermeier, "Chaucer's Retraction," *Sources and Analogues of* The Canterbury Tales, ed. Robert Correale and Mary Hamel. Vol. 2. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), 775 808; and eadem, *The History and Anatomy of Auctorial Self Criticism in the European Middle Ages.* Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft, 32 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1999).

erary career. While the works by Chaucer the author often tend toward satire, the principles that the Chaucerian translator either articulates or demonstrates clearly establish the expectations Chaucer desires his audience to have: namely that his translations will be faithful, that they will be culturally relevant, and that they will be spiritually efficacious.

The necessity of translation was recognized in the Middle Ages and understood in terms of two relevant stories from the Bible: the Tower of Babel, related in Genesis 11, and the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, related in Acts 2. At the Tower of Babel, built by Nimrod, God divided the world's one language into many and scattered the people who could not understand one another as a result. Ever after, it was believed, people speaking different languages must either learn one common language (such as Latin) in order to communicate or they must have a translator who knows the languages of those who want to communicate despite their language barrier. At the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, when tongues of fire appeared above the disciples' heads, God redeemed the events that took place at the Tower of Babel by miraculously enabling people who did not understand the languages they were speaking to speak them fluently nevertheless and declare the good news of Christ's death and Resurrection to people from all nations who were visiting Jerusalem.[8]

From this miracle story, medieval people understood that translation could be inspired by the Holy Spirit. They found additional evidence of divine inspiration in the legend of the translation of Septuagint (namely, that seventy translators separately translated the Hebrew Bible into Greek and that they miraculously all came up with the exact same translation), and in the existence of the Latin Vulgate, which was painstakingly compiled and translated by Jerome at the end of the fourth century through a careful process of drafting and revising. For Jerome, a word-for-word translation best suited biblical translation, but traditionally, that approach was considered slavish compared to the "concept for concept" (*sensum e senso)* translation into the target language. Given the two differing models of inspired translation for the Greek and Latin Bibles, and the varying approaches to the translation process, medieval (and later) people had debates about translation: whether or not it was inspired and what approach to take to the translation process.[9]

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8 For further discussion, see Jane Beal, *John Trevisa and the English Polychronicon* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, and Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), esp. chap. 2 "Translating History: The Tower of Babel, Tongues of Fire, and the Tasks of the Translator."
9 On the rhetorical uses of these authorizing models, see Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts.* Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), esp. chap. 2 "From

Chaucer was well aware of both authorizing stories about Bible translation and their significance for his community of late fourteenth-century English readers and listeners. He was also aware of the contingent nature of translation and the debates about it. He recognized that the authority of an original language text was generally deemed greater than that of a translated text, so he tended to have his Chaucerian translator identify in his translated works those authors and sources that his audience would deem authoritative.

The Chaucerian Translator and his Authors

By both what he says and what he does not say, the Chaucerian translator acknowledges his dependence upon his authors, particularly when doing so allows him to derive authority from original sources. This is notably true in *Troilus and Criseyde* when he acknowledges his debt to "myn auctor Lollius."[10] Lollius, of course, has been the subject of much critical controversy, and of late, Chaucerian scholarship seems to want to identify him as a Chaucerian fiction, invented as part of Chaucer's habitually satirical *modus operandi*.

However, Kittredge as early as 1917 demonstrated that Chaucer had good reason to believe that there was an author named Lollius who was an expert on the Trojan War, an idea derived from a misreading of Horace. Subsequently, Pratt demonstrated in 1950 that this error was current in the Middle Ages.[11] So it is

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Antiquity to the Middle Ages I: The Place of Translation and the Value of Hermeneutics." On medieval theories and practices of translation, see volumes edited by Jeannette Beer, *Medieval Translators and Their Craft* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989); *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages*. Studies in Medieval Culture, 38 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications,1997); and *A Companion to Medieval Translation* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019), as well as Jeannette Beer and Kenneth Lloyd Jones, *Translation and the Transmission of Culture between 1300 and 1600*. Studies in Medieval Culture, 35 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995).

10 Chaucer, *Troilus*, Book I, l. 394. All Middle English quotations of Chaucer's works come from *The Riverside Chaucer,* 3rd ed., ed. Larry Benson (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1986; new edition rpt. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). For context, see: "And of his song naught only the sentence, / As writ myn auctour called Lollius, / But pleinly, save oure tonges difference, / I dar wel seyn, in al, that Troilus / Seyde in his song, loo, every word right thus / As I shal seyn; and whoso list it here, / Loo, next this vers he may it fynden here." (Chaucer, *Troilus*, Book I, ll. 393 99).

11 See George Lyman Kittredge, "Chaucer's Lollius," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 28 (1917): 47 133. Hans Epstein, "The Identity of Chaucer's Lollius," *Modern Language Quarterly* 3:3 (1942): 391 400, and Lillian Herlands Hornstein, "Petrarch's Laelius, Chaucer's Lollius?" *PMLA* 63:1 (1948): 64 84, both challenged this interpretation with alternate explanations, but

no surprise that Chaucer would hit upon it in the course of composing the *Troilus*. When the Chaucerian translator names Lollius as his source, he does so because an ancient Latin source could give greater caché to his translation of the *Troilus*. As Andrew Galloway has written in an essay on Chaucer's authority: "Fourteenth-century English poets have not only little hope of vatic status, they also have no 'literary tradition' to settle for: they rarely name immediate predecessors and sources, preferring to cite ancient and patristic *auctores* to authorize their writing (Chaucer's 'Lollius' is an example notable only for its flagrancy)."[12]

Chaucer's use of Lollius is not the only example of its kind in the fourteenth century. In the preface to his *Polychronicon*, Ranulf Higden claims that Walter the Archdeacon of Canterbury is one of his forty primary sources for his universal history of the world. It turns out, however, that Walter the Archdeacon is the man who Geoffrey of Monmouth claims gave to him "a most ancient book," and he is not Ranulf's direct source, but an indirect one at best, which Ranulf knows of through Geoffrey of Monmouth.[13] Chaucer appears to be doing with Lollius what Ranulf does with Walter the Archdeacon: acknowledging an earlier source, referred to in a later work which he knew directly, because its antiquity lends authority to his own work. This is particularly evident since the passage wherein Chaucer acknowledges Lollius directly precedes the song of Troilus, a song which is almost entirely translated from Petrarch.

Chaucer's literal sources for the *Troilus* are of course well-known: Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato*, probably a French translation of Boccaccio's work called *Le Roman de Troyle* as well,[14] enriched with Boethian themes and Petrarchan material, together with Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* or one of its prose renditions, and miscellaneous thoughts from Ovid, Statius, Dante, and Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun. The Chaucerian translator is notably tight-lipped about these sources on the whole (with Ovid and Statius being the notable exceptions) because they do not necessarily add to the authoritative

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it remains a current and widely accepted explanation. Cf. Robert Armstrong Pratt, "A Note on Chaucer's Lollius," *Modern Language Notes* 65.3 (March 1950): 183 87.

12 Andrew Galloway, "Authority," *A Companion to Chaucer,* ed. Peter Brown (Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 23 39, esp. 24.

13 Jane Beal, "Mapping Identity in John Trevisa's English *Polychronicon:* Chester, Cornwall, and the Translation of English National History," *Fourteenth Century England,* vol. 3, ed. W. H. Ormrod (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), 67 82. See also Beal, *John Trevisa and the English Polychronicon* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, and Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

14 R. A. Pratt, "Chaucer and the *Roman de Troyle et de Criseyde*," *Studies in Philology* 53 (1956): 509 30.

status of his work.[15] Yet he is quick to make reference to the authoritative status of the Latin language in the proheme (or prologue) to the second book of the *Troilus* when he invokes Cleo, Muse of epic poetry, and adds: "Forwhi to every lovere I me excuse, / That of no sentement I this endite, / But out of Latyn in my tonge it write"[16] (Therefore to every lover I excuse myself, that I do not compose this out of any sentiment, but out of Latin I write it in my own tongue). The Chaucerian translator is here committed to representing himself as inspired by the Muse, authorized by the Latin language, and motivated, not by sentimental emotion, but by a Latin original that he is re-writing in his own "tonge." He is representing himself as a translator *par excellence.*

The moves made by the Chaucerian translator in the *Troilus* clearly demonstrate that there is value in acknowledging some sources to the listening audience, but not necessarily all, because only some authors render a "translacion" more authoritative. In this, the Chaucerian translator is like other fourteenth-century and earlier medieval compilers.[17] The Chaucerian translator shared some cultural commonalities with other translators of his day as well, especially in his representation of himself as a *fidus interpres*, a faithful translator, who could adhere to the truth of an original text without necessarily translating *verbum pro verbo*. The Chaucerian translator demonstrates this quality of his translation practice on his pilgrimage to Canterbury.

The Chaucerian Translator as *fidus interpres*

When Harry Bailey puts a stop to the "Tale of Sir Thopas," on account of the fact that Chaucer the Pilgrim's "drasty ryminge is nat worth a toord"[18] (filthy rhyming is not worth a turd), he demands either "geeste"[19] or something in prose – prose which should have either some entertainment value or some teaching, at the very least. So, the Chaucerian translator promises to tell a tale that has been told "in sondry wyse / Of sondry folk," that is to say, in different ways by different people. The Chaucerian translator then makes an appeal to the gospels to prove that there can be truth in variant versions of the same story.

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15 Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship* (see note 6), 209 10.
16 Chaucer, *Troilus,* Book II (see note 10).
17 Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship* (see note 6), 191.
18 Chaucer, "Sir Thopas" (see note 10), l. 930.
19 Chaucer, Host's remarks before "The Tale of Melibee" (see note 10), l. 932. A "geeste" or "gest" is an adventure, exploit, or romance in verse.

As thus: ye woot that every Evaungelist
That telleth us the peyne of Jhesu Crist
Ne seith nat alle thyng as his felawe dooth;
But nathelees hir sentence is al sooth,
And alle acorden as in hire sentence,
Al be ther in hir tellyng difference.
For somme of hem seyn moore, and somme seyn lesse,
Whan they his pitous passioun expresse
I meene of Mark, Mathew, Luc, and John
But doutelees hir sentence is al oon.[20]

[And thus: you know that every Evangelist that tells us about the pain of Jesus Christ does not say all the things that his fellows say. But nevertheless, their meaning is all true, and all are in one accord in their wisdom, even if there is a difference in their telling. For some of them say more, and some say less, when they express his pitiable Passion   I mean concerning Mark, Matthew, Luke, John   but without a doubt their meaning is all one.][21]

According to the Chaucerian translator, if the Passion of Jesus Christ can be expressed differently by the four gospel writers and yet their meaning still be "al sooth" (all truth), then, by implication, he can go on to tell "The Tale of Melibee" differently than others have before him and still be true to the "sentence" (meaning) of the story.

Now, some critics might think that the Chaucerian translator, again because of his habitually satirical *modus operandi*, is here calling into question the truth of the gospel writers' account. But that is not necessarily the case. Instead, it appears that the Chaucerian translator is making a rhetorical argument that wholly depends on his anticipated audience accepting that Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John *can* write four different versions of one true gospel. This is actually an age-old rhetorical trope found elsewhere in the work of Chaucer's contemporaries, including in the *Polychronicon*, a universal history of the world compiled in Latin by Ranulf Higden and translated into Middle English by John Trevisa.[22]

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20 Chaucer, "Sir Thopas" (see note 10), 943 52.
21 All translations of Middle English quotations are my own.
22 The Church early recognized differences between the gospel accounts. By the second century, this resulted in the production of the *Diatessaron*, a harmony of all four gospels, attributed to Tatian. By the fifth century, Augustine of Hippo, in *De consensu evangeliorum* ("The Harmony of the Gospels"), formally argued that each gospel emphasized a different aspect of Christ's identity   his royalty (Matthew), humanity (Mark), priesthood (Luke), and divinity (John)   which explained why the four gospel accounts differed in some aspects, but, in Augustine's view, did not contradict one another; furthermore, all four accounts could be harmonized. This idea, namely that the four different gospels could present one truth, became orthodox Christian teaching. In the twelfth century, Peter Abelard, in his *Sic et Non,* implicitly questions this teach

Indeed, the Chaucerian translator is not the only translator to make this argument. John Trevisa, a contemporary of Chaucer, also makes this same claim. In a rebuttal to a claim in his text that Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of King Arthur is unreliable because other chroniclers do not tell of him, Trevisa asserts in the middle of his translation of the *Polychronicon* that:

> Seint Iohn in his gospel telleth meny thinges and doynges that Mark, Luc, and Matheu spe keth nought of in here gospelles, ergo, Iohn is nought to trowynge in his gospel. He were of false byleve that trowede that that argument were worth a bene! For Iohn in his gospel tell eth that oure Lordes moder and here suster stood by oure Lordes croys, and meny other things that non other gospeller maketh of mynde, and yit Iohn his gospel is as trewe as eny of hem al that they maketh. So they Gaufridus speke of Arthur his dedes, that other writers of stories speketh of derkliche, other maketh of non mynde, that dispreveth nought Gaufrede his storie and his sawe.[23]

> [Saint John in his gospel tells many things and acts that Mark, Luke, and Matthew do not speak of in their Gospels, therefore, 'John is not to be believed in his gospel.' He is of false belief that believed that that argument is worth a bean! For John in his gospel says that our Lord's mother and her sister stood by our Lord's Cross, and many other things of which no other gospel writer takes note, and yet John and his gospel is as true as any of them all that write. So Geoffrey of Monmouth spoke of Arthur's deeds, which other writers of histories speak of obscurely, and others make no mention, but that does not disprove Geoffrey's his tory and his perspective.]

Clearly, the differences in the four accounts of the gospel provide an authorizing strategy for translators who wished to make use of differing sources and who then made texts that differed in some respect from those originals *while at the same time* allowing for the possibility that those differences did not violate the truthfulness of the "storie" (history). This suggests that a meaning-for-meaning translation strategy, rather than a word-for-word translation strategy, still permitted the Chaucerian translator to conceive of and represent himself as a *fidus interpres*, a faithful translator.

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ing by juxtaposing gospel and patristic commentary to show contradictions; his book, an exer cise in critical thinking, was intended to influence other Christian philosophers and students. (I thank Albrecht Classen for bringing the relevance of Abelard's treatise to my attention in the 19th Symposium on Medieval and Early Modern Studies in May 2021.) Augustine's explicit teach ing was far more influential than Abelard's implicit criticism, and the idea of differing accounts being able to present the same truth became a rhetorical trope that, as we see, is deployed by both Chaucer and Trevisa.

23 Trevisa, *Polychronicon*, Vol. V, 337 39. See *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis Together with the English Translation of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*, 9 vols., ed. Churchill Babington and J. A. Lumby, Rolls Series (London: Longman, 1865 1886; rpt. Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1975).

Of course, it is true that even though the Chaucerian translator conceives of and represents *himself* as a faithful translator, not all of Chaucerian characters are faithful translators. This is nowhere more evident than in the Nun's Priest's Tale when Chauntecleer declares to Dame Pertelote: "For al so siker as *In principio, / Mulier est hominis confusio*" (woman is man's confusion) and then promptly translates this phrase by saying to his beloved wife, "Madame, the sentence of this Latyn is / 'Womman is mannes joye and al his blis'" (woman is man's joy and all his bliss).[24] But while Chauntecleer clearly is not a faithful translator, since he not only fails to translate word-for-word but also fails to translate the true "sentence" of his original Latin source, deliberately telling a lie, the Chaucerian translator *is* a responsible translator[25]—or at least he becomes so in the end.

The Responsibility of the Chaucerian Translator

The Chaucerian translator, like many other Chaucerian characters, undergoes a process of personal maturation in the course of his appearance in successive Chaucerian works. Thus, it is instructive to compare his appearance in the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* to his appearance in the Retraction to *The Canterbury Tales*. For in the first he appears as an irresponsible translator, but in the second, he appears as a mature, even penitential translator who recognizes through a process of rehearsal and contemplation that his translations may have a damning or salvific effect upon his soul.

In the *Legend of Good Women*, we find a Chaucerian translator who is being upbraided by the God of Love and Queen Alceste for doing damage to Love and his servants by translating irresponsibly. As the God of Love declares:

> Thow art my mortal fo and me werreyest,
> And of myne olde servauntes thow mysseyest,
> And hyndrest hem with thy translacyoun,

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24 Chaucer, "Nun's Priest's Tale" (see note 10), ll. 3163 66. On this deliberate mistranslation, see Ginsberg, *Tellers, Tales, and Translation* (see note 5), esp. chp. 1 "Models of Translation: Ovid, Dante."

25 Chaucer, the poet, author, and translator (vs. his self representation in his texts, which I am calling the Chaucerian translator), was a relatively faithful translator of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy, La Roman de la Rose,* and the saint's legend that forms the basis of The Physician's Tale, among his other translated works. As opposed to the medieval estates satire of the majority of *The Canterbury Tales*, the translator's essential sincerity is evident in these works. For further details on Chaucer's career as a translator, see the concluding section of this chapter.

> And lettest folk to han devocyoun
> To serven me, and holdest it folye
> To truste on me. Thow mayst it nat denye,
> For in pleyn text, it nedeth nat to glose,
> Thow hast translated the *Romauns of the Rose*,
> That is an heresye ageyns my lawe,
> And makest wise folk from me withdrawe.[26]

> [You are my mortal foe and war against me,
> And you misspeak against my former servants,
> And you hinder them with your translation,
> And you betray people who have the devotion
> To serve me, and hold it folly
> To trust in me. You may not deny it,
> For in plain text, which it is not necessary to gloss,
> You have translated *The Romance of the Rose,*
> Which is a heresy against my law,
> And you make wise people withdraw from me.]

The God of Love clearly expresses his personal dissatisfaction with the Chaucerian translator for his translated text, the English *Romaunt*; for his choice of material to translate, the original Old French *Roman de la Rose*; for the manner of his translation, in plain text without any explanatory glosses; for the content of his translation, which is heresy against the law of Love; and for the effect of his translation, which is to make wise people withdraw from the God of Love.

It helps little that Queen Alceste attempts a weak defense of the Chaucerian translator by suggesting he may be either falsely accused or addled in his brains. She says that perhaps:

> "... This man is nyce,
> He may translate a thyng in no malyce,
> But for he useth bokes for to make,
> And taketh non hed of what matere he take.
> Therfore he wrot the *Rose* and ek *Crisseyde*
> Of innocence, and nyste what he seyde."[27]

> [This man is foolish. He may translate a thing with no malice, because he uses books in order to create, and takes no heed of the matter he chooses. Therefore, he wrote the *Rose* and also *Criseyede* from innocence and knew not what he said.]

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26 Chaucer, "Prologue to LGW (G)" (see note 10), ll. 248 57.
27 Chaucer, "Prologue to LGW (G)" (see note 10), ll. 340 45.

Alceste's defense portrays one audience member's interpretation of the work of the Chaucerian translator up to that point: that it was done by someone "nyce" (foolish), who translated without malice but also without noticing what he was translating, with the ultimate consequence that he actually had no idea what he said – "nyste what he seyde."

No respectable translator would like to be perceived in such a manner, particularly in the contentious fourteenth century. The Chaucerian translator is no exception. But what can he do when he is clearly a servant in the court of Love, in danger of being condemned by the Queen? He does what he must and says that he never intended to trespass against love and that whatever his author meant, his intention was to advance the cause of love and cherish it. For as he says, people:

> "... oughte rathere with me for to holde
> For that I of *Criseyde* wrot or tolde,
> Or of the *Rose*; what so myn auctour mente,
> Algate, God wot, it was myn entente
> To forthere trouthe in love and it cheryce,
> And to be war fro falsnesse and fro vice
> By swiche ensaumple; this was my menyng."[28]

[... ought rather with me to hold. For what I wrote or told of *Criseyde*, or of the *Rose*, what soever my author meant, wholly, God knows, was my intent, to further truth in love and cherish it, and to beware of falseness and of vice, by such example: this was my meaning.]

The response of the Chaucerian translator appears to approve what Queen Alceste has hypothesized, namely that the Chaucerian translator was clueless.

However, it may also point to another problem that often comes up between translators and their audiences, namely, that translators may intend one thing while audiences understand another. Yet the Chaucerian translator does not make that argument; he does not insist that he translated one way and Queen Alceste read it another way. Instead, the Chaucerian translator first invokes his "auctour" as a "shield and defense" against the accusations of the queen, and that rhetorical *apologia* removes the Chaucerian translator at least one step from full responsibility for his translations. Then he affirms that his own intentions were to promote and cherish love, even if, by implication, he did not succeed in this task.[29]

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28 Chaucer, "Prologue to LGW (G)" (see note 10), ll. 458 64.

29 However, see Irina Dumitrescu, "Beautiful Suffering and the Culpable Narrator in Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*," *The Chaucer Review* 52.1 (2017): 106 23, who argues that "Even in prais

The self-representation of the Chaucerian translator in the Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women* may be fruitfully contrasted with the self-representation of the translator in Chaucer's Retraction to *The Canterbury Tales*. The Retraction has a number of functions, three of which particularly illuminate the role of the Chaucerian translator in important ways. First, it clearly affirms that Chaucer sees himself as a translator and the vast majority of his works as translations, for that is what he calls them. Second, it gives Chaucer's spiritual evaluation of translated works at the end of Chaucer's literary career. Finally, it presents the Chaucerian translator in a penitential light, responding to the sermon the Parson has preached at the conclusion of the *Canterbury Tales*.

The Chaucerian translator appeals to his audience at the beginning of the Retraction, asking them that if they like anything he has done, that they thank Jesus Christ for it. He also asks them, if they dislike anything he has done, to attribute it to his "unkonnynge" (the very problem Queen Alceste identified) and not his will. He then appeals to Romans 15:4 and directly translates it in his Retraction when he adds: "For oure book seith, 'Al that is writen is writen for oure doctrine,' and that is myn entente."[30] (For our book says, 'All that is written is written for our teaching,' and that is my intent.) As before with Queen Alceste, he makes a rhetorical argument, this time an appeal to Scripture, and then notes that his intention has been to conform to the scriptural assertion that everything that is written is written for instructive purposes.[31] But the Retraction differs from the conversation with Alceste thereafter.

The Chaucerian translator goes on to take responsibility for all that he has written. He asks that his audience pray for the mercy of Christ on him for his "translacions and enditynges of worldly vanitees" (translations and compositions of worldly vanities),[32] including the *Troilus, The House of Fame, The Legend of Good Women, The Book of the Duchess, The Parliament of Birds*, those tales of Canterbury "that sowen into synne," and the Book of the Lion, as well as many other works he cannot remember. These works he distinguishes from others of

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ing [women], [the narrator] lies, thus resembling the silver tongued men who deceive their wives and lovers. The narrator's solution is to present himself as an unskilled poet, a mere copier and translator who cannot be held responsible for the beauty and lies of his verse. He makes this show of ineptitude so as to conceal his participation in a long tradition of idealizing women who suffer and die" (106).

30 Chaucer, "Retraction" (see note 10), l. 1084. Cf. Romans 15:4.

31 As Alistair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship* (see note 6), has observed, this does not mean everything that is written is true, only that it can teach; the onus then lies with the discriminating reader and not the author, compiler, or translator.

32 Chaucer, "Retraction to *The Canterbury Tales*" (see note 10).

his for which he gives thanks to Jesus and his mother Mary, including his "trans-
lacion of Boece *de Consolatione*, and othere bookes of legendes of seintes, and
omelies, and moralitee, and devocioun" (translation of Boethius' *Consolation
of Philosophy* and other books of saints' legends, and homilies, and morality,
and devotion).[33] The Chaucerian translator is here making a distinction between
those works of his that, on the one hand, provoke him to ask mercy and, on the
other hand, motivate him and his audience to give thanks to God. He recognizes
that what he translates may have an effect on the eternal destiny of his soul, as
the conclusion of his Retraction affirms, when he promises to "studie to the sal-
vaccioun of my soule" through "the grace of hym ... that boghte us with the pre-
cious blood of his herte so that I may be saved."[34] ("study to the salvation of my
soul" through "the grace of him ... that bought us with the precious blood of his
heart so that I may be saved.")

Truth and the Chaucerian Translator

The principles that the Chaucerian translator articulates throughout the Chaucer-
ian corpus – namely that he is dependent upon his authors, that he can be a
faithful translator without translating word-for-word, and that he is ultimately
responsible for his translations – are perfectly realized in the "Parson's
Tale."[35] The "Parson's Tale," perhaps more than any other tale, shows the desire
of the Chaucerian translator to be faithful to truth, culturally relevant, and spi-
ritually meaningful. As Andrew Galloway and Larry Scalon have remarked, "...
the Parson's Tale has been well described as locating its authority in the teller,
thus, it is claimed, providing Chaucer with 'an authorization of his own voice, an
authorization so implicit it has gone unnoticed.'"[36]

The authority of the Parson and the *telos* of his tale is realized as the pil-
grims reach the shrine of the martyr Thomas à Beckett, after an adventure
that has taken the Canterbury pilgrims from the Knight's tale of courtly love to

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33 Chaucer, "Retraction to *The Canterbury Tales*" (see note 10), X. l. 1087 88.
34 Chaucer, "Retraction to *The Canterbury Tales*" (see note 10).
35 Several excellent studies of "The Parson's Tale" can be found in Linda Tarte Holley and
David Raybin, ed., *Closure in the Canterbury Tales: The Role of the Parson's Tale* (Kalamazoo,
MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000), including Richard Newhauser, "The Parson's Tale
and its Generic Affiliations," 45 76.
36 See Larry Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority, and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucer
ian Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 13 and Galloway, "Authority" (see
note 12), 29.

the Parson's sermon on penitence: a journey from the secular to the sacred. In the course of their pilgrimage, the tellers of tales have been translated on multiple levels, not the least of which is literal: a bringing across from one place to another. Chaucer the translator, a great ventriloquizer, has been at work through many a tale, and the "Parson's Tale" is the grand summation of his translation.

It is worth noting that the "Parson's Tale," an extraordinary sermon at the end of *The Canterbury Tales,* is made up of multiple, translated source texts. Into the tale's main basis, Raymond of Pennaforte's *Summa de Paenitentia,* Chaucer interpolates substantial (though shortened) sections on sin from William Peraldus' *Summa de Vitiis et Virtutibus* and on virtue from the *Summa Virtutum de Remediis Anime.*[37] But Chaucer also prefaces the "Parson's Tale" with a Latin verse from the book of Jeremiah that he does not translate:

> Jer. 6 State super vias, et videte, et interrogate de viis antiquis que sit via bona, et ambulate in eas; et invenietis refrigerium animabus vestris, etc.[38]

> [Stand by the roads, and see, and ask about the ancient paths which way may be good, and walk in those ways; and you will find comfort for your souls.]

This is the verse upon which the Parson will expound. Like medieval preachers of his day, he gives first the biblical Latin and then explains it in the vernacular in his sermon. Chaucer does not provide an English translation or gloss of the Latin. Instead, the literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical potential of the instruction from the biblical book of Jeremiah is present in itself and in the development of the Parson's discourse.

The discourse of the "Parson's Tale" that follows is well-structured, first identifying the theme of the sermon – penance – and then developing a discussion of its constituent parts: contrition of heart, confession of mouth, and satisfaction. In the sermon, the Parson fully explicates the Seven Deadly Sins, calling Pride the root and Ire, Envy, Sloth, Avarice, Gluttony, and Lechery the branches, and then proposes the remedies for these sins. The tree of Pride is vividly contrasted with the tree of Penitence, which is called the "tree of life," and is thus associated with the Tree of Life that grew in the garden of Eden and the Tree on which Christ was crucified. Within this beautifully ordered structure, when the Parson is explaining that perennial problem of sloth and its remedy, he says:

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37 Robert M. Correale and Mary Hamel, *Sources and Analogues of* The Canterbury Tales, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 529 41.

38 Chaucer, "Parson's Tale" (see note 10), prefatory heading to main tale.

"Certes, the mercy of God is evere redy to the penitent, and is aboven all his werkes. Allas, kan a man nat bithynke hym on the gospel of Seint Luc, 15, where as Crist seith: 'as wel shal ther be joye in hevene upon a synful man that dooth penitence, as upon nynty and nyne rightful men that neden no penitence.' Looke forther, in the same gospel, the joye and the feeste of the goode man that hadde lost his sone, whan his sone with repentaunce was re tourned to his fader. Kan they nat remembren hem eek that, as seith Seint Luc, 23, how that they theef that was hanged bisyde Jhesu Crist seyde: 'Lorde, remembre of me, whan thow comest into thy regne'? 'For sothe,' seyde Crist, 'I seye to thee, to day shaltow been with me in paradys.' Certes, ther is noon so horrible synne of man that it ne may in his lyf be de stroyed by penitence, thurgh vertu of the passion and of the deeth of Crist. Allas, what ne deth man thanne to been despaired, sith that his mercy so redy is and large? Axe and have."[39]

[Certainly, the mercy of God is ever ready to the penitent, and is above all his works. Alas, can a man not bethink himself of the gospel of Saint Luke, chapter 15, where, as Christ says: 'As well shall there be joy in heaven over a sinful man who does penance as over ninety nine righteous men that need no penance.' Look further, and in the same gospel, the joy and the feast of the good man that had lost his son, when his son with repentance was re turned to his father. Can they not remember for themselves also that, as says Saint Luke, chapter 23, how the thief that was hanged beside Jesus Christ said: 'Lord, remember me, when you come into your kingdom'? 'Truly," said Christ, 'I say to you, today you will be with me in paradise.' Certainly, there is no sin so horrible of a man that it may not in his lifetime be destroyed by penance, through the virtue of the Passion and of the death of Christ. Alas, what needs a man then to be in despair, since his mercy is so ready and large? Ask and receive.]

The Parson's words here elevate the mercy of God in a way that is faithful to Christian truth. He recalls and translates Christ's words in the gospel of Luke, recapitulates the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and remembers the prayer of the Good Thief on his own cross beside Jesus on the day of their crucifixion. The Parson strives to be culturally relevant as he emphasizes that no sin is so horrible that repentance cannot overcome it through the virtue of the passion and death of Christ. The Parson rejects despair in favor of hope in the bounty of God's mercy and directs his listeners to "ask and receive." For the Parson, and for the pilgrims as they approach Canterbury, these truths are being trans-lated in a way that is spiritually meaningful.

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39 Chaucer, "The Parson's Tale" (see note 10), ll. 311 12.

Conclusions

Geoffrey Chaucer, a fourteenth-century Englishman, poet, and author, was a prolific translator. He translated Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* from Latin, Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun's *Roman de la Rose* from French, and *The Treatise on an Astrolabe*.[40] By and large, these were literal translations, as was his life of St. Cecilia, which he later made into "The Second Nun's Tale" (and to which he added a prologue that contains part of a prayer from Dante's *Paradiso* XXXIII.1–51). To name just two more examples of Chaucer's literal translating, his "ABC" poem is a fairly direct rendering of Guillaume Deguileville's *La Peleringage de la vie humaine*, and his "Complaint of Venus" adapts a ballade of poet Oton de Grandson.[41]

Chaucer had a penchant for translating material from other writers, and incorporating the material into his own, otherwise original works: *The Book of the Duchess* contains the story of Alcyone and Ceys from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; the *Troilus* significantly develops and re-deploys Bocaccio's *Il Filostrato* (which itself drew on Benoît de Sainte-Maure's poem, *Roman de Troie*); the Wife of Bath's Prologue re-articulates, even as it undermines, passages from Jerome's *Against Jovinian;* and the Clerk's Tale of Griselda draws on a French translation of Petrarch's Latin tale of Griselda. While no definite source has been identified for the Prioress's Tale, nevertheless, her tale follows the genre of similar Miracles of the Virgin, raising the possibility that there, as elsewhere, Chaucer was translating not directly from a book in front of him but rather from memorized sources, either specific passages or story outlines. As Barry Windeatt has remarked, "Chaucer rarely translates without significantly adapting and recasting" because, for Chaucer, "'translacions' went beyond the translation of mere words alone, so as to embrace his transformative adaptation of whole stories and characters, his transvaluations into English of borrowed patterns and motifs."[42]

In addition to being a prolific translator, Chaucer also constructed an ironic representation of himself within many of his works, who is known to students and scholars of Chaucer as the Chaucerian narrator or, in the case of *The Canter-*

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40 See Tim William Machan, *Techniques of Translation: Chaucer's* Boece (Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books, 1985); Caroline D. Eckhardt, "The Art of Translation in *The Romaunt of the Rose*," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 6 (1984): 41 63; Carol Lipson, "'I n'am but a lewd compilator': Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe as Translation*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 84 (1983): 192 200.

41 Some of Chaucer's translations, named in the Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women*, are no longer extant. Among these are Pope Innocent III's highly popular *De Miseria Humane Condicio nis* (ca. 1194 95) and pseudo Origen's sermon *De Maria Magdalena* (ca. 1200).

42 Windeatt, "Geoffrey Chaucer" (see note 6), 145.

bury Tales, as Chaucer the Pilgrim. Yet the Chaucerian narrator in many of Chaucer's works could more readily be called the Chaucerian translator, which is how Chaucer represents himself: as a translator. Why does he do this? Perhaps because "pretending to be a translator rather than author can help evade problems of authority in boldly innovative adaptations."[43]

So how did Chaucer represent his work as a translator through this persona? First, the translator – especially when acting as a compiler – is dependent upon his authors and their authority. Second, the Chaucerian translator may act as a *fidus interpres* ("a faithful translator") without translating *verbum pro verbo* ("word for word"). Third, when Chaucer the author ventriloquizes his pilgrims in *The Canterbury Tales*, such as the Nun's Priest and the Parson, deliberate mistranslation (or lack of translation) may serve the purposes of satire or, on the opposite end of the spectrum, sincerity, for a multilingual audience. Finally, the Chaucerian translator, whatever his rhetoric might otherwise imply, ultimately takes responsibility for his translations, which he believes may have a damning or salvific effect for his soul, if we take his remarks in the Retraction seriously.

Like many characters in Chaucer's works, Chaucer portrays the Chaucerian translator as maturing over time. This is especially evident when the Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women* is compared to the Retraction to the *Canterbury Tales*. In the end, Chaucer seems to want his audience to know that his translations will be faithful, culturally relevant, and spiritually efficacious for his community.

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43 Windeatt, "Geoffrey Chaucer" (see note 6), 141.

Fig. 1: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 61, Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, Frontispiece.

Albrecht Classen

Entertainment, Laughter, and Reflections as a Training Ground for Communication in Public and Private: The Case of Heinrich Kaufringer, ca. 1400

Abstract: Late medieval verse and prose narratives have been regularly recognized as didactic, informative, and entertainment in their purpose, whether we think of Boccaccio or Chaucer, Poggio Bracciolini or Margarethe de Navarre. We have not quite understood yet to what extent those tales also served to illustrate to the audiences how people ought to communicate with each other, either within marriage or in public, within the city or in closed social groups. However, Heinrich Kaufringer's verse narratives from ca. 1400 prove to be most explicit in that regard and address ultimately what most other poets of this kind of texts had obviously in mind, instructing their audiences social structures. Studying Kaufringer's *mæren* in light of communication theory, we gain deeper insight into the fundamental intentions behind the entire genre of late medieval short verse and prose narratives, serving as a kind of fictional laboratory to explore the critical approaches to functioning and productive human communication.

Keywords: Late medieval prose and verse narratives, Heinrich Kaufringer, *mæren*, communication, laughter, humor, satire

Introduction: Poetological Reflections

Medieval poets quite commonly offered some introductory remarks in which they explained their intention with their creative texts, such as the almost effusive

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and quite esoteric Gottfried von Straßburg in his *Tristan und Isolde* (ca. 1210),[1] or Marie de France, who, in the prologue to her *lais* (verse narratives), states that it is the task of all people who have been inspired by God through eloquence to speak up and formulate their thoughts so as to share good messages: "granz biens" (5).[2] But a good poet, like the ancient predecessors, would observe deliberate opaqueness so as to make people ponder on the deeper meaning of a literary work: "gloser la lettre" (15). The wise and intelligent among the audience would use the opportunity to learn how to guard themselves from shortcomings and failures in life and thus to avoid much heartfelt pain: "E de grant dolur deliverer" (27).

However, Marie, similar to her many contemporaries, does not go beyond further comments, only remarks about her quest for a good source for her own literary endeavors, and leaves us, ultimately, guessing, just as she had suggested at the beginning, about what the fictional work might achieve for the recipients. Without granting us any time to reflect further what this all might entail, Marie then quickly turns to her first *lai*, "Guigemar," and we are swept away in an imaginary whirlwind characteristic of virtually all literary works throughout time.[3]

In the prologue to "Equitan," the poet refers to the old tradition by the Bretons to relate "lais" (7) about adventures in order to remember cases of courtliness and nobility, individual "pruesce" (3). She specifically underscores the great need not to forget those accounts of valor and ideals, though she does not go into further details. The example of "Bisclavret" illuminates the general emphasis to keep the example of outstanding courtly protagonists in mind as role models (16), so to speak. The rest, however, is up to our interpretation, i.e., the critical engagement with the story itself, the "aventure" (2), as we are told in the prologue to "Deus Amanz." In "Milun," Marie underscores the poet's requirement to appeal to people's tastes and interests: "pleisibles a la gent" (4), which leaves us with yet another riddle, being forced to dive into the story and follow the narrative account, learning about the deeper messages and comprehending the issues at stake in the lives of the protagonists. In "Chevrefoil," the poet only indicates the joy which she experienced retelling this par-

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1 Tomas Tomasek, *Gottfried von Straßburg* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 2007), 124–74.

2 *The Lais of Marie de France: Text and Translation*, ed. and trans. by Claire M. Waters (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Editions, 2018), 48.

3 Albrecht Classen, "Imagination, Fantasy, Otherness, and Monstrosity in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age," *Imagination and Fantasy in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Projections, Dreams, Monsters, and Illusions*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 24 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2020), 1–229.

ticular scene in the lives of Tristram and Ysolde who could meet and join in love-making only under special circumstances, here in the forest during the queen's journey across the land. Significantly, Marie emphasizes that "De lur amur que tant fu fine" (8), hence, that their love and pain was of utmost valence and so deserves to be retold. Similarly, in the epilogue to "Eliduc," we are told that the old Bretons had created this *lai* so that the tragic and yet happy story about Eliduc, his wife, and his beloved would not be forgotten (1184).

Sharon Kinoshita and Peggy McCracken have already noted Marie's repeated insistence on the high value of translating those ancient stories and making them available to her courtly Anglo-Norman audience, which then earned her praise and respect.[4] But what would be the purpose behind entertaining the audience and offering also some instruction in the sense of the Horatian principle of *prodesse et delectare?* Of course, as in the case of all literary texts, fictional recreation matters centrally, but that would only address the superficial purpose pursued by poets throughout time.[5] The same question arises in the case of virtually every other collection of medieval verse narratives, whether we think of The Stricker's vast œuvre of verse narratives (ca. 1220–1250; especially his *Pfaffe Amîs*); Boccaccio's *Decameron* (ca. 1350), Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (ca. 1400), the anonymous *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (ca. 1460), or Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron* (1558/1559).[6]

Poetologically speaking, what use was implied by telling the stories in the *Decameron*, apart from spending the empty time and to regale each other while the ten characters waited out, at least for a short period, the worst effects

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4 Sharon Kinoshita and Peggy McCracken, *Marie de France: A Critical Companion.* Gallica, 24 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012), 17 49; cf. also R. Howard Bloch, *The Anonymous Marie de France* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), chapters four through six and eight, mostly focusing on linguistic and philosophical issues; Charles Brucker, "Marie de France and the Fable Tradition," *A Companion to Marie de France*, ed. Logan E. Whalen. Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 27 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2011), 187 208; Baptiste Laïd, *L'élaboration du recueil de fables de Marie de France: " Trover " des fables au XIIe siècle.* Nouvelle bibliothèque du moyen âge, 128 (Paris: Honoré Champion éditeur, 2020). I was not yet able to consult Laïd's new study but would like to alert the readers to his effort at least regarding Marie's use of the fable tradition.

5 Glending Olson, *Literature as Recreation in the Later Middle Ages* (1982; Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019).

6 Hans Joachim Ziegeler, *Erzählen im Spätmittelalter. Mären im Kontext von Minnereden, Bispeln und Romanen.* Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 87 (Munich and Zürich: Artemis, 1985); Klaus Grubmüller, *Die Ordnung, der Witz und das Chaos: Eine Geschichte der europäischen Novellistik im Mittelalter: Fabliau   Märe   Novelle* (Tü bingen: Max Niemeyer, 2006).

of the Black Death?[7] As Boccaccio himself pointed out at the end of his prologue, his intention was, despite providing entertainment for the ladies, to offer "useful advice. For they will learn to recognize what should be avoided and likewise what should be pursued, and these things can only lead, in my opinion, to the removal of their affliction."[8] Geoffrey Chaucer has the Host in the prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* only emphasize the need to gain some "comfort" and "myrthe" (773) through storytelling, and sets the pilgrims on their path toward Canterbury, each one of them entertaining the group with his/her account.[9] And yet, there are countless examples of tales which illustrate the central need for effective communication in order to achieve a constructive collaboration within society.[10] After all, literary entertainment aims at audiences, and those could only respond to the texts or poems if they reflected in one way or the other their daily lives. Every audience, especially within a courtly or an urban setting in the pre-modern period, constituted a fairly close-knit group determined by communicative cohesion, so it would not come as a surprise to realize how much many medieval poets pursued also the goal to mirror the fundamental operations which made those social communities possible in the first place.[11]

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7 Joy Hambuechen Potter, *Five Frames for the "Decameron": Communication and Social Systems in the CORNICE*. Princeton Legacy Library (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014); Car oline Emmelius, *Gesellige Ordnung: literarische Konzeptionen von geselliger Kommunikation in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Frühe Neuzeit, 139 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010).

8 Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. with an intro. and notes by G. M. McWilliam. Sec. ed. (1972; London: Penguin, 1995), 3.

9 Christopher Cannon, "The Language Group of the *Canterbury Tales*," *Medieval Latin and Mid dle English Literature*, ed. id. and Maura Nolan (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011), 25 40; W. T. H. Jackson, "Problems of Communication in the Romances of Chretien de Troyes," Medieval Liter ature and Folklore Studies: Essays in Honor of Francis Lee Utley, ed. Jerome Mandel and Bruce A. Rosenberg (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press; 1971), 39 50.

10 Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*. Sec. ed., ed. Robert Boenig and Andrew Taylor (Pe terborough, Ont.: Broadview Editions, 2012), 60. Even the latest comprehensive study of Chaucer does not include specific references to and comments about the fundamental framework of all literary discourse, communication. See now Marion Turner, *Chaucer: A European Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019). The keywords '*Canterbury Tales*' (or Chaucer) and 'commu nication' do not yield anything significant in the MLA bibliography online or elsewhere.

11 Amelie Bendheim, "'Zehen sprach hab ich gebraucht': Mehrsprachigkeit in der mittelalterli chen Literatur als kulturelle Repräsentation und performative Kommunikation," *Zeitschrift für Interkulturelle Germanistik* 10.2 (2019): 11 31; Albrecht Classen, "Multilingualism and Multicultur alism in the Pre Modern Age: Medieval Welsh and Icelandic Literature in a Literature Survey Course. Interdisciplinary Approaches on a Pan European Level," *Leuvense Bijdragen* 102 (2018 2020): 357 82; id., "Multilingualism in Medieval Europe: Pilgrimage, Travel, Diplomacy, and Linguistic Challenges. The Case of Felix Fabri and His Contemporaries," *Multilingualism*

The Relevance and Meaning of Medieval Literature

We could refer to many critical studies raising related questions, commonly answering them by means of developing a complex poetology addressing issues such as source text and end product, orality and written version, the poet versus the audience, rhetoric and tropology, aesthetics, comedy, allegory, parody, or hermeneutics.[12] But would it be enough to refer to charisma in an aesthetic context which results from the intensive engagement with those literary works, as C. Stephen Jaeger had suggested?[13] Undoubtedly, much seminal research by philological giants such as Ernst Robert Curtius, Erich Auerbach, Leo Spitzer, and others has already revealed many important layers of meaning, intentions, strategies, purposes, designs, structures, and ideas in the literary discourse of the Middle Ages and the early modern age, as Cristian Bratu has recently summarized for us conveniently.[14]

Communication in Late Medieval Short Narratives

To expand on this seminal research and to add yet another dimension which will allow us to bring medieval verse narratives more directly into our modern lives without committing the grave mistake of anachronism, here I suggest to employ the concept of 'communication' as one of the central intentions hidden behind

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in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Communication and Miscommunication in the Premo dern World, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 17 (Ber lin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 279 311; id., "Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time," *Neophilologus* 97.1 (2013): 131 45.

12 See, for instance, Max Wehrli, *Literatur im deutschen Mittelalter: Eine poetologische Einfüh rung* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1984); cf. also Walter Haug, *Literaturtheorie im deutschen Mittelalter: von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts: eine Einführung*. Germanistische Einführungen (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985); Douglas Kelly, *The Art of Medieval French Romance* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1992).

13 C. Stephen Jaeger, *Enchantment: On Charisma and the Sublime in the Arts of the West* (Phil adelphia, PA: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

14 Cristian Bratu, "Literature," *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Condi tions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Vol. 2 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 864 900.

so much entertaining literature particularly from the late Middle Ages.[15] In my contribution on "Communication" to the *Handbook of Medieval Culture*, I had already highlighted "the profound relevance of human communication" in the major collections of late medieval short narratives (2015), but this has not yet been fully acknowledged and continues to be a desideratum in future research.[16] Of course, the notion of communication has already been employed as an important investigative tool in a variety contexts, such as sermons, didactic narratives (e. g., mirrors for princes), instructional texts, guide books, translations, satire, and political propaganda.[17]

The theoretical framework concerning the literary discourse as the foundation for practicing communication which will serve us here for our analysis should work for many different texts, such as Marie's *lais*, but I prefer to introduce a late medieval poet whose short verse narratives prove to be highly meaningful, complex, entertaining, and illustrative of the issue at stake and who has yet received very little attention at least among Anglophone and other non-German audiences, Heinrich Kaufringer (fl. ca. 1400).

Communication itself, whether in the historical or contemporary context, represents a huge field of investigations, often being addressed in terms of issues such as orality versus literacy, media of communication (letters, missives, didactic, legal, and religious texts, instructions, etc.),[18] or with regard to multilingual-

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15 I have studied the issue of communication already at great length in my contribution "Com munication in the Middle Ages," *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Con ditions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Vol. 1 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 330 43. See also my previous investigations in *Verzweiflung und Hoffnung. Die Suche nach der kommunikativen Gemeinschaft in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Beihefte zur Mediaevistik, 1 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2002); cf. also Albrecht Classen, "Communication and Social Interactions in the Late Middle Ages: The Fables by the Swiss Ger man Dominican Ulrich Bonerius," to appear in Quidditas.

16 Albrecht Classen, "Communication in Medieval Studies," *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms Methods Trends*, ed. id. (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 330 43; here 341 42.

17 See now the many valuable contributions to *Le texte médiéval dans le processus de commu nication*, ed. Ludmilla V. Evdokimova and Alain Marchandisse. Rencontres, 416; Série Civilisa tion médiévale, 36 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2019); Charles W. Connell, *Popular Opinion in the Middle Ages: Channeling Public Ideas and Attitudes*. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 18 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016).

18 See, for instance, Jacques Merceron, *Le message et sa fiction: La communication par messag er dans la littérature française des XIIe et XIIIe siècles*. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 128 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, CA, and London: University of California Press, 1998); see also the contributions to *Gespräche Boten Briefe: Körpergedächtnis und Schriftge dächtnis im Mittelalter*, ed. Horst Wenzel. Philologische Studien und Quellen, 143 (Berlin: Erich

ism and translation, for instance.[19] I intend, however, to examine communication with a small 'c,' so to speak, focusing on the interactions among people, on a personal and a public level within an individual community. Kaufringer certainly followed the model established by the Middle High German poet The Stricker (ca. 1220–1250) in viewing his society through an ironic, if not satirical lens, but his predecessor was much more of a biting social critic and addressed communication primarily in ethical and moral terms.[20]

In contrast to some of his contemporaries, Kaufringer did not leave his work behind within a narrative framework, so we do not find a prologue or epilogue, and there is no commanding narrator such as the Host in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. The individual *mæren* – the Middle High German term for this genre – are hence not embedded within a larger context, such as in Boccaccio's *Decamer-*

Schmidt, 1997); *Communicatie in de Middeleeuwen: studies over de verschriftelijking van de mid deleeuwse cultuur*, ed. Marco Mostert. Amsterdamse historische reeks / Grote serie, 23 (Hilver sum: Verloren, 1995); *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. Marco Mostert. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998); *Word, Image, Number: Communication in the Middle Ages*, ed. John J. Contreni. Micrologus' Library, 8 (Tavarnuzze [Florence]: SISMEL, Ed. del Galluzzo, 2002); *Spoken and Written Language: Relations Between Latin and the Vernac ular Languages in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Garrison, Arpad P. Orbán, and Marco Mos tert. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Caroline Emmelius, *Ge sellige Ordnung* (see note 7); *Oral and Written Communication in the Medieval Countryside: Peasants, Clergy, Noblemen*, ed. Anna Adamska and Marco Mostert. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 45 (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2021).

19 Albrecht Classen, "Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time," *Neophilolo gus* 97.1 (2013): 131 45; id., "Multilingualism and Multiculturalism in the Pre Modern Age: Medi eval Welsh and Icelandic Literature in a Literature Survey Course. Interdisciplinary Approaches on a Pan European Level," *Leuvense Bijdragen* 102 (2018 2020): 357 82; Mark Amsler, *Affective Literacies: Writing and Multilingualism in the Late Middle Ages*. Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011); see also the contributions to *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Communication and Miscommunication in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 17 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016).

20 Michael Resler, "Der Stricker." *German Writers and Works of the High Middle Ages: 1170 1280*, ed. James Hardin and Will Hasty. Dictionary of Literary Biography, 138 (Detroit, MI, Wash ington, DC, and London: Gale Research, 1994), 117 32; Karl Ernst Geith, Elke Ukena Best, and Hans Joachim Ziegeler, "Der Stricker," *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. Vol. 9. 2nd completely rev. ed. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 417 49; Emilio González and Victor Millet, *Die Kleinepik des Strickers: Texte, Gattungstra ditionen und Interpretationsprobleme*. Philologische Studien und Quellen, 199 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2006). See also my entry on "The Stricker" in *The Literary Encyclopedia*, first published 16 August 2021, online at: https://www.litencyc.com/php/speople.php?rec= true&UID=14777 (last accessed on Jan. 17, 2022).

on.[21] Instead, we are presented, based on the meager manuscript transmission (only three manuscripts), with the otherwise typical situation of a collection of verse narratives contained in a larger anthology.[22]

Maximally, Kaufringer left behind thirty-two verse novellas, as we could call this genre employed by him, and minimally at least twenty-seven, depending on the authenticity question. Undoubtedly, the considerable body of research mostly by Germanists indicates that a good number of his tales has attracted intensive critical reflections. There are many examples of very traditional religious tales, but we also find cases of explicit anti-Judaism, anti-clericalism, and open misogyny. Then there are also stories that have demonstrated their universal and timeless value for entertainment, instruction, self-reflection, and the discussion of fundamental ethical and moral issues, which altogether proves to be rather representative of these late medieval corpora of entertaining and didactic verse and prose narratives. Intriguingly, Kaufringer also developed novellas that ultimately defy our hermeneutic efforts at first and represent paradoxical dilemmas and spiritual and rational conflicts.[23] In short, just as in the case of Boc-

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21 *Erzählungen in Erzählungen: Phänomene der Narration in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Harald Haferland and Michael Mecklenburg. Forschungen zur Geschichte der älteren deutschen Literatur, 19 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1996); *Der Rahmenzyklus in den europäischen Literaturen: Von Boccaccio bis Goethe, von Chaucer bis Gernhardt*, ed. Christoph Kleinschmidt and Uwe Japp. Germanisch Romanische Monatsschrift, Beiheft 91 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2018); see my review in *Literaturkritik.de* (Feb. 18, 2019), https://literaturkritik.de/public/re zension.php?rez_id=25356 (last accessed on Jan. 17, 2022), with response and counter response. For a useful list of frame stories from antiquity to the present, though it does not claim to be of a scholarly nature, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frame_story (both last accessed on Jan. 17, 2022).

22 For an English translation, with references to the critical edition, the manuscript tradition, and the most relevant research, see Albrecht Classen, Heinrich Kaufringer, *Love, Life, and Lust in Heinrich Kaufringer's Verse Narratives*. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 467. Rev. and expanded 2nd ed. MRTS Texts for Teaching, 9 (2014; Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2019). For a nearly exhaustive overview of the relevant research since the nineteenth century until 2020, see now https://mittelalter.hypotheses.org/ 9836 (last accessed on Jan. 17, 2022). For a comprehensive and updated introduction, see Sylvia Jurchen, "Kaufringer, Heinrich," *Deutsches Literatur Lexikon: Das Mittelalter*, ed. Wolfgang Ach nitz. Vol. 5: *Epik (Vers Strophe Prosa) und Kleinformen* (Berlin und Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 1240 49; it does not, however, really supersede Paul Sappler, "Kaufringer, Heinrich," *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* ed. Kurt Ruh et al. Sec. completely rev. ed. (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1982), vol. 4, 1076 85.

23 Albrecht Classen, "Das Paradox der widersprüchlichen Urteilssprechung und Weltwahrneh mung: göttliches vs. menschliches Recht in Heinrich Kaufringers 'Die unschuldige Mörderin' mit paneuropäischen Ausblicken und einer neuen Quellenspur ('La femme du roi de Portugal')," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* CXX.II (2019): 7 28; cf. id., "The Amazon Rainforest of Pre Modern

caccio's *Decameron* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Kaufringer's opus repre-
sents a highly intriguing literary quarry containing amazing gems, ordinary
rocks, and indefinite material.

If we consider the true extent to which the entire genre certainly aimed at
instruction behind the veil of entertainment and laughter, it would not be far-
fetched to employ the concept of communication as one of the central operative
models upon which the texts were built.[24] Although communication has been
discussed already by countless scholars, both in psychology and rhetoric, both
in philosophy and linguistics, a few fundamental reflections about this basic
human operation are certainly due here. Leaving the technical aspects aside
(verbal versus nonverbal communication, modus of communication through
writing or speaking, etc.), we can easily agree that communication represents
the essential flow of signs and phrases, then entire sentences, between two par-
ties with the purpose of exchanging data, hence information. However, subse-
quently there has to be communicative action to make this process meaningful;
otherwise communication turns into a shouting match with no results for either
side, as the famous sociologist Jürgen Habermas had already observed a long
time ago.[25] We also would have to take into consideration the fundamental in-
sights by Niklas Luhmann, according to whom all communication aims at infor-
mation, conveying data, and comprehension, which collectively creates a social
system, autopoetically merged.[26]

Literature: Ethics, Values, and Ideals from the Past for our Future. With a Focus on Aristotle and
Heinrich Kaufringer," *Humanities Open Access* 9(1). 4 (2020), published on Dec. 24, 2019, online
at: https://www.mdpi.com/2076 0787/9/1/4/htm (last accessed on April 12, 2022).

24 For a variety of approaches to this large topic, see the contributions to *Speaking in the Medi
eval World*, ed. Jean Godsall Myers. Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions, 16 (Leiden and Boston: Brill,
2003).

25 Jürgen Habermas, *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns.* 2 vols. (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp,
1981); id., *Moralbewußtsein und kommunikatives Handeln.* Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Wissen
schaft, 422 (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1983); for a medieval approach to this issue, see Jürg Zul
liger, "'Ohne Kommunikation würde Chaos herrschen': Zur Bedeutung von Informationsaus
tausch, Briefverkehr und Boten bei Bernhard von Clairvaux," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 78.2
(1996): 251 76.

26 Niklas Luhmann, *Die Wissenschaft der Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt a. M: Suhrkamp, 1990); id.,
Soziale Systeme: Grundriß einer allgemeinen Theorie. Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Wissenschaft
666. Rpt. (1984; Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2010); for a helpful introduction to the theoretical
concepts developed by Luhmann, see Claudio Baraldi, Giancarlo Corsi, and Elena Esposito,
GLU. Glossar zu Niklas Luhmanns Theorie sozialer Systeme. Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Wissen
schaft, 1226 (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1997). There is much research on Luhmann's ideas
and concepts; most recently, see Jan Fuhse, *Social Networks of Meaning and Communication*
(New York: Oxford University Press, 2021). He argues, according to the online abstract, "Building

For communication to function well, there always has to be a speaker and a listener (writer and reader), and the messages exchanged must have some kind of effect on the other. Only if the discussion turns into a two-way street, with a mutual give and take, can we really talk about true communication. In more technical terms, the codes sent to the other side must be translatable to achieve their purpose; and in the intra-human relationship this simply entails that the speaking and listening work together in reaching the desired goal. For our purposes, it does not really matter whether communication is predicated on words, signs, gestures, touches, sounds, colors, or movements, or on objects, icons, symbols, and the like. In abstract terms, full communication is given when a set of coded data is transmitted to the other side where they are completely decoded without any loss of information, and then are responded to by way of words or deeds.

We know, of course, that most people do not operate on such an ideal level, so miscommunication, confusion, deceptions, lies, treason, or lack of understanding intervene and either disturb or completely destroy the communication. Blind, mute, or deaf people can communicate just as well with their world if they have available the necessary tools and encounter willing partners in their effort to talk with them. This immediately takes us to one of the central conflicts in all of human life, the lack of a properly functioning communication, which then leads to frustration, irritation, misunderstanding, aggression, and even violence. Thus, it makes perfect sense to look at a variety of examples within the history of literature, for example, to examine how poets from the past projected working or failing cases of communication.

Hostility and violence, terror and war are the results of a host of different conditions and circumstances which do not need to be analyzed here in detail. However, we can be certain that lack of transparency in language, the use of hid-

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on Niklas Luhmann, the events in networks can fruitfully be conceptualized as communication, processing of meaning between actors (rather than emanating from them). Communication draws on a variety of cultural forms to define and negotiate the relationships between actors: relationship frames like 'love' and 'friendship' prescribe the kinds of interaction appropriate for types of tie; social categories like ethnicity and gender guide the interaction within and be tween categories of actors; and collective and corporate actors form on the basis of cultural mod els like 'company,' 'bureaucracy,' 'street gang,' or 'social movement.' Such cultural models are diffused in systems of education and in the mass media, but they also develop institutionalize in communication, with existing patterns of interaction and relationships serving as models for others. Social groups are semi institutionalized social patterns, with a strong social boundary separating their members from the social environment." Online at: https://oxford.uni versitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/oso/9780190275433.001.0001/oso 9780190275433 (last accessed on April 12, 2022).

den agendas, duplicitous speech, and, above all, the refusal to maintain and open, honest, respectful and equalizing conversation in which all personal concerns and interests are placed openly on the table can be identified as critical factors leading to conflicts, tensions, aggression, and psychological problems, both in the past and in the present. The emergence of the contemporary computer technologies with their vast opportunities to communicate with virtually the entire world has not meant at all that communication has been improved, that the individual finds him/herself today in a much better social context than in the past, and can cope successfully within society.[27]

In modern contexts, intercultural tensions have increasingly been identified as the cause of much violence (racism), as the contributors to the *Handbook of Intercultural Communication* have emphasized.[28] If we consider a variety of medieval texts, including the Old High German *Hildebrandslied* (ca. 820), we discover already then powerful literary examples of racial conflicts which erupt over the lack of good communication skills.[29] In the famous Latin epic poem, *Waltharius* (ca. tenth century), similar issues emerge, and a brutal fight develops at the end as the result of greed, arrogance, disrespect, and self-illusion, at least on the part of King Gunther.[30] Communication, or the lack thereof, stands at the center of the conflict presented here. This can easily be extended to many other medieval narratives and poems, whether we think of *Beowulf*, *El Poema de Mío Cid*, Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, or Dante's *Divina Commedia.* In fact, we could reasonably expect that much of medieval literature lends itself very well for such an approach, serving, hence, as the platform for critical examinations of how to establish and maintain solid and con-

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27 *Youth and Media: Current Perspectives on Media Use and Effects*, ed. Rinaldo Kühne, Susanne E. Baumgartner, Thomas Koch, and Matthias Hofer. Reihe Rezeptionsforschung, 38 (Baden Baden: Nomos, 2018); Joseph Mazer, *Communication and Social Media* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Agnieszka Stepinska, *Media and Communication in Europe* (Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2021). See also Jessica Katz Jameson, *Contemporary Trends in Conflict and Communication: Technology and Social Media* (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2022), which I could notconsult yet because it was not yet in print.

28 *Handbook of Intercultural Communication*, ed. Helga Kotthoff. Handbooks of Applied Linguistics, 7 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2007).

29 Albrecht Classen, "Why Do Their Words Fail? Communicative Strategies in the *Hildebrandslied*," *Modern Philology* 93 (1995): 1 22; id., "Das "Hildebrandslied" im heutigen Literaturunterricht? Eine Herausforderung und große, ungenutzte Chance," *Unterrichtspraxis* 38.1 (2005; appeared in 2006): 19 30.

30 *Waltharius*, ed., trans., and intro. by Abram Ring. Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations, 22 (Leuven, Paris, and Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2016); cf. Jan M. Ziolkowski, "Waltharius," *The Virgil Encyclopedia*, ed. id. and Richard F. Thomas. Vol. 3 (New York: Wiley, 2014); online at: https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118351352.wbve2221; access is granted only through subscription.

structive forms of communication. Most impressively, Petrus Alfonsi's *Disciplina clericalis* (early twelfth century), Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* (ca. 1215–ca. 1225), the anonymous *Gesta Romanorum* (early thirteenth century), and Don Juan Manuel's *El Conde Lucanor* (ca. 1335) illustrate this phenomenon very well since the stories told there consistently aim at building a functional communicative community, providing examples of good and bad behavior, teaching ethics and morality, and laying the foundation for religious instructions by way of narrative models.[31]

The Case of Heinrich Kaufringer

This now allows us to return to Kaufringer, whose verse novellas I would like to discuss in light of this central concern. I argue, hence, that we can identify the study of medieval and early modern literature as a critical platform to examine virtually all human conditions within the social framework, and this through a literary-historical lens. We cannot assume that our modern lives are directly mirrored in pre-modern works, but the issues we are dealing with in all literary studies pertain to the foundation and essence of human existence. Analyzing Kaufringer's efforts to come to terms with intra-human relations, particularly within marriage, by way of exploring cooperative and effective communicative strategies, can establish the foundation for a critical assessment of our own world, as I have argued already several times in previous studies.[32] Again, the

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31 See, for instance, *D'Orient en Occident: les recueils de fables enchâssées avant les "Mille et une Nuits" de Galland; (Barlaam et Josaphat, Calila et Dimna, Disciplina clericalis, Roman des Sept Sages)*, ed. Marion Uhlig and Yasmina Foehr Janssens. Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014). For the German context, see Hans Joachim Ziegeler, *Erzählen im Spätmittelalter: Mären im Kontext von Minnereden, Bîspeln und Romanen*. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 87 (Munich: Artemis, 1985); Michael Schwarzbach Dobson, *Exemplarisches Erzählen im Kontext: Mittelalterliche Fabeln, Gleichnisse und historische Exempel in narrativer Argumentation*. Literatur Theorie Geschichte, 13 (Berlin und Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018). As to the ideal of a good ruler/king in this genre, see *The Figure of the Ruler in Exemplary Literature Transcultural Perspectives*, ed. Mechthild Albert and Ulrike Becker (Göttingen: V&R unipress; Bonn University Press, 2020); see my review in *Mediaevistik* 34 (forthcoming).

32 Albrecht Classen, "Smart Marie de France Knew the Ways of this World Medieval Advice Literature (Fables) and Social Criticism in Its Relevance for Us Today," *International Journal of History and Cultural Studies* 5.4 (2019), online at: https://www.arcjournals.org/pdfs/ijhcs/v5 i4/4.pdf; id, "The Past as the Key for the Future: Reflections on an Ancient Question. What Does (Medieval) Literature Mean Today in the Twenty First Century?," *Athens Journal of Philology* 6.3 (2019): 147 70; online at: https://www.athensjournals.gr/reviews/2019 2896 AJP.pdf; id., "Re

direct translation of Kaufringer's narratives and their issues into our own world cannot work and would be tantamount to anachronism. However, the exploration of communicative communities within his tales lends itself exceedingly well to a better comprehension of universal issues that are of relevance for us today as well.

Despite a considerable interest in Kaufringer by a variety of Germanist scholars, the issue of communication has not yet been fully addressed. Marga Stede reflects on social-economic and political aspects as mirrored in the poet's tales.[33] Michaela Willers has studied Kaufringer from a more holistic perspective, examining the arrangement of the individual tales in the Munich manuscript cgm 270. Social-political concerns occupy Kurt Ruh in an article on "Die unschuldige Mörderin,"[34] whereas I myself have focused on the discourse on love and marriage as pursued by the poet. The last major monograph dedicated to Kaufringer was published by Rippl, who highlighted the rhetorical strategies, the use of older sources by the poet, and the role which profound dilemmas in jurisdiction play in some of the poet's narratives.[35] Not surprisingly, just as in the case of his predecessors and contemporaries, each individual *mære* has evoked new interpretations, though the communicative aspect seems not to gain any particular traction.[36]

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flections on Key Issues in Human Life: Gottfried von Strassburg's Tristan, Dante's Divina Commedia, Boccaccio's Decameron, Michael Ende's Momo, and Fatih Akın's Soul Kitchen Manifesto in Support of the Humanities What Truly Matters in the End?," *Humanities Open Access* Nov. 16, 2020, online at: https://www.mdpi.com/2076 0787/9/4/121 (all last accessed on April 12, 2022).

33 Marga Stede, *Schreiben in der Krise: Die Texte des Heinrich Kaufringer.* Literatur Imagination Realität, 5 (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1993).

34 Kurt Ruh, "Kaufringers Erzählung von der 'Unschuldigen Mörderin'," *Interpretation und Edition deutscher Texte des Mittelalters: Festschrift für John Asher zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Kathryn Smits, Werner Besch, and Victor Lange (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1981), 164 77.

35 Coralie Rippl, *Erzählen als Argumentationsspiel: Heinrich Kaufringers Fallkonstruktionen zwischen Rhetorik, Recht und literarischer Stofftradition.* Bibliotheca Germanica, 61 (Tübingen: Francke, 2014).

36 Sandra Linden, "*lazet mich unverseret!* Zur Darstellung und Problematisierung körperlicher Züchtigung in Ehestandsmären," *Verletzungen und Unversehrtheit in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. XXIV. Anglo German Colloquium Saarbrücken 2015*, ed. Sarah Bowden, Nine Miedema, and Stephen Mossmann (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2020), 189 202; here 190 (treating story no. 13); Anette Volfing, "Hadlaubs beißende Dame: Minnesang und *vagina dentata*," ibid., 261 78; here 266 (also addressing story no. 13); Sylvia Jurchen, "Die Geschichte auf dem Prüfstein der Moral: Mären als Rätselerzählungen am Beispiel von Heinrich Kaufringers 'Der Mönch als Liebesbote B'," *Mären als Grenzphänomen*, ed. Silvan Wagner. Bayreuther Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft, 37 (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2018), 225 55; Friedrich Michael Dimpel,

We could identify the discourse on love and marriage, and hence also on sexuality as constitutive for this genre, whether we think of The Stricker's thirteenth-century verse narratives or Poggio Bracciolini's almost obscene *fascetie*.[37] By way of presenting a variety of mostly ordinary situations, challenged by disruptions, conflicts, disagreements, and hence miscommunications, late medieval poets successfully built a significant corpus of entertaining but often highly illuminating literary cases that were supposed to instruct the audiences to reflect on their own situation and to build, if possible at all, new communicative channels facilitating a harmonious love relationship. I would not want to go so far as to identify Kaufringer, above all, a bit flippantly as a marriage counselor, a significant predecessor of such popular modern-day authors as Gary Chapman.[38] Nevertheless, as we will observe, there are many occasions in his verse narratives to recognize significant statements about how a constructive communication can contribute fundamentally to the maintenance and growth of marriage and personal happiness.[39]

We could generalize and claim that throughout the Middle Ages, several paradigm shifts occurred, moving the entire culture forward. During the early Middle Ages, poets discovered the great opportunity to explore the role of women in the lives of courtiers, knights, and clerics (courtly love); in the high Middle Ages, the focus increasingly turned toward sexuality thinly veiled behind

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"Axiologische Dissonanzen. Widersprüchliche Aspekte der evaluativen Struktur in 'Der feige Ehemann' und 'Die drei Mönche zu Kolmar'," *"Wer die bîschaft merken wil, der setz sich ûf des endes zil": einführende Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von "narratio" und "moralisatio"*, ed. Björn Reich and Christoph Schanze. Beiträge zur mediävistischen Erzählforschung, Themenheft 1 (Oldenburg: BIS Verlag der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, 2018), 123 56, https://doi.org/10.25619/BmE2018111 (last accessed on Jan. 17, 2022).

37 See the contributions to *Discourses on Love, Marriage, and Transgression in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 278 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004).

38 Gary Chapman, *The 5 Love Languages: The Secret to Love that Lasts* (1992; 2010; Chicago, IL: Northfield Pub., 2015); this study was reprinted and translated into various languages many times.

39 There is a large body of relevant studies of this topic from a modern perspective; see, for in stance, Deborah Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation* (New York: Morrow, 1990); Patricia Noller and Judith Feeney, *Understanding Marriage: Developments in the Study of Couple Interaction.* Advances in Personal Relationships (Cambridge and New York: Cam bridge University Press, 2002); Karl A. Pillemer, *30 Lessons for Loving: Advice from the Wisest Americans on Love, Relationships, and Marriage* (New York: Hudson Street Press, 2015); Judi Ket teler, *Would I Lie to You?: The Amazing Power of Being Honest in a World that Lies* (New York: Citadel Press/Kensington Publishing Corp., 2020). The range of studies on this topic extends from the scholarly to the practical advice, from counseling to psychology.

the images of wooing and worshipping women as partners in love. Finally, in the late Middle Ages, marriage entered the picture, and with this, of course, the vast number of systemic problems and conflicts associated with it.[40]

While Chaucer grouped together his so-called 'marriage tales' in his *Canterbury Tales*, we cannot observe exactly the same strategy, particularly because Kaufringer's works have been preserved only in miscellany manuscripts, each one of them containing a large number of other verse narratives by a variety of poets. The Munich manuscript cgm 270 lists his texts on fol. 234r–388v; the Munich manuscript cgm 1119 consists of sermons by Berthold of Regensburg, the courtly romance *Wilhalm von Orlens* by Rudolf of Ems, and the *mæren* by Kaufringer (fol. 100ra–107ra). The third manuscript, Berlin mgf 564, contains many of Kaufringer's works, but not in a completely consistent block of texts.[41]

Insofar as marriage is a complex institution and determined by many different factors, involving not only the couple, but soon also children, the in-laws, the social network, and the larger framework of society, it does not come as a surprise that Kaufringer also offers a variety of approaches in his discussion of marriage. Issues such as sexuality, power, independence, economic influence, personal inclinations, attraction, fears, insecurities, etc. have certainly always mattered centrally, and so also in the Middle Ages. But how much did Kaufringer also address communication, and how did he present his married couple within the context of this central mode of personal exchanges?

Before we proceed, we have to realize that Kaufringer was hardly a completely innovative poet, but this was not the case among his contemporaries either. We would always have to consider the Latin, Hebrew, but then also the Arabic, Persian, and ultimately Indian source material.[42] This would not water down our argument concerning the central role of communication; instead, it would sim-

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40 Neil Cartlidge, *Medieval Marriage: Literary Approaches, 1100 1300* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997); Rüdiger Schnell, *Frauendiskurs, Männerdiskurs, Ehediskurs, Textsorten und Geschlechter konzepte in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit.* Reihe Geschichte und Geschlechter, 23 (Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus Verlag, 1998); Albrecht Classen, *Der Liebes und Ehediskurs vom hohen Mittelalter bis zum frühen 17. Jahrhundert.* Volksliedstudien, 5 (Münster, New York, Munich, and Berlin: Waxmann, 2005); id., *Sex im Mittelalter: Die andere Seite einer idealisierten Vergan genheit. Literatur und Sexualität* (Badenweiler: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Bachmann, 2011).
41 For manuscript details, see my translation, *Love, Life, and Lust* (see note 22), and https:// mittelalter.hypotheses.org/9836; https://handschriftencensus.de/werke/4096 (both last accessed on Jan. 17, 2022).
42 I have recently examined such a case, see my article? "India, Persia, and Arabia in the Mind of a Late Fifteenth Century German Author: Transcultural Experiences through the Literary Dis course. Antonius von Pforr and His *Buch der Beispiele der Alten Weisen*," *Philological Quarterly* 99.2 (2020): 119 45.

ply widen and expand it to other, older cultures and languages where narrations were already used to address human conditions, problems, and conflicts, much of that embedded in the issue of communication and its failure. And globally, we can be certain that the entire genre of entertaining verse and prose narratives drew extensively from ancient Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, and Hebrew sources, and once they had been translated into Latin, then into the various vernaculars, they influenced each other, which created an enormously complex, until today not fully unraveled network of influences across the European literary stage.[43]

A "The Monk as Love Messenger, B"

Let us hence begin with one hilarious case where the topic is not focused on marriage, but on adultery, indirectly facilitated by a foolish monk who does not understand how much he is made into a medium for a noble lady to communicate with her potential lover: "The Monk as Love Messenger, B" (no. 7, 39–43). Even though the young man is not even aware of the woman at the beginning, because he is only trying to catch a glimpse of another lady he is in love with, she espies him and finds him immediately so attractive that she is determined to win him for herself. In a remarkable reversal of the traditional condition with the man wooing a lady, here it is her who emerges as the active agent and who plots a genius plan to attract her to him and to point out the way how he can come for a visit with her one night. She is married but uses the reference to her husband only as a pretext to explain to the old monk why she is bothered by the young man whose adoration and attempts to appeal to her she now bitterly complains about. We know from the start that the monk and the lady enjoy a reputable relationship based on mutual trust, and he immediately takes her side and offers his help. The monk calls the knight to him one day and relates that his wooing of the lady has been noticed and is objected to. In other words, he becomes the woman's spokesperson, but he does not understand, of course, that she pursues a hidden agenda and uses the monk only to attract the young man to her. Since she cannot talk to him directly, which might cause a scandal in the city, she pretends to protest against his wooing, which signals to him, however, the very opposite.

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43 Again see the contributions to *D'Orient en Occident* (see note 31); cf. also the contributions to *Ascendance et postérité de corpus de sagesse arabe et juive en Europe et en Méditerranée. Aliento* 9 (2017); *Orientalische Kultur und europäisches Mittelalter*, ed. Albert Zimmermann and Ingrid Craemer Ruegenberg, prepared for printing by Gudrun Vuillemin Diem. Miscellanea mediaevalia, 17 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1985).

We confront here a most unusual situation otherwise not replicated in other medieval narratives, with her in charge of the entire conversation and using both men for her own purposes: "both were completely ignorant and did not know the secret plans the woman pursued" (40). By means of her secretive strategy, the lady can thus soon bring it about that the man whom she loves turns his attention away from his mistress and becomes interested in herself. However, she has to pay a second visit to the monk and to complain to him about the young man even more than before so that her victim, or rather her 'prey,' realizes that this chastisement is not supposed to make him stay away from that unknown lady, but, just on the contrary, to look out for her. Even though her words do not achieve anything because the young man tries even harder not to look at her, she then has a ring being made with a highly meaningful inscription: "Pay attention and try to understand this" (41).[44] Her complaint this time includes a detailed description of how this man had managed to climb into her garden and then down a tree to reach the yard, and from there had entered the house because the maid had forgotten to lock the door, of how he had found her in bed and had lied down next to her. Although she had then allegedly screamed so loudly that he had to escape, he left behind that ring, which she now hands over to the monk (41).

As before, the monk then speaks to the sinful 'perpetrator' on behalf of the lady, repeats all the words and thus the exact description how he had allegedly managed to enter her house, at least according to her remarks, and then threatens the man even more than before that the woman would make her complain known to her friends, which would have severe consequences for him (42). Only now does the young man realize what the odd charges against him had really implied and entailed, and looking at the symbolic words inscribed in the ring, he suddenly understands her secret strategy to communicate with him via the naive monk. This then inspires him to do exactly that what he had been accused of at night, and since the lady had prepared everything so that he would not meet any resistance or barrier, he finally visits her, and both then join in lovemaking, which concludes the verse narrative. In whatever way we may have to evaluate the woman's abuse of the monk, her devious strategy to lure the beloved nobleman to her bedroom, and her enormous skill in role playing, she is given full credit by the narrator for her ability to convey her wishes to the young man without compromising herself in public. She certainly commits adul-

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44 For an excellent collection of rings and a good discussion of their symbolic meaning, see Sandra Hindman with Scott Miller, Intro. by Diana Scarisbrick, *Take this Ring: Medieval and Ren aissance Rings from the Griffin Collection* ([Turnhout]: Brepols, 2015).

tery, but the author's emphasis rests on her communication skills through which she can achieve her goal to both of their satisfaction, and this without evoking any ethical or moral concerns.

In the epimythium, the poet emphasizes: "I praise women who are so wise and filled with clever ideas. They know how to arrange it so that they realize their plans by teaching a monk through clever and subtle lessons, thus making him the messenger through whom they accomplish their love affairs" (43). The audience is invited to laugh about the monk who did not know how to read or listen between the lines and thus unintentionally served as the critical mediator between both protagonists. The woman's intelligence and ruse made it possible for her to establish a secret communication with the man of her love and to direct him finally toward her own bedroom. At the end, once he has realized the true meaning of her complaint, especially by means of the ring, does he finally grasp the task to interpret those words voiced to the monk and the sentence inscribed into the ring.

Whereas Sigûne's rushed, overly anxious reading of the mysterious words on the leash of the curious dog Gardevîaz in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Titurel* fragments (ca. 1220) has deadly consequences for her lover Schionatulander, here in Kaufringer's narrative the ring draws him closer to the lady and instruct him how to pursue the path toward her bedroom.[45] In Wolfram's brief narrative, Sigûne withdraws from the communicative community with her lover Schionatulander and dives into the enigmatic text on the leash, whereas in Kaufringer's *mære*, the lady sends a 'letter' in the form of the ring to her beloved and urges him to read what she has to convey to him, providing him, so to speak, with a map directing him toward her private chamber.[46] Insofar as he is finally able to decipher the deeper meaning of her words, he can follow the trail as outlined by the woman and is thus able to join her at night, creating a new community

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45 Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Titurel*, ed., trans., and commentary by Helmut Brackert and Ste phan Fuchs Jolie (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003); for critical studies, see Al brecht Classen, *Utopie und Logos. Vier Studien zu Wolframs von Eschenbach* Titurel. Beiträge zur älteren Literaturgeschichte (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1990); cf. also Alexander Sager, *Minne von maeren: On Wolfram's Titurel*. Transatlantische Studien zu Mittelal ter und Früher Neuzeit, 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006); Larissa Schuler Lang, *Wildes Erzählen   Erzählen vom Wilden: "Parzival", "Busant" und "Wolfdietrich D"*. Literatur Theorie   Geschichte, 7 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2014); *Narratologie und mittelal terliches Erzählen: Autor, Erzähler, Perspektive, Zeit und Raum*, ed. Eva von Contzen and Florian Kragl. Das Mittelalter, Beihefte, 7 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018).
46 For global perspectives, see now Albrecht Classen, *Tracing the Trails in the Medieval World: Epistemological Explorations, Orientation, and Mapping in Medieval Literature*. Routledge Studies in Medieval Literature and Culture (New York and London: Routledge, 2021).

with her based on secret language. After all, as Rüdiger Schnell had already observed with regard to the language used by the lovers in Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan*, they have developed a secret code which only they can understand, whereas the normal words exchanged between them carry a very different meaning. True lovers speak their own hidden, i.e., coded language and can thus preserve their intimate bondage even when they are amidst the courtly public.[47]

Granted, Kaufringer's narrative presents a case of adultery, but the legitimacy of this love relationship is completely irrelevant in this context. The author intends, instead, to explore the meaning of language, communication, and interpretation and presents the lady as the smartest of all three persons involved. She commands all the necessary wits and strategies and knows exceedingly well how to circumvent external barriers, how to utilize the monk for her own intentions, and thus how to target and manipulate the young man so that he finally yields to her wishes. Most brilliantly, her words addressed to the monk are really aimed at the young man, who has, however, considerable difficulties to interpret them in the way how she means them. Only when she provides most explicit imagery of how he had allegedly climbed into her garden and then entered the house to reach her bedroom, and only once he holds the ring with the inscription in it, does it all finally dawn upon him. Deeply impressed by her communicative skills and strategies, he accepts her offer of love and follows the trail to her as outlined in the veiled description given to the monk.

There might be a sliver of negative comments about the woman as a sly and deceptive person, but the narrative is predicated on a very positive evaluation of her efforts to attract the man's attention and to lure him to her house where she then could welcome him as her new lover. The narrator has only praise for her and other clever women who are masters of communication and know how to pursue their erotic desires: "I praise women who are so wise and filled with clever ideas. they know how to arrange it so that they realize their plans by teaching a monk through clever and subtle lessons, thus making him the messenger through whom they accomplish their love affairs" (43). The traditional misogyny appears to be absent, and instead we are confronted with the highest acknowledgment of women who know what they want, who do not hesitate to pursue their desires, and who are capable of using their language to achieve their

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47 Rüdiger Schnell, *Suche nach Wahrheit: Gottfrieds "Tristan und Isold" als erkenntniskritischer Roman*. Hermaea. Germanistische Forschungen, Neue Folge, 67 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1992).

goals.[48] Of course, this wily lady abused the poor monk and his ignorance and simplicity for her own advantage, but she demonstrated thereby who much she was really in command of language and could establish an intriguing, subtle, and erotic communication with her future lover.

B "The Mayor and the Prince"

We encounter a most fascinating situation with love, sexual intrigue, confused communication, male competition, female jealousy, and attempted adultery in "The Mayor and the Prince" (no. 4), where the essential question focuses on the protagonist's concern to maintain his honor and to use the most astute linguistic strategies to avoid conflicts, embarrassment, and humiliation. Kaufringer placed greatest emphasis on the issue of how communicative operations determine the question whether and how life can be enjoyed successfully.

In essence, the story is limited to three characters, but each one represents a larger social group within the city. The location is Erfurt where a university was founded in 1379, which allows us to determine at least the *terminus post quem* for the time when this account must have been composed.[49] The narrator begins with comments about a string of thefts that rock the city, especially because the culprits cannot be identified. However, one foreign student, actually the French dauphin, leads a rather luxurious life and enjoys great wealth, which appears puzzling to the citizens because he has not revealed his identity. Hence, the city council surmises that his enormous financial resources must be connected somehow with those burglaries, so they charge the mayor to find out the truth behind this curious person.

Almost like a story within a story, the prince refuses to reveal to the mayor who is family might be and declines to answer other specific questions. The mayor, on the other hand, demonstrates great rhetorical skills, does not reveal the suspicions held by the city council, and only explains that the council would like to know more about him and the source of his income. This would increase the respect which he already enjoys (22), which is, of course, nothing

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48 For many other cases of literary praise of women, see Alcuin Blamires, *The Case for Women in Medieval Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); see also his anthology of the dialectical dis course on women, *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts*, ed. Alcuin Blamires with Karen Pratt and C. W. Marx (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

49 Almuth Märker, *Geschichte der Universität Erfurt*. Schriften des Vereins für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde von Erfurt, 1 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1993); see also https://www.uni erfurt.de/universitaet/profil/geschichte (last accessed on Jan. 17, 2022).

but a subterfuge. The prince, however, is smart enough to recognize exactly what the real purpose seems to be, and defends himself effectively by related a story of stunningly erotic fantasy, which the mayor has to accept without any protest despite the general embarrassment for himself and all the married men in the city: "The mayor became deeply frightened" (23). And all members of the city council feel the same way, naively believing the truth of the prince's words, not understanding how much they have been fooled by him.

The foreign student only explains that he serves as a male prostitute for all wives in the city who pay him half a pound per week, while the housemaids, who also receive his service, pay a quarter pound per week: "thus I have an infinite income" (23), a total of hundred pounds per week, truly a fortune.[50] None of them dares to question this outrageous claim, instead they feel deeply ashamed and fear that the student has cuckolded all of them on a regular basis. As much as the entire male community in the city is concerned, as little do they have any faith in themselves to check the facts and to question their own wives. The student has stunned them so thoroughly that they completely stop inquiring further about his background or the validity of his claim. They only "wished they had never inquired about him" (23).

This story within the story, however, begins to have an impact especially on the mayor and his wife because the former is soon forced by her to reveal what he knows about the student since he had broken out in a smile when he had observed him walking across the market square. Although the foolish man tries to hide the reason for his smile, he cannot resist his wife's pressure and soon enough reveals the entire story made up by the student (23).[51] A very parallel situation emerges in the anonymous verse narrative "The Little Bunny Rabbit" from ca. 1300, where the male protagonist bursts out in laughter when he sees the young peasant woman, who had bought a bunny from him by paying with her

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50 Albrecht Classen, *Prostitution in Medieval and Early Modern Literature: The Dark Side of Sex and Love in the Premodern Era*. Studies in Medieval Literature (Lanham, MA, Boulder, CO, et al.: Lexington Books, 2019), 161 65.

51 Laughter, smiles, giggles, and other physical expressions of happiness or humor at large (negative or positive) have often been representations of epistemological processes. See now Kirsten Darby, *Die "Lachverständigen" im Mittelalter: Untersuchung zu Darstellungen und Bewer tungen des Lachens in Heiligenviten*. Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 95 (Vienna, Co logne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 2021); Hans Rudolf Velten, *Scurrilitas: Das Lachen, die Komik und der Körper in Literatur und Kultur des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*. Bibliotheca Ger manica, 63 (Tübingen: Narr Francke Atempto, 2017); *Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Mod ern Times: Epistemology of a Fundamental Human Behavior, Its Meaning, and Consequences*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 5 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010).

minne (courtly love, but in reality, which she did not understand, coitus), arriving as a guest at his wedding. This laughter quickly unravels the secret not only about this young maid, but also the secret about his aristocratic fiancée who had slept a hundred times with the family chaplain without the mother having found out.[52]

In Kaufringer's story, the mayor smiles because he is thinking about how much all the other male citizens are duped by this student who serves their wives as a prostitute. He does not realize, however, that he might be just as much affected, and only finds the thought hilarious that the student gains so much money by playing the game of love (23). The mayor's wife, however, although she pretends to be horrified about his moral defects, feels insulted by the student because he has never knocked on her door asking for her money, hence had never offered his service as a prostitute. The term 'prostitution' never appears here, but we cannot help but characterize this claimed business as being just that. Soon enough, the wife manages to establish contact with the prince and invites him to her house when she believes that the husband is away for some business.

Ironically, the mayor realizes quickly what is developing behind his back and deeply regrets "that he had talked too much" (23). Pretending to depart for three days, he returns secretly to catch the couple *in flagrante*, in which he actually succeeds. Yet, the mayor avoids to cause a huge scandal and only removes the couple's clothing and locks them in the room where they both had taken a bath. Subsequently, he returns with a platter of food, and the clothing, allows them both to get dressed, and invites the prince to a festive dinner. Although the student insists that the mayor's honor had not been impaired because there had not been any sexual intercourse yet, the mayor knows only too well that he finds himself in a terrible bind. So, instead of punishing the foreign man, threatening him, or chasing him out of the house, he treats him with great respect and dignity, and then promises to pay him the money for his wife and the maid every week out of his own pocket as long as he would no longer frequent his house.

The sudden denouement occurs only then because the student feels deeply ashamed about his foolish rhetorical trick, apologizes for his wrong pretenses, and reveals finally his true identity. Moreover, he pledges never to enter the mayor's house again unless upon express invitation, and he then rewards him with a

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52 *Erotic Tales of Medieval Germany*, selected and trans. by Albrecht Classen. Sec. ed. rev. and expanded. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 328 (2007; Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2009), no. 5, 35   42 (trans. by Maurice Sprague).

pledge that in the future he would never have to pay for his business as a merchant in France, neither for tolls nor for any protection (25). The mayor thus profits immensely in monetary terms from his wise behavior, and the prince gets out of this situation without any punishment or disgrace. The wife is also let go scot-free because her husband had operated in complete secrecy; not even the servants are aware about anything that went on behind the closed doors. As a result of his highly considerate approach to this delicate case involving his own honor and that of his wife, the mayor now enjoys the friendship with the future king of France (25), and he "grew considerably in honor and in great wealth" (26). For the narrator, the outcome is obvious, because of his "virtues and his wisdom he enjoyed happiness because he had not hurt the prince" (26). Rash behavior, lack of self-control and discipline, and irrational behavior could have caused him significant suffering, if he had attacked and hurt the prince. Thus, the outcome proves to be an excellent illustration of the power of the human language, of consideration and self-restraint on the part of the mayor.

Granted, the communication between him and his wife seems to be rather unstable and confusing, but she does not have to suffer for her infraction at the end because her husband has made sure through his secrecy that no one has noticed anything about the affair. Nevertheless, just this aspect deserves to be highlighted further. The mayor himself can be blamed for his naivete believing the student's silly story, and both he and the other city councilmen reveal their considerable degree of insecurity regarding their wives' loyalty and chastity. We could almost conclude that they all suffer from a certain degree of impotence, frightened by the wild claim uttered by the foreign man that he sleeps with all women in the city – certainly foolish, yet it reveals their weakness and fright. Considering their responsibilities in governing their city, those men horribly fail to uphold their responsibility to exert intelligence, to communicate openly and rationally, to discern deception, and to act reasonably.

The mayor is no exception to this phenomenon, and he actually repeats the story which he had heard from the student to his own wife, which then sets into motion the whole chain of events. He is saved, however, because he knows how to respond to such a sensitive and dangerous situation, recovering his position of control, employing highly sophisticated communication strategies, and deflecting the attack on his own honor with a counter-deal which actually deeply embarrasses the prince in turn. The outcome proves to be satisfactory for both men, whereas the wife appears only as a 'lateral damage,' so to speak, who is basically muted, having fallen prey to the student's foolish words related to her by her equally foolish husband. However, the mayor saved his honor and marriage because he did not resort to violence, used polite and considerate language, and succeeded in establishing effective communication with the student.

We could summarize our observations by emphasizing that this verse narrative is truly predicated on a battle of wits, or, more specifically, a battle of words. While the student had spoken only in jest to ridicule the mayor and the members of the city council in their anxiousness, fear, gullibility, and suspicion, the mayor at the end managed to turn this game upside down and to assume the leading role, which then put the student in a great disadvantage and exposed him to the danger of losing his own honor. The conflict between both men is finally overcome because their rhetorical strategies compensate each other, and once all chips are on the table, they both acknowledge each other, pay respect to the other man, and conclude their conflict with friendship.[53]

C "The Cowardly Husband"

We encounter the opposite situation determined by a failed communication and hence the breakdown of the social community in "The Cowardly Husband" (no. 6) where a highly respected and admired married woman in Straßburg is wooed by a knight who had heard so much praise of her that he intended to prey on her and to conquer her. His efforts, however, fail at first, especially because she is not only upright in her morals and ethical ideals, but also because she informs her husband about the problems she faces with this foreign knight. He immediately assures her of his support and that he would protect her, but he conceives also of a foolish plan to teach the male competitor a lesson. His wife is to accept the knight's wooing and to invite him to come to see her, while the husband would hide in the room and come out in the nick of time to surprise the knight and frighten him away.

Although the husband is well armored and is prepared to attack the competitor, he soon realizes from the conversation of the knight and his wife that he himself would not have a chance in a fight since the knight demonstrates his

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53 Although this tale proves to be of a high literary caliber, research has paid surprisingly little attention to it, and if, then it has focused on other aspects: André Schnyder, "Abenteuer, Liebe, Geld: Zu Heinrich Kaufringers Märe 'Der zurückgegebene Minnelohn'," *Euphorion* 91 (1997): 397–412; here 410–11; Sebastian Coxon, "Keller, Schlafkammer, Badewanne. Innenräume und komische Räume bei Heinrich Kaufringer," *Innenräume in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters. XIX. Anglo-German Colloquium, Oxford 2005*, ed. Burkhard Hasebrink, Hans-Jochen Schiewer, Almut Suerbaum, and Annette Volfing (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2008), 179–96, examines primarily the treatment of interior spaces as relevant for the narrative plot; Christoph Fasbender, "Erzählen in Erfurt: Novellistik in der mittelalterlichen Stadt," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde von Erfurt* 69 (2008): 12–31; here 19–22, highlights the role of Erfurt and its university for this tale.

enormous strength to the lady, stabbing through a thick iron plate with his knife. Nevertheless, she is still hoping for protection by her husband, but the latter is deeply frightened and rather accepts that his wife is physically overpowered and raped by the knight instead of himself getting hurt. This is indeed what next happens; the knight carries her to the bed and sleeps with her, i.e., rapes her, and although she screams loudly and for a long time, her husband stays hidden and waits until the other man has disappeared, thus proving to be a complete coward and unworthy marriage partner.[54]

While she bitterly accuses him of having failed badly, he tries to calm her down, insisting that her 'small injury' would be irrelevant compared to the potential danger to his life if he had confronted the knight. On the surface of it, as the narrator emphasizes in the epimythium, the husband's excuse appears to be correct since his own death would not be surmountable, whereas her 'little' pain would soon be forgotten. Kaufringer, however, then severely charges the husband of having ignored his own obligations and responsibilities, since he could have prevented the rape if he had intervened quickly and energetically right at the beginning (38). In the poet's own words: "He is an evil guardsman who observes and sees [that] another man hurts his good friend without rushing to his help" (38).

The narrative proves to be so fascinating because various communicative circles overlap and disrupt each other. At first, there is the married couple which operates highly effectively to a point at which she even reveals to him that she is suffering from a knight's harassment. Her husband does not hesitate to offer his energetic defense, but he also goes one step further and tries to belittle and shame his opponent. In his foolish assumption that he is certainly stronger than the other, he even urges his wife to invite the 'enemy' into his own house, where he believes to have set up a good trap. But he has not considered the knight's true strength and has naively overestimated his own strength and bravery, which both melt away as soon as he has realized the knight's true strength. This then sets the stage for the knight's success in raping the wife. As the narrator stresses himself, if the husband had come out of his hiding place early on, neither would his wife have suffered the 'little' injury nor would he himself have experienced any pain (38).

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54 Albrecht Classen, "Angst vor dem Tod: Jämmerliche Männerfiguren in der deutschen Liter atur des Spätmittelalters (von *Mauritius von Craûn* zu Heinrich Kaufringer und *Till Eulenspie gel*)," *Jenseits: Eine mittelalterliche und mediävistische Imagination: Interdisziplinäre Ansätze zur Analyse des Unerklärlichen*, ed. Christa Agnes Tuczay. Beihefte zur Mediävistik, 21 (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2016), 213 31.

Unfortunately, the wife is not granted any chance to respond to this somewhat lame excuse by the husband, but the narrator does not accept the latter's defense and severely criticizes him as a coward and failure. Undoubtedly, he was lacking in courage, but we also observe another problem in the entire situation. Although the couple had arranged the plan to set a trap for the knight, his own words, and his arrangement with the armor and the sword proves to be useless because the young man demonstrates much greater physical prowess. Nevertheless, if the husband had come out of his hiding place right away, if he had defended his wife energetically, the catastrophic outcome could have been avoided. It is highly likely that the knight would not have turned to his weapon, would not have attacked the husband, and would have withdrawn ashamed of himself. However, the husband's cowardice opened the floor for the knight to proceed with his sexual intentions, which then lead to the rape.

As much as the marital couple had communicated with each other well, had organized the scheme quite cleverly, they badly failed because his words meant nothing, and there were no actions following his promises because of his fear of getting hurt by this powerful competitor. The seemingly functioning communicative community ultimately failed because of the husband's ethical failure and his selfish, little-minded attitude, at first assuming a rather pompous stance trying teach the knight a lesson, and then, in the real situation, cowering behind the barrel and keeping his presence and witnessing of the rape a secret. In short, this marital couple only pretended to entertain a solid communication, but when they were challenged in this critical situation, they failed. She wrongly trusted her husband, and he had devised a dangerous plan, not understanding how to size up his opponent and to evaluate his own strength in this case.[55]

D "The Innocent Murderess"

When we turn to the most unusual, legally and ethically rather complicated verse narrative "The Innocent Murderess" (no. 14), the outcome proves to be the very opposite, and thus it underscores, once again, the poet's intention to examine the various aspects of communication which sustains a good marriage.[56]

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[55] Friedrich Michael Dimpel, "Axiologische Dissonanzen: widersprüchliche Aspekte der evaluativen Struktur in 'Der feige Ehemann' und 'Die drei Mönche zu Kolmar'," *Beiträge zur mediävistischen Erzählforschung*. Themenheft, 1 (Oldenburg: BIS Verlag der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, 2018), 123 56.

[56] *Novellistik des Mittelalters: Märendichtung*, ed. Klaus Grubmüller. Bibliothek des Mittelalters, 23 (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutsche Klassiker, 1996), 798 839; see also Rippl, *Erzählen als Argumenta*

Here, a young countess is supposed to marry a king, but in the night before the wedding she is duped by a knight who pretends to be her fiancé and thus robs her of her virginity. Just before he falls asleep, he betrays himself, and she then takes on the role of the biblical Judith, decapitating the perpetrator. However, she is not strong enough to carry the body away and dump it into the well, and when she asks the guardsman for help, he demands first sexual service from her, to which she has to submit. Yet, later she manages to lift him up and throw him into the water, where he drowns. In the first wedding night, the countess entrusts her best maid with substituting for her so that she can pretend still to be a virgin. Tragically for the much-tortured countess, the maid then suddenly refuses to abandon the bed since she wants to be queen. In her desperation, the countess sets fire to the bedroom, drags her husband out of the bed and saves both of them, while the maid burns to death. There is yet another dead person, the knight's servant who had convinced his master that the countess would be an easy prey and could be quickly convinced to sleep with any man. The king and the countess's brother had come across him in the forest where he had waited for his lord to return, and suspecting him of having stolen the horses, they immediately hang him.

In a way, the countess is responsible for four deaths, but the narrator explicitly grants her the impossible in this situation, innocence, as indicated not only by the title, but also by the judgment of her husband. The crucial scene enters the picture only at the very end, when the couple has already been married for thirty-two years during which they had thoroughly enjoyed each other, demonstrating love and loyalty. But at the end, while he is resting with his head in her lap, she ruminates about her past deeds and sheds tears, perhaps out of a feeling of deep guilt, perhaps out of a sense of having suffered too much in her youth.

This wakes up the king and he soon finds out all details, but he does not burst out in anger or accusations; instead, he quietly embraces her and acknowledges the tragic circumstances: "'You had to pay dearly for me. … I want to live with you forever as your loyal servant because you have suffered much on my behalf, no doubt about it …'" (81–82). We do not know much about the couple's long life together, except that the narrator emphasizes that they had been happy together. However, she had always kept those murders a secret, and only now, after so many years of suppressing her feeling of guilt, does she finally let it out and share it with her husband.

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tionsspiel (see note 35), 36 80, according to whom this story can be read as a legal case defending the female protagonist against serious criminal charges.

For our purposes, the most intriguing aspect proves to the way how the various figures had talked to each other and what the words had achieved. The servant had misled his master, the knight, as to the countess's moral standards, maligning her as a loose woman. The knight had used deceptive language to force his way into the castle and the lady's bedroom. Yet, his own words after they had sex with each other betrayed him, without him realizing what he had really revealed ("'My servant has spoken truly that the king will indeed marry an evil dishonorable woman," 77). He had found out, so he thought, that the servant had spoken the truth, but the entire setting was only made up by the latter, for which he is subsequently hanged, although his executioners do not understand the connection at all. Only the narrator can explain it, also with reference to his evil words: "He had earned his death because he had given evil advice that led to both the knight's and the gatekeeper's death" (79). The gatekeeper had promised to help his lady, but only on the condition of her granting sex to him. Finally, the maid had betrayed her loyalty to the countess and broke her oath: she "swore to the queen without guile to do everything she had asked" (80).

In all those cases, small but critical communicative bonds were destroyed, which led to the perpetrator's death. The countess survived all horrible situations, but then had to keep quiet for more than thirty years, until finally the words come flowing out of her mouth. In that moment, however, a new community proves to be solidly behind her, the marriage with the king, who immediately recognizes the degree of her suffering and declares her to be innocent, at least in his mind. Paying full respect to his wife and her long-term suffering, he exclaims: "'Neither your honor nor my appreciation of you will ever be diminished through any punishment, either secretly or publicly, because of this story'" (82). The narrator supports this perspective, highlighting the lady's innocence in all this matter despite her ghastly deeds. Her intentions were pure and aimed at preserving her honor, and she was characterized by goodness (v. 755), and for that reason "God granted her His mercy" (82).

Undoubtedly, as scholars have repeatedly observed, there are many ethical, moral, religious, and philosophical problems entailed, and the discussion continues until today how to evaluate the countess's actions in self-defense. Many legal issues certainly would have to be taken into consideration, such as whether the woman committed murder or not,[57] but our task as interpreters is not to eval-

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57 Albrecht Classen, "Mord, Totschlag, Vergewaltigung, Unterdrückung und Sexualität. Liebe und Gewalt in der Welt von Heinrich Kaufringer," *Daphnis* 29.1 2 (2000): 3 36; id., "Execution, Murder, and the Ordinary Appearance of Death in Late Medieval *maeren* Pursuit of Honor, Satire, Disrespect, and Callousness," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 43 (2017/2018): 45 64; id., "Murder in

uate a medieval poet's take in that regard, but to examine the social, religious, mental, and ethical context and the narrative's position within its own literary-historical context.[58]

We can be certain, however, that the female protagonist had to go through many harrowing experiences, that she subsequently experienced a long period of a happy married life, and that she finally revealed the truth to her husband. Although the exchange between both is rather brief, he quietly and resolutely embraces her and assures her of his love and respect; he does not blame her for her deeds; instead, he empathizes with her long-term suffering and thus demonstrates his deep quality as her trusted partner. This married couple thus emerges as an ideal model of how husband and wife ought to cooperate and enjoy each other's company, as best expressed, at the end, with the fully working communication between them. Of course, what always matters here, the narrator also adds God's help in this case because he rescued this woman from "fall[ing] into danger from no fault of [her] own" (82).

E "The Quest for the Happily Married Couple"

There is always a learning process involved, since no marriage is ideal, especially not from the start. As much as people might be in love with each other, they are required to acquire communication skills, which are so fundamental for all human group interactions.[59] Kaufringer demonstrates this impressively with

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Medieval German Literature Disruptions and Challenges of Society. Crime and Self Determina tion in the Pre Modern World," *Neophilologus* 104.1 (2019): 97 117. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11061 019 09629 2 (last accessed on Jan. 17, 2022).

58 For a parallel approach regarding the *Nibelungenlied*, see now Katharina Prinz, *Helden und Verbrecher: Herausforderungen der wert und normbezogenen Erzähltextanalyse.* Allgemeine Lit eraturwissenschaft Wuppertaler Schriften, 23 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2021). There are a number of conceptual problems with Prinz's study, but she correctly highlights the ambivalence of some of the most cherished medieval protagonists. Regarding the high relevance of ethics and its teaching in the pre modern world, see the contributions to *Virtue Ethics and Education from Late Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Andreas Hellerstedt. Knowledge Communities (Am sterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018).

59 There are many relevant studies out there which serve both as self help guides and are also written by practitioners in the field of marriage counseling; see, for instance, Mary Anne Fitzpa trick, *Between Husbands & Wives: Communication in Marriage.* Sage Series in Interpersonal Com munication, 7 (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publishing, 1988); Michael Gurian, *Lessons of Lifelong Intimacy: Building a Stronger Marriage Without Losing Yourself The 9 Principles of a Balanced and Happy Relationship* (New York: Atria Books, 2015); Tom Wolfe, *The Kingdom of Speech* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2016); for a more humorous and yet valid approach, see Jan

his narrative "The Quest for the Happily Married Couple" (no. 8), which has also been discussed already from many different perspectives.[60] In our context, the lack of communication between the couple deserves particular attention. Although they enjoy a comfortable life together, she displays too much miserliness, as he perceives it, and he is a spendthrift, at least in her opinion. Nothing else diminishes their joy and happiness; they both demonstrate high ethical standards, they are much respected in their community, so they could be the ideal couple. Nevertheless, since they do not succeed in communicating properly about their differing standards of living, severe discontent enters their relationship and threatens to destroy it. Particularly the husband reaches a point of complete dissatisfaction:

> The entire city assumes, and says so as well, that she follows my wishes entirely. In reality she is totally opposed to me, indeed, more than anyone knows. I have suffered from it se cretly for a long time, and I cannot tolerate it any longer. We are not of one body as every one says and thinks about us. (45)

It remains unclear what he might intend with his subsequent plan, but he travels around the world for more than four years always in search of a perfectly married and entirely happy marriage. Of course, as to be expected, he fails and only comes across discord, disagreements, hostilities, and aggression, although the narrator does not go into any details here (46). At a point when he is about to give up, however, he encounters first one, and then another couple, each seemingly living in perfect harmony with each other. Each time, however, when he feels satisfied and is thus ready to return home, which would, of course, not change anything in his own personal situation there, he has to learn that he was deceived by a wrong impression and that the happiness in these marriages is nothing but an illusion, each time because of the wife's lack of self-control in sexual matters. The misogyny here is self-evident and does not need to be discussed further. Particularly in the second case, we learn that the wife was nym-

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cee Dunn, *How Not to Hate Your Husband After Kids* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2017); Nathaniel J. Klemp and Kaley Klemp, *The 80/80 Marriage: A New Model for a Happier, Stronger Relationship* (New York: Penguin Life, 2021).

60 Coralie Rippl, *Erzählen als Argumentationsspiel* (see note 35), 344 64; Albrecht Classen, "The Erotic and the Quest for Happiness in the Middle Ages. What Everybody Aspires to and Hardly Anyone Truly Achieves," *Eroticism in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Magic, Mar riage, and Midwifery*, ed. Ian Moulton. Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 39 (Tempe, AZ, and Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2016), 1 33; Hanno Rüther, *Grundzüge einer Po etologie des Textendes in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Studien zur historischen Poetik, 19 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2018), 352 58.

phomaniac and could not contain herself sleeping with many men in the city. The situation became so bad for the husband that he then resorted to an extreme solution. He secretly kidnapped a strong peasant and keeps him as a sex slave for his wife deep underground, which prevents any knowledge to leak out in the community. The miserable husband, who might be impotent, has even to admit to the protagonist that all of his six children are only bastards, they are not his own (49).

In light of this situation, having admitted his own suffering and grief, the poor man then advises the protagonist:

> "I advise you, honestly, do not stay away any longer from your virtuous and good wife. You behave badly toward her, indeed. She does not deserve to be treated this way because she is not guilty of any disloyalty. Her miserliness cannot be reprimanded. Believe me[,] if you in tend to travel around the country, you will squander your wealth and lose it entirely before you find what you are seeking." (49)

In fact, this advice has the desired effect, since he indeed returns immediately to his wife, accepts her as she is, tolerates her parsimoniousness, and realizes "that the lives that he and his wife enjoyed were free of shame and suffering" (50). In fact, he accepts her chiding when he becomes too excessive in his urge to party with his friends, meaning that he obviously cut back and thus established a new harmonious relationship with his wife.

This then allows the poet to conclude his narrative with an epimythium in which he advises his readers – apparently all male since he addresses husbands – to disregard a wife's dislike of spending money freely, especially if she does not demonstrate any other shortcomings, at least as perceived by him: "He should consign himself to it and not cause her any pain or aggravate her because it is the least shortcoming from which a woman might suffer" (50).

The outcome of this story is obvious, and yet needs further clarification. Although the poet does not specify in what ways the couple then harmonized, but we know that he stopped criticizing her for her miserliness, while he tried to reduce his excessive generosity and hospitality. In essence, we can conclude that they both began to listen to each other and adapted their lifestyles according to the ideals subscribed to by the other. There is, in short, a fundamental compromise which governs their marital life insofar as they overlooked small idiosyncracies espoused by the other partner. We are encouraged by the narrator to assume that this couple has finally found a way to communicate well with each other, which thus leads to their shared happiness.

F "Merchants in Disagreement"

There would be many more opportunities to investigate this issue in light of other *mæren* by Kaufringer. We discover over and over again narrative efforts to explore ways of how people can communicate efficiently and of how to learn thus to live together with a minimum amount of frictions and disagreements. Of course, as any other great fabulist, Kaufringer offers numerous alternatives, presents also highly negative and violent cases, such as "The Revenge of the Husband" (no. 13). The most poignant illustration of his central concern, however, can be detected in "Merchants in Disagreement" (no. 23) which consists of a long prologue and a brief tale, which does not engage with marriage, but with communication at large, which thus can serve us well to conclude our investigation.[61]

In the introduction, the narrator warns about the danger resulting from disagreement within a community, which could refer to a group of craftsmen, city councilmen, a married couple, or merchants, as is the case here. Of course, as the previous story ("The Search") indicated, different opinions could always exist, but there should be a certain degree of tolerance. However, in larger matters concerning the entire social group, harmony would be of central importance: "If people were of the same opinion and walked the path of righteousness, no one would suffer a loss" (119). Unfortunately, as Kaufringer observes, envy and hatred rule much of public life, and those who cannot defend themselves in legal disputes without the help of a lawyer would easily fall down to the bottom of society. Without targeting them explicitly, the poet still criticizes evil lawyers who "know how with their intelligence and skill and the support of their friends, to make wrong appear right, and right appear wrong" (119). Ultimately, virtue would be the victim, while, to use modern terms, fake news, a strong media presence, and the drowning out of facts to the disadvantage of truth would be able to rule.[62]

Moreover, expanding on those specific points of criticism, the narrator is deeply concerned about political conflicts driven by ideological differences:

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[61] Scholarship has mostly overlooked this tale; see, for instance, Michaela Willers, *Heinrich Kaufringer als Märenautor: Das Oeuvre des cgm 270* (Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2002), with not one reference to it. For some critical comments, however, see Hans Joachim Ziegeler, "Kleinepik im spätmittelalterlichen Augsburg Autoren und Sammlertätigkeit," *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Johannes Janota and Werner Williams Krapp. Studia Augustana, 7 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1995), 308 27.

[62] Kaufringer addresses a very similar concern in his narrative "The Councilors in the Cities" (no. 31).

"Each person wants to expel his friend and even destroy him. There are many conflicts when one person judges the other as unworthy" (119). Once such deep divides have splintered the urban community – or marriage, for instance – there is little hope left that it can come together again in the case of external threats. As if speaking like a twenty-first-century critic, Kaufringer notes: "Where there is no agreement, killing and murder happen" (119).

The subsequent account illustrates the consequences of selfishness, fear, lack of communication, disagreements, and simply greed. A large group of merchants is attacked by two robbers who pretend that they are the emissaries of a count who has a severe legal charge against four of them, not having paid back their debts. The merchants get together in a council and are immediately advised by a wise man among them: "'… we should all oppose that and not hand over anyone from among us as long as we have our lives and bodies. We should rather succumb to death. Together we will survive or die'" (120). This would indeed have worked out well, considering their large number versus the small band of robbers. But soon some of the merchants protests against the insinuation that they should fight on behalf of others when they feel completely innocent and thus hope to be spared by the count and his men. In a very short-sighted manner, representing utter egoism and cowardice, the opinion is voiced: "The person who is responsible should live up to his obligation" (120).

Most of the merchants foolishly and inconsiderately agree with this rash and highly selfish position, and against their own better judgment they submit to the robbers' demands without knowing any details, allowing them to apprehend the 'culprits.' The two criminals immediately jump on this opportunity and grab four of the wealthiest merchants and lead them away. Then they return and demand eight more of them who also "lost the count's grace and mercy" (120). This dismantles all their remaining resolve to resist, they kneel down and beg for mercy, but then the other robbers arrive, beat them up terribly and take all of their possessions.[63] A small band of these evil people thus managed to overcome a large group of coward and self-centered merchants and to steal all of their goods.

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[63] The thirteenth century Middle High German poet The Stricker pursued a very similar theme in his verse narrative "Der Riese" (The Giant), where a cannibal giant demands from a group of men to hand over the weakest of them, which also happens. The giant, however, is never con tent, demands ever more victims, until only one man is left, who desperately tries to set up some defense, but is told by the giant that this would be too late, whereas they all twelve could have resisted him effectively. The Stricker, *Erzählungen, Fabeln, Reden: Mittelhochdeutsch / Neuhoch deutsch*, ed., trans., and commentary by Otfrid Ehrismann (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1992), no. 14, 88 93. For an English translation and discussion of this text, see now Albrecht Classen,

Kaufringer strongly advises his audience to remember that strength rests in numbers, and if the entire group of merchants had held together, had listened to each other, and had acted upon the wise person's advice, they would have been able to fend off the two robbers, and also their six other companions. Although the story is not specifically addressing communication at such, it highlights the great need for agreement of the entire social group and shared actions to defend themselves against evil enemies: "Thus it might happen to those who are not of the same opinion, whether rich or poor, tall or small, noble or not noble..." (121). Of course, the narrator does not explain how this shared opinion could be established, but Kaufringer certainly suggests that only good council would achieve the desired goal of building a strong community capable of defending itself against external forces.

The catastrophic consequences of foolish behavior, of disregarding wise counsel, and of extreme self-centeredness, especially in dangerous situations, were also intensively discussed by Kaufringer's contemporary poet, the Constance city public notary, Heinrich Wittenwiler, in his allegorical verse narrative, *Der Ring* (ca. 1400). There, the outcome of the peasants' foolishness, ignorance, and violence is a war against their neighbors, who eventually manages to kill them all, with the exception of the male protagonist, Bertschi. But that imbecile does not understand what had really happened, or why they all had to die, and at the end retires into the Black Forest to live a life as a hermit, without having learned any lesson.[64] In short, the communication broke down, if it ever functioned in that peasant community, and this breakdown led to the war, which in turn led to the total annihilation of the entire population.

Conclusion

Kaufringer insists, both here in this short didactic verse narrative and many others from his pen, that only if people achieve a certain degree of constructive communication, i.e., close collaboration based on transparent and harmonious exchange of ideas, concepts, and values would they be able to maintain peace,

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Wisdom from the European Middle Ages: Literary and Didactic Perspectives. A Study, Anthology, and Commentary (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2022), 65 83; here 67 68.

64 Heinrich Wittenwiler, *Der Ring: Text Übersetzung Kommentar*, ed. Werner Röcke together with Annika Goldenbaum (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2012); Albrecht Classen, "The Horrors of War in the History of German Literature: From Heinrich Wittenwiler and Hans Jacob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen to Rainer Maria Remarque. Literary Outcries against Inhuman ity from the Fifteenth to the Twentieth Centuries," to appear in *Athens Journal of Philology.*

cooperation, and thus to establish a solid sense of community. We might respond to this observation with a shrug of the shoulder, confirming that this has always been the case and that much of literature from the Middle Ages was determined by this notion. But such a naive dismissal of what we have observed here would undermine some of the most important features of late medieval prose and verse narratives, from Boccaccio to Chaucer, from Kaufringer to Bracciolini, and then all the way to Marguerite de Navarre, namely the combination of the social inter-action with specific actions, both of which combined turning into a functioning communicative community.[65] In fact, we observe more negative examples of communication in medieval literature than the opposite, obviously because the presentation of conflicts, misunderstanding, hostility, and aggressive ex-changes in heroic epics, courtly romances and love poems, and allegorical nar-ratives, here not even considering late medieval Shrovetide plays, provided the best opportunity for instruction, teaching, and preaching.

Kaufringer appears as one of the most vocal and sophisticated representa-tives of late medieval poets who created their *mæren* with the purpose of ad-dressing their urban audiences with the almost explicit intention of providing in-struction about the pragmatics and ideals of communication, whether among husbands and wives or among the members of the city councils. Misunderstand-ing and miscommunication emerge here as some of the most egregious problems affecting not only marital couples, but social communities at large. I am afraid that the poet did not only identify and describe fundamental concerns relevant for his own world, but central issues which continue to be most pertinent and vexing for us as well.

As much as Kaufringer's verse narratives mirror the urban world of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in material terms, as much they easily emerge as powerful literary lenses through which we can actually study timeless problems troubling marital couples, social groups, political entities, and other larger entities.[66] While scholars have so far mostly focused on explicitly didactic

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65 Albrecht Classen, *Verzweiflung und Hoffnung* (see note 15).

66 Albrecht Classen, "Reflections on Key Issues in Human Life" (see note 32); id., "Literature as a Tool of Epistemology: Medieval Perspectives for Post Modernity. Or, the Post Modern World Long Anticipated by the Pre Modern: Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*, *Apollonius of Tyre*, Marie de France, and Ulrich Bonerius," *New Literaria   An International Journal of Interdis ciplinary Studies in Humanities* 1.2 (2020): 1 19; https://www.academia.edu/44670069/Literature as a Tool of Epistemology Medieval Perspectives for Post Modernity Or the Post Modern World Long Anticipated by the Pre Modern Boethiuss De consolation philosophiae Apollo nius of Tyre Marie; id., "Happiness   Pre Modern Answers for Questions Today from Boethius to *Fortunatus*," *Current Research Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*. 2021 4(1). Available

literature in the search for the poets' instructive messages concerning ethics and morality,[67] we can now certainly include also the entire genre of *mæren*, prose narratives, and *Schwänke* – all parallel to *lais*, *fabliaux*, *tales*, *novelle*, etc. across Europe – as a medium to engage with the respective audiences about proper forms of communication in public and private and about practical ways of building constructive and harmonious communities within urban societies and in marriages.[68]

online at: https://journalofsocialsciences.org/vol4no1/happiness pre modern answers for ques tions today from boethius to lt em gt fortunatus lt em gt / (both last accessed on Jan. 17, 2022).
67 Christoph Huber, "Lehrdichtung. B. II: Mittelalter," *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, vol. 5: *L Musi* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2000), 107 12; see also the contributions to *Dichtung und Didaxe: Lehrhaftes Sprechen in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Henrike Lähne mann and Sandra Linden (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009). However, neither Kau fringer nor any contemporary poets of *mæren* is considered here. Curiously, even though the thir teenth century poet Der Stricker is mentioned several times, but then always only in passing. For broader approaches concerning pan European didactic literature, see the contributions to *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, ed. Juanita Ferros Ruys. Disputatio, 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).
68 Rippl, *Erzählen als Argumentationsspiel* (see note 35), 315 16, observes that Kaufringer play fully brings to the narrative table various communicative games, contrasting argument against argument, almost like in a legal court case, allowing different opinions to clash with each other, that is, the opposing views of a juridical with a literary discourse. I would go one step further and suggest that the poet illustrated in many of his verse narratives the deployment of commu nicative situations and outlined the consequences of effective and ineffective communicative strategies.

Andreas Lehnertz and Birgit Wiedl

…written in my own Jewish hand.

Bilingual Business Documents from the Medieval Holy Roman Empire

Abstract: This paper examines the ways of communication and translation between Jews and Christians in the medieval Holy Roman Empire by looking into bilingual business documents. Both groups used specific *formulae* in their business dealings which point to processes of communication and translation between business partners. By doing so, Jews and Christians came to an understanding of each other's laws and customs – and how to mediate between these in order to satisfy both groups. The present study examines various examples of these processes of communication by highlighting specific *formulae* of business records and how Jews and Christians operated with them. Hebrew and German are here the main languages used in business records.

In the medieval Holy Roman Empire, bi- or multilingualism was an ordinary feature of Jewish daily life to different extents. While Jewish men and women were not the only social or religious group characterized by bi- or multilingualism,[1] they were likely the most recognizable in urban settings.[2] The

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1 For example, the Lombards. See Remigius W. M. van Schaïk, "On the Social Position of Jews and Lombards in the Towns of the Low Countries and Neighbouring German Territories During the Late Middle Ages," *Hart en marge in de laat middeleeuwse stedelijke maatschappij*, ed. Myriam Carlier, Anke Greve, Walter Prevenier, and Peter Stabel. Studies in Urban Social, Economic and Political History of the Medieval and Early Modern Low Countries, 7 (Leuven: Garant, 1997), 165 91; Franz Irsigler, "Juden und Lombarden am Niederrhein im 14. Jahrhundert," *Zur Ge*

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spoken language of communication between co-religionists and Christian neighbors being the vernacular meant that Jews in the Holy Roman Empire spoke German. In some regions, it was also French, Italian, or one of the Slavic languages.[3] Yet, Christians and Jews had to negotiate the language of written communication for legal dealings going beyond the simple communication of daily life, resulting in a whole set of diplomatic *formulae* – and indeed, it looks like both sides were part of these negotiations. This means that the Jewish business partners were not simply adjusting to the Christian *formulae*, but rather that these *formulae* – in Hebrew and German (as well as Latin) – were a result of their (vernacular) communication with their Christian busi-

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schichte der Juden in Deutschland des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, ed. Alfred Haverkamp. Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 24 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1981), 122 62. For England, see, e. g., Tim William Machan, "The Individuality of English in the Multilingual Middle Ages," *The Cambridge Handbook of English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Merja Kytö and Päivi Pahta (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 407 23; generally, see *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and the Premodern World. Communication and Miscommunication in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 17 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016).

2 Alfred Haverkamp, *Jews in the Medieval German Kingdom* (Trier: University Library, 2015), via http://ubt.opus.hbz nrw.de/volltexte/2015/916/pdf/Jews German Kingdom.pdf (last accessed on Oct. 1, 2021); Ivan G. Marcus, *Jewish Culture and Society in Medieval France and Germany*. Variorum Collected Studies Series, 1047 (Farnham et al.: Ashgate Publishing, 2014). On the multilingualism of England's Jews, see Judith Olszowy Schlanger, "The Money Language. Latin and Hebrew in Jewish Legal Contracts from Medieval England," *Studies in the History of Culture and Science. A Tribute to Gad Freudenthal*, ed. Resianne Fontaine, Ruth Glasner, Reimund Leicht, and Giuseppe Veltri. Studies in Jewish History and Culture, 30 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 233 50; on other languages apart from Latin mainly at 234 38.

3 This is also testified by the many French, German, and Slavic terms in Rabbinic literature of that period. For French and German, see Elisabeth Hollender, "Die Sprachen der Kölner Juden im Mittelalter nach ihren schriftlichen Zeugnissen," *Jiddisch im Rheinland: Auf den Spuren der Sprachen der Juden*, ed. Monika Grübel and Peter Honnen (Essen: Klartext, 2014), 41 56; Moritz Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der abendländischen Juden während des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*. Vol. 1 (Vienna: Hölder, 1880), 273 80; Avraham Grossman, *The Early Sages of Ashkenaz: Their Lives, Leadership, and Works (900 1096)* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988; Hebrew), 105, n. 129. For Czech, see James Lurie, "About the Question of What Language the Jews Had in Slavic Lands," *Tsaytshrift* 2 3 (1928): 747 48 (Yiddish); Lenka Uličná, "Alttschechische Glossen in den hebräischen Schriften des Mittelalters," *Aspekte der Sprachwissenschaft: Linguistik Tage Jena. 18. Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Sprache und Sprachen e.V.*, ed. Bettina Bock. Philologia. Sprachwissenschaftliche Forschungsergebnisse, 144 (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2010), 453 62; Alexander Kulik, "Jews and the Language of Eastern Slavs," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 104.1 (2014): 105 43.

ness partners.[4] Two characteristics are especially evident from these *formulae*; first, the usage of the Hebrew language, and second, the employment of Jewish legal practices for authentication. In this paper, we will investigate how bi- and multilingualism emerged primarily in records drawn up between Jewish and Christian business partners.[5]

Hebrew – mainly being the language of written communication, law, ritual practices, and the Holy Scriptures of the Jewish minority[6] – became a visual marker of Jewish identity (see Fig. 1). This is evidenced both by the fact that

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4 Eveline Brugger, "Jüdisches Urkundenwesen und christliche Obrigkeiten im spätmittelalterlichen Österreich," *Die Urkunde. Text – Bild – Objekt*, ed. Andrea Stieldorf. Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung, Beihefte, 12 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2019), 19–40; for England, see Philip Slavin, "Hebrew Went Latin. Reflections of Latin Diplomatic Formulae and Terminology in Hebrew Private Deeds from Thirteenth Century England," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 18 (2008): 306–25; Olszowy Schlanger, "Money Language" (see note 2); and, particularly on the highly formalized language of the legal language(s) in England, eadem, "'Meet You in Court': Legal Practices and Jewish Christian Relations in the Middle Ages" *Jews and Christians in Medieval Europe: The Legacy of Bernhard Blumenkranz*, ed. Philippe Buc, Martha Keil, and John V. Tolan. Religion and Law in Medieval Christian and Muslim Societies, 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 333–47. For a case of Christians forging Hebrew documents, see eadem, "Hebrew Documents and Justice: Forged Quitclaims from Medieval England," *Religious Minorities in Christian, Jewish and Muslim Law (5th–15th Centuries)*, ed. Nora Berend, Youna Hameau Masset, Capucine Nemo Pekelman, and John V. Tolan. Religion and Law in Medieval Christian and Muslim Societies, 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 413–37. For an edition of (partly) bilingual documents, see the work of eadem, *Hebrew and Hebrew Latin Documents from Medieval England: A Diplomatic and Paleographical Study.* 2 vols. Monumenta Paleographica Medii Aevi, Series Hebraica, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

5 Its potential was recently emphasized again by Judith Olszowy Schlanger, "Jewish Christian 'Notarial' Encounters. The Scribes of the Hebrew Documents of Cologne and their Practices," *Medieval Ashkenaz. Papers in Honour of Alfred Haverkamp, presented at the 17th World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem 2017*, ed. Christoph Cluse and Jörg R. Müller. Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden, A 31 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2021), 207–25.

6 Judith Olszowy Schlanger therefore differentiates for the Anglo Jewry between the vernacular (i. e., mostly French) as the spoken mother tongue and Hebrew as the written mother language, see Olszowy Schlanger, "Money Language" (see note 2), 234–35, on the question of the Jews' knowledge of Latin in which the majority of the business documents were written, see eadem, "Legal Practices" (see note 4), 343–45. However, at least for the Jewish inhabitants of the Holy Roman Empire, there is ample evidence in the Hebrew script on business records that many Jews were not all that used to writing in Hebrew, e. g., the note of the Jewish man Hitzel from Celje, whose handwriting style clearly shows that he was unaccustomed to writing in Hebrew, see Eveline Brugger and Birgit Wiedl, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden in Österreich im Mittelalter*. Vol. 1: *Von den Anfängen bis 1338*, vol. 2: *1339–1365*, vol. 3: *1367–1387*, vol. 4: *1388–1404* (Innsbruck, Vienna, and Bolzano: StudienVerlag, 2005, 2010, 2015, 2018), here vol. 3, 355, no. 1737.

Fig: 1: (Pseudo)Hebrew as an identifier for Jews; Koblenz, State Archives of Rheinland-Pfalz, Codex Balduini, ca. 1340, Best. 1 C Nr. 1 fol. 24.

Christian depictions of Jews often identify them by adding Hebrew or at least some fake Hebrew letters and words to their clothes[7]; and also by the fact that books – sacred or secular – produced for a Jewish audience visually revealed themselves through the Hebrew script as being "Jewish books." This becomes evident, for example, whenever Jews would take an oath toward Christians. The Jewry oath used in this case and witnessed by a mixed Christian and Jewish audience was administered on a Hebrew Pentateuch codex or the Torah scroll.[8] Furthermore, Christian book workshops often illuminated Hebrew Bibles, *mahzorim*, *haggadot*, and other prayer books.[9] If the Hebrew script functioned as a

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[7] Margaretha Boockmann, *Schrift als Stigma: hebräische und hebraisierende Inschriften auf Gemälden der Spätgotik*. Schriften der Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg, 16 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2013).

[8] See further below for more on the Jewry oath.

[9] See, for example, Sarit Shalev Eyni, *Jews Among Christians: Hebrew Book Illumination from Lake Constance* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

marker of Jewish identity, it was also a suitable and easy-to-recognize marker in business dealings between Jews and Christians.[10]

Jewish inhabitants were always – although with specific conditions – granted the privilege to judge within their communities according to the Jewish law (*halakha*). Economic reality and the participation in urban societies meant that Jewish men and women also abided by local (Christian) laws and customs when drawing up business records. The communication of one's legal understanding and standpoints, however, led to the creation or adoption of different kinds of *formulae* by the Jewish minority that both Jews and Christians, and their respective courts, would accept.

Thousands of records that stemmed from business contacts of all kinds between Jews and Christians have survived from the medieval Holy Roman Empire in hundreds of archives, the majority originating from the late fourteenth century onwards. We will explore the mutual understandings of each other's documentary practices in these Christian-Jewish business dealings, which contributed to the production of legal agreements that satisfied both parties' traditions and customs. Additionally, by considering pragmatic record-making and record-keeping, we will investigate different aspects of the usage of both German and Hebrew by using comparisons as methodological tool: First, we wish to analyze the *formulae* of bilingual records from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by way of drawing on indiwhich the Jewish creditor would scribbleidual examples; second, a detailed look into the ways of translation through Hebrew dorsal notes on records shall serve as yet another form of bilingual records; and finally, we will describe patterns of communication which attempted to mediate between different legal ideas and norms.

Translating *formulae* and *termini technici* Between Christians and Jews

Our first question is, where and in what type of business records do we find Hebrew writing? There are various possibilities to categorize medieval records – by

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10 Recently, this point was stressed by Micha J. Perry, "A Cultural History of Bilingual Charters from Catalonia   Language and Identity," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 111.2 (2021): 185   210; id., "He brew Innovations in Bilingual Catalan Charters," *Carmillim. For the Study of Hebrew and Related Languages* 14 (2019   2021; Hebrew): 115   37; Andreas Lehnertz, *Judensiegel im spätmittelalterlichen Reichsgebiet. Beglaubigungstätigkeit und Selbstrepräsentation von Jüdinnen und Juden.* 2 vols. Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden, A 30 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020), vol. 1, 50.

the issuer and/or the recipient, the content, the level of formality, and many more.[11] In general, however, two types of business records most commonly include Hebrew writing. Firstly, there are business records that were issued by Jewish businessmen and -women for Christian recipients (e.g., receipts, but also sale deeds), which often feature corroborations in Hebrew, such as the signatures of the Jewish issuer and/or Jewish witnesses, or even a repetition of the record's content in Hebrew. Secondly, there are those records issued by the Christian business partner for the Jewish recipient, such as debenture bonds and confirmations of pawning, onto which the Jewish creditor would scribble his or her[12] notes for the own use. In this first section, we will examine exclusively the addressees receiving these records.

A sale deed from 1305 includes in its German text a Christian official attesting to the sale of a vineyard by four Jewish brothers from Vienna to the Monastery of Kremsmünster (see Fig. 2). However, it is only in the attached Hebrew record that the four Jewish brothers confirm the sale of their vineyard, making the Hebrew record, which was in fact written four days before the German one, the sole document the buyer (i.e., the monastery) received directly from the seller (i.e., the Jewish brothers).[13] Even though issued for a monastery, and thus for a community with above-average literacy skills, the chance that any of the residents of the monastery would have been able to read this Hebrew record is still scarce in the fourteenth century. This raises the question of the possible use a Christian monastery could gain from a record which they were most likely not able to understand, neither in its written form nor in a (possible) oral reading.

A diplomatic analysis of the Hebrew record, however, shows that the four Jewish issuers followed to a large extent the *formulae* of a typical sales record issued in German, including the essential legal terms. They confirm the sale and the receipt of payment, but, even more important for the buyer, they also included the indemnity clause (hold harmless obligation; *Schadloserklärung*) for the buyers, promising them to compensate them for any third-party-claims against the sold vineyard. While the German record of the Christian official men-

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11 The literature on medieval charters and records is vast; for a   by no means exhaustive overview, see *Medieval Documents as Artefacts: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Codicology, Palaeography and Diplomatics*, ed. Everardus C. Dijkhof. Schrift en schriftdragers in de Nederlanden in de Middleeuwen, 6 (Hilversum: Verloren, 2020); Thomas Vogtherr, *Urkundenlehre: Basiswissen*. Hahnsche historische Hilfswissenschaften, 3 (Hanover: Hahn, 2008); id., *Einführung in die Urkundenlehre*, sec. ed. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2017).

12 Andreas Lehnertz, "Margarete, Reynette and Meide: Three Jewish Women from Koblenz in the 14th Century," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 28 (2021): 388   405; here 12   13.

13 Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 1 (see note 6), 119   20, nos. 124 (Hebrew) and 125 (German).
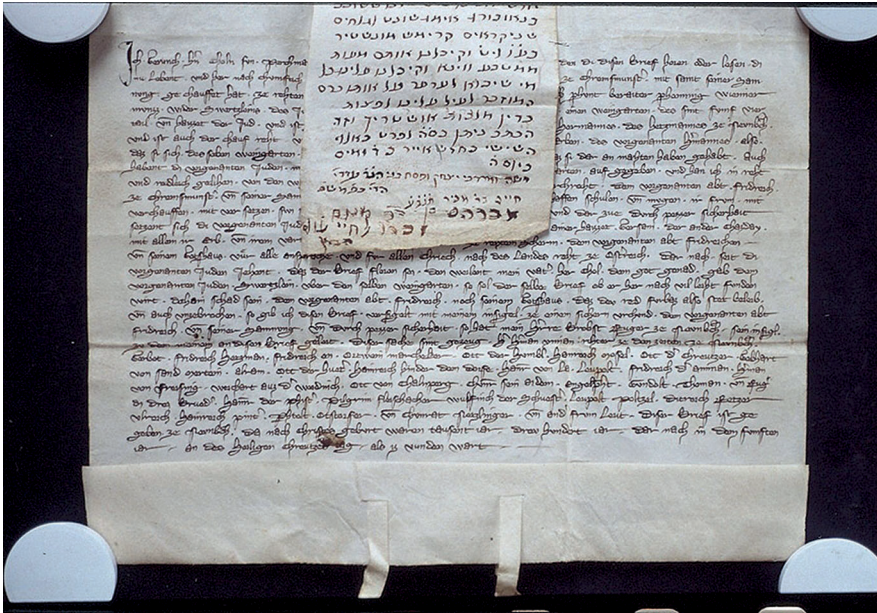
Fig. 2: German and Hebrew sale deeds concerning a vineyard; Archives of the Monastery of Kremsmünster, Urk. 1305 V 3.

tioned this indemnity clause, usually only the record issued directly by the seller could be considered legally binding in case of indemnity claims – and in this case, the Hebrew record of the four brothers was obviously deemed sufficient.

It is important to bear in mind that written records in the Middle Ages were generally considered objects of legal value, regardless of the fact that many of the document holders were not able to read them, even if they were written in the vernacular, and therefore had to rely on an oral presentation of the document's content.[14] All the same, they were aware of the legal authority the object itself carried, and the rituals that surrounded its issuance (including witnesses), handover, and (potential) presentation before court.[15] Therefore, the first impor-

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14 For an example of a Christian's obligation that was read to the public after having been pre sented in court by the Jewish plaintiff, see Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 4 (see note 6), 85, no. 1978, where the reading of the record is explicitly mentioned in the court verdict, see also Brugger, "Jüdisches Urkundenwesen" (see note 4), 31.

15 It would lead way too far astray here to delve into the broad field of records as spaces of communication and ritual. See, generally, Gerd Schwerhoff, *Die Macht der Rituale. Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter*, sec. ed. (2003; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft,

tant point to emphasize is that Hebrew texts on or attached to German (or Latin) records were considered to have the same legal authority as the vernacular surrounding it.[16] This held true even when Christian business partners could not understand the Hebrew and yet someone read it aloud to them.[17] A case from Frankfurt exemplifies the validity of Hebrew records: In 1430, the municipal council had two "very small" Hebrew records – which had no seals but only signatures (*sere cleyne judische unversigelte zedele*) – read aloud by Jews before witnesses in German translation. These records were declarations of the royal ban over two Jews which forbid other Jews the contact with them.[18] Obviously, legal authorities had sufficient trust in the Jewish translators to rely on them in such a way.

However, not only do Hebrew records that are attached to German ones prove the validity of the language, but also the acceptance of Hebrew records before Christian law courts testify to this: Another case from Frankfurt demonstrates that in 1466, three Hebrew records were brought before the Christian court as evidence for the compensation of three Jewish heirs in the sale of a house. A certain Jew who was not involved in this case translated (*gedutschet*) these records – most likely orally – and took an oath upon his testimony before the Christian (as well as possibly Jewish) audience.[19]

2013). For charters, see Mark Mersiowsky, *Die Urkunde in der Karolingerzeit: Originale, Urkunden praxis und politische Kommunikation*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica Schriften, 60 (Wiesba den: Harrassowitz, 2003); Hagen Keller, "Schriftgebrauch und Symbolhandeln in der öffentli chen Kommunikation: Aspekte des gesellschaftlich kulturellen Wandels vom 5. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 37 (2004): 1 24. Texts, writing materials, and writ ing surfaces have been the central focus of many medieval studies in the context of the *material turn*, yet only recently studies have also included the materiality of records, see, for example, vol. 28 of the series *Materielle Textkulturen: The Roll in England and France in the Late Middle Ages. Form and Content*, ed. Stefan G. Holz, Jörg Peltzer, and Maree Shirota (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2019); see further Stieldorf, *Die Urkunde* (see note 4); see also Eveline Brugger, "*All unser brief und register*   zur Dokumentation jüdisch christlicher Kreditgeschäfte im Vorfeld der Wiener Gesera," *Materielle Kulturen mittelalterlicher Kreditbeziehungen*, ed. Stephan Nicolus si Köhler, Tanja Skambraks, and Sebastian Steinbach. *Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävis tischer Forschung* 27.2 [forthcoming in 2022].

16 Brugger, "Jüdisches Urkundenwesen" (see note 4).

17 Our sources suggest that such records were read before witnesses and this is also suggested by the formula saying that everyone shall know about the record's content   whether they read it or "hear it being read aloud." See also below.

18 David Schnur, *Die Juden in Frankfurt am Main und in der Wetterau im Mittelalter: christlich jüdische Beziehungen, Gemeinden, Recht und Wirtschaft von den Anfängen bis um 1400*. Schriften der Kommission für die Geschichte der Juden in Hessen, 30 (Wiesbaden: Kommission für die Ge schichte der Juden in Hessen, 2017), 193.

19 Schnur, *Die Juden in Frankfurt am Main* (see note 18), 232. For the validity of Hebrew ledgers before Christian courts of law, see *Germania Judaica*, Vol. 3: *1350 1519*, Part 3: *Gebietsartikel, Ein*

In turn, the Christian business partner was likely aware of the specific legal status of the Jews (Jewry law) and had perhaps even limited knowledge of the Jews' customary laws (*minhagim*). Therefore, he could have asked for an assurance that would also have held up in a law court. Thus, Christians often demanded an additional record or the authentication of an existing record through a signature of their Jewish business partners – which they did in Hebrew (and in rarer cases also in Yiddish/German in Hebrew letters[20]). Such a practice in Christian-Jewish business dealings brought a high level of legal security.[21] However, while the German text is usually referred to as "in the Aramaic record" (בכתב ארמיי), "in the written language of the uncircumcised [lit. foreskins; i.e., non-Jews]" (בלשון ערלים), "in the writing of the Goyim [i.e., the non-Jews]" (בכתיבת הגוים), or "in the monkish record" (בכתב גלחות) in the Hebrew confirmations with its signatures,[22] in some cases, the word *pasul* (פסול, "legally invalid") is used instead, which indicates – somewhat polemically – that they considered the German text alone not legally binding before a Jewish court.[23]

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leitungsartikel und Indices, ed. Mordechai Breuer, Yacov Guggenheim, and Arye Maimon (Tübin gen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 2194. Likewise, the Jewish court of law (*beit din*) also accepted records in German as well as Yiddish and not only in Hebrew (and Aramaic), see *Germania Judaica,* Vol. 3: *1350 1519*, Part 2: *Ortschaftsartikel Mährisch Budwitz Zwolle*, ed. Mordechai Breuer, Yacov Guggenheim, and Arye Maimon (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 1673 (Worms). On Chris tian witnesses before Jewish courts, see Martha Keil, "Christliche Zeugen vor jüdischen Gericht en. Ein unbeachteter Aspekt christlich jüdischer Begegnung im spätmittelalterlichen Aschke nas," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 117 (2009): 272 83. For England, see Olszowy Schlanger, "Legal Practices" (see note 4), particularly 337 40.

20 For example, the confirmations with signatures of the Jewish woman Selda in 1484 (Vienna, Archiv der Universität, B 139, 1484 VII 14) or the imprisoned Jew Kelin from Ulm in 1436 (Erfurt, Municipal Archives, 0 1 / 6 6).

21 On the usage of Hebrew as an "additional element to the document's validity," see for Eng land Olszowy Schlanger, "Money Language" (see note 2), 246, and eadem, "Legal Practices" (see note 4), 337.

22 Among the many examples from Austria, see Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 3 (see note 6), 24 25, no. 1168, 55 56, no. 1225 (Aramaic), 78, no. 1966 (uncircumcised), 185, no. 1442 (monk ish), 305, no. 1651 (written language of the Goyim), see also Martha Keil, "Jewish Business Con tracts from Late Medieval Austria as Crossroads of Law and Business Practice," *Religious Minor ities in Christian, Jewish and Muslim Law (5th 15th Centuries)*, ed. John V. Tolan, Nora Berend, and Youna Hameau Masset. Religion and Law in Medieval Christian and Muslim Societies, 8 (Turnh out: Brepols, 2017), 353 67; here 362.

23 E.g., Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 3 (see note 6), 359 60, no. 1746: A Hebrew quittance of Smeril and Eberlein of Wiener Neustadt to their debtor Paul Haiden, in which they refer to Hai den's obligation as *pasul*, which is not mentioned in the added German summary, see Keil, "Jew ish Business Contracts" (see note 22), 362 63; Brugger, "Jüdisches Urkundenwesen" (see note 4), 31.

At the same time, the Jewish issuers themselves adapted much of the diplomatic *formulae* that were the "skeletal structure" of the German legal documents.[24] In doing so, they not only demonstrated a deep understanding of local legal customs, but also a wish to adhere in their Hebrew records to the same *formulae* they were familiar with through the German (as well as Latin) records. Hence, it does not come as a surprise that many Hebrew records follow the German "layout" and even translate verbatim the core parts of a business document.[25] The Jewish issuers "declare" (German: *tun kund,* Hebrew: מודיע) its content,[26] their indemnification clause is similar to the German,[27] and in these clauses, they often stand bail "with their entire property that they own" (German: *auf allem unserm guet daz wir haben*, Hebrew: עלינו ועל כל ממונינו שיש לנו)[28] should the

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24 For the following, see also Keil, "Jewish Business Contracts" (see note 22); Georg Herlitz, "Hebraismen in lateinischen und deutschen Judenurkunden des Mittelalters," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Juden. Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstag Martin Philippsons*, ed. Gesellschaft zu Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums (Leipzig: Gustav Fock, 1916), 39–52, Birgit Wiedl, "*Do hiezen si der Juden mesner ruefen*. Jüdisch christliche Geschäftsurkunden als Quellen zur Alltagsgeschichte," *Abrahams Erbe. Konkurrenz, Konflikt und Koexistenz der Religionen im europäischen Mittelalter*, ed. Ludger Lieb, Klaus Oschema, and Johannes Heil. Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung, Beihefte 2 (Berlin, Munich, and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 437–53.

25 For phrases that were translated from the Hebrew to Latin in English business documents, see Olszowy Schlanger, "Money Language" (see note 2), 248–49; Slavin, "Hebrew Went Latin" (see note 4); Dean A. Irwin, "Acknowledging Debt in Medieval England: A Study of the Records of Medieval Anglo Jewish Moneylending Activities, 1194–1276," Ph.D. diss., Canterbury Christ Church University 2020, 119–65. It is, however, striking that many Hebrew documents like those from the Cologne, the *Judenschreinsbuch*, those from the Jewish community of Speyer, and others were written on parchment of lower quality since many such records clearly derive from the thinner leg parts of the animals. See also the images provided in Andreas Lehnertz, "Two Seals of Muskinus the Jew (Moshe b. Yehiel, d. 1336), the Archbishop of Trier's Negociator," *A Companion to Seals in the Middle Ages*, ed. Laura Whatley. Reading Medieval Sources, 2 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019), 242–63; here: 262; and Olszowy Schlanger, "Jewish Christian 'Notarial' Encounters" (see note 5), 213 and 223; see also Speyer, Municipal Archives, Urkundenreihe 1 U (1182 1789) 0257 (see Figs. 4 and 5), online via https://www.monasterium.net/mom/DE StaASpeyer/1U/0249/charter (last accessed on Oct. 1, 2021).

26 See for a Hebrew/Latin version of this phrase of the *promulgation*, Olszowy Schlanger, "Money Language" (see note 2), 248.

27 Such as in the aforementioned record of the four Jewish brothers; see Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 1 (see note 6), 261–62, no. 310, 330–31, no. 430: hold harmless obligations "according to the laws of the Kingdom [i.e., Duchy] of Austria" (כדין פיצוי הנוהג במדינת אושטרייך). For this concept, see also Shmuel Shilo, *Dina de Malkhuta Dina: The Law of the State is Law* (Jerusalem: Academic Press, 1974; Hebrew).

28 Vienna, Municipal Archives, Bürgerspitalurkunde no. 85, Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 2 (see note 6), 10–11, nos. 459 (German record of Schalaun and Ester from Vienna) and 460 (their He

need arise, just as their Christian business partner did in their records for any Jewish (and of course other Christian) recipients. The Jewish businessmen and -women further promised to adhere to local legal customs such as municipal or manorial laws. The wording of their records diverge only in a few phrases – the typical part of the *promulgatio* in which the issuer declared the content of the charter to the general public, like "to all who see or hear the charter being read" (German: *allen den die disen brief lesent oder hoerent lesen*, Hebrew: לכל רואים כת׳ זו או שומ׳ קריאתי),[29] is in the Hebrew records often changed to "all who see this [or: our] charter" (Hebrew: לכל רואי כתבינו),[30] implying that other Jews would more likely be able to read it for themselves and not rely on the ritual of records read publicly to an audience.[31]

Such adaptations of the written records' *formulae* even hold sway for the date. While Jewish issuers dated their German records according to the Christian calendar, with Saints' dates, Christ's birth, and the common Christian counting of the year, their Hebrew records usually followed the Jewish calendar. Only very rarely are both calendar systems present in the German records: Kelin and Ester of Erfurt, for example, dated their oath "from the beginning of the world according to the Jewish number the 5193rd year and the 21st day of the month Tisseri, and according to the Christian number the 1432nd year and on Wednesday Lamperti" (*von anbeginne der werlde nach der Judem czal funff tusient vnde hundert jar vnde dar nach jndeme dry vndenuczigisten jare des eyn vndeczweyntzigisten tagis des monden Tisseri genant*) (see Fig. 3). The Jewish and the Christian date converts to 1432, September 17th, showing their familiarity

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brew record, tied to the German one); see also https://www.monasterium.net/mom/AT WStLA/ HABsp/85/charter (last accessed on Sept. 28, 2021). See for similar *formulae*, e. g., in records from England, Irwin, *Acknowledging Debt* (see note 25), 148 50.

29 German quoted here from Vienna, Municipal Archives, Bürgerspitalurkunde no. 85; Hebrew in Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 4 (see note 6), 37 38, no. 1906.

30 E. g., Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 3 (see note 6), 135, no. 1362.

31 For assessments of reading and writing skills of Jews in medieval Central Europe, see Stefan C. Reif, "Aspects of Medieval Jewish Literacy," *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 134 55; Ephraim Kanarfogel, "Prayer, Literacy, and Literary Memory in the Jewish Communities of Medieval Europe," *Jewish Studies at the Crossroads of Anthropology and History*, ed. Raanan S. Boustan, Oren Kosansky, and Marina Rustow. Jewish Culture and Contexts (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 250 70, 397 404; Robert Bonfil, "Das Lesen in den jüdischen Gemeinden Westeuropas im Mittelalter," *Die Welt des Lesens. Von der Schriftrolle zum Bildschirm*, ed. Roger Chartier and Gugliemo Cavallo (Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus Fachbuch, 1999), 219 62.

with both calendars.[32] In other cases, such as in the records of the Jewish businesswoman Rachele from Erfurt, Jewish issuers of German records emphasized that date according to the Saint's day is "as the Christians say" (*als dÿ Cristin sprechen*), possibly in order to avoid idolatry.[33]

The Christian perspective on Hebrew permanently fluctuated between the "holy language" of the (surely still "Christian") Bible and a target of vicious polemics, such as the "Jewish barking and wailing" that the Dominican friars in thirteenth-century London and fifteenth-century German songwriter Michel Beheim supposedly heard emanating from the synagogue, or the pseudo-Hebrew the German author Hans Folz from Nuremberg had his (of course, Christian) actors speak during his Shrovetide Plays.[34] Despite the ongoing ambivalence, Christians clearly accepted Hebrew as a "language of legal matters" on a daily (business) basis.[35] We can also see this in sales cases where all the documents pertaining to the sold item – older sales records, records of mortgages, and so on – were handed over to the new owner, which was generally a standard procedure in the Middle Ages.[36] Thus, when Issachar, a Jewish inhabitant of Vienna,

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32 Erfurt, Stadtarchiv, 0 0/A47 16. For Jewish knowledge of the Christian calendar, see Elishe va Baumgarten, "Shared and Contested Time: Jews and the Christian Ritual Calendar in the Late Thirteenth Century," *Viator* 46 (2015): 253 76; eadem, "Timely Negotiations: On Jewish Time and Christian Time in Medieval Ashkenaz," *In and Out, Between and Beyond Jewish Daily Life in Medieval Europe*, ed. eadem and Ido Noy (Jerusalem: The Max and Iris Stern Gallery, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2021), 65 70; C. Philipp E. Nothaft and Justine Isserles, "Calendars Be yond Borders: Exchange of Calendrical Knowledge Between Jews and Christians in Medieval Eu rope," *Medieval Encounters* 20 (2014): 1 37; Elisheva Carlebach, *Palaces of Time: The Jewish Cal endar and Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011).

33 Lehnertz, *Judensiegel im spätmittelalterlichen Reichsgebiet* 2 (see note 10), 660 61. See also Keil, "Jewish Business Contracts" (see note 22), 361 62.

34 Birgit Wiedl, "Anti Jewish Polemics in Business Charters from Late Medieval Austria," *Verg ing on the Polemical: Exploring the Boundaries of Medieval Religious Polemic Across Genres and Research Cultures. Medieval Worlds. Comparative & Interdisciplinary Studies*, 7 (2018): 61 79, here: 72, online at https://www.medievalworlds.net/medieval worlds (last accessed on Sept. 11, 2021); Johannes Heil, *"Gottesfeinde" "Menschenfeinde". Die Vorstellung von jüdischer Welt verschwörung (13. bis 16. Jahrhundert)*. Antisemitismus: Geschichte und Strukturen, 3 (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2006), 113 and 174. Additionally, in a reverse claim, Beheim accused the Jews of bad mouthing the Christians' singing in Church as "hellish howls," id., 113, fn. 181.

35 Keil, "Jewish Business Contracts" (see note 22), 353 68; Brugger, "Jüdisches Urkundenwe sen" (see note 4).

36 Arnold Esch, "Überlieferungschance und Überlieferungszufall als methodisches Problem des Historikers," *Historische Zeitschrift* 240 (1985): 529 70; a detailed analysis of the losses with in a specific *corpus* of records was done for St. Gall by Stefan Sonderegger, "Verluste Zahlen statt Spekulationen: drei Fälle von quantifizierbaren Urkundenverlusten in der Sanktgaller Über

Fig. 3: Use of both Jewish and Christian Calendar; Erfurt, Municipal Archives, 0–0 A47–16.

sold his house to a certain Christian in 1389, he handed over five sale deeds in German which documented the earlier transactions of the house between its former owners, which included both Christians and Jews. In addition, "a Hebrew charter" (*ain ebranischen brief*) was delivered by Issachar, which documented his purchase of the house from its last owner, the Jewish man Noyel. Although these two Jewish business partners obviously saw no need for a German record, their Hebrew document was nevertheless considered an essential part of the legal documentation by the new Christian house owner, who therefore demanded that it was handed over together with the other German records.[37]

Similarly, records issued by Jews in the German language needed authentication, just as was the case for their Christian counterparts. While, in general, the

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lieferung des Spätmittelalters," *Archiv für Diplomatik. Schriftgeschichte, Siegel und Wappen kunde* 59 (2013): 433   52.

37 Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 4 (see note 6), 52, no. 1926.

authentication of medieval records included the attachment of one or more seals, seal-bearing was not generally as common among Jews as it was for Christians.[38] Therefore, the Hebrew signature – which is referred to as "Jewish hand writing" ("as written in my Jewish hand writing," *in meiner juedischen hantgeschrift*)[39] – served as a means of authentication that was not only accepted but even demanded by the Christian recipient.[40] This is evidenced in the wording which was adopted at times. While in most cases, the words *underschrift* ("signature") or *underhantschrift* ("hand signature") are used to announce the following Hebrew signature, the Jewish businessmen Afrusch, an inhabitant of the small Styrian town of Voitsberg, for example, consequently used the phrase *mein verschriebens judisch insigel* ("my written Jewish seal"), sometimes adding *mit mein judenschrift* ("with my Jewish writing"). This describes the legal function of the signature in the context of their business dealings with Christians even more precisely, and bears testament to the knowledge of Jewish businessmen of the legal procedures and the diplomatic *formulae*.[41]

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38 Lehnertz, *Judensiegel im spätmittelalterlichen Reichsgebiet* 1 (see note 10), 124 27.

39 E. g., Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 3 (see note 6), 308 09, no. 1657 (signature of David Steuss from Vienna), other examples with slightly different wording, see id., 235 36, no. 1530 (Chat schim and Schebel from Celje, "with both our aforementioned Jews' hand writing"), 378 79, no. 1780 (Mosche from Maribor, "with my Jewish hand writing"); eadem, *Regesten* 4 (see note 6), 37 38, no. 1906 (Nachim of Slovenj Gradec, "with my Nachim the Jew's Jewish hand writ ing"), 59 60, no. 1937 (Judel from Celje, "with my Jewish hand writing which I have written below onto the deed"), among many others.

40 An impressive example of the validity of the Hebrew signature as a means of authentication and its legal equation with the (Christian) seal is the series of charters Count Ulrich of Celje and Isserlein of Korneuburg issued together as arbitrators of Duke Albrecht III in 1367. They authen ticated each according to their legal tradition the count with his seal and Isserlein with his signature. It can be speculated that Isserlein actually possessed a seal himself (it is depicted in a version of *Sefer Mordechai* commissioned by him). If this is the case, Isserlein nevertheless chose to use his signature to validate the documents; the thus resulting charters are further tes timony as to how written documents could be a shared space for Christians and Jews. See Brug ger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 3 (see note 6), 37 39, nos. 1194 95, 49 50, no. 1215, 50 52, nos. 1217 18; see also Keil, "Jewish Business Contracts" (see note 22), 359 60; for Isserlein's *Sefer Mordechai*, see Martha Keil, "Gemeinde und Kultur Die mittelalterlichen Grundlagen jü dischen Lebens in Österreich," Eveline Brugger, eadem, Barbara Staudinger, Christoph Lind, and Albert Lichtblau, *Geschichte der Juden in Österreich.* Series Österreichische Geschichte, ed. Her wig Wolfram. Sec. rev. ed. (2006; Vienna: Carl Ueberreuter, 2016), 15 122; here 28 29 (with an illustration).

41 Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 3 (see note 6), 389, no. 1799, 397 98, no. 1817, 407, no. 1834; eadem, *Regesten* 4 (see note 6), 121, no. 2030, 274, no. 2284 (records between 1385 and 1403); also eadem, *Regesten* 3 (see note 6), 380 81, no. 1783 (Smoiel, *iudisch insigel*, "Jewish seal"). Similarly, the Hebrew signature of Jacob, who signed a quitclaim for the Abbot of Newhouse,

Fig. 4: Use of a Hebrew phrase in a German record of the city council of Speyer; Speyer, Municipal Archives, Urkundenreihe 1 U, no. 248.

While Afrusch from Voitsberg (and many others) used a German description of his signature, there is also evidence of language transfer in the "other direction:" German records, issued by Christians would apply specifically Jewish *termini* derived from the Hebrew when addressing Jewish recipients or dealing with "Jewish" matters. As for the issue of dating, the law court books of Frankfurt (*Frankfurter Gerichtsbücher*) decided over a case in 1346, in which a Jewish creditor litigated against his Christian debtor over one pound Heller, including the interest accumulated since the *Pasca judeorum* (Pessach).[42] In their record from 1333, the city council of Speyer speaks of a *gehesemet brief* ("a signed record"), referring to the attached Hebrew record which is signed by the *kahal Shpira* (קהל

England, in lieu of his father Leon, was described in the Latin text as *sigillaui* ("having sealed"); see Olszowy Schlanger, "Money Language" (see note 2), 245 46.

42 Schnur, *Die Juden in Frankfurt am Main* (see note 18), 239.
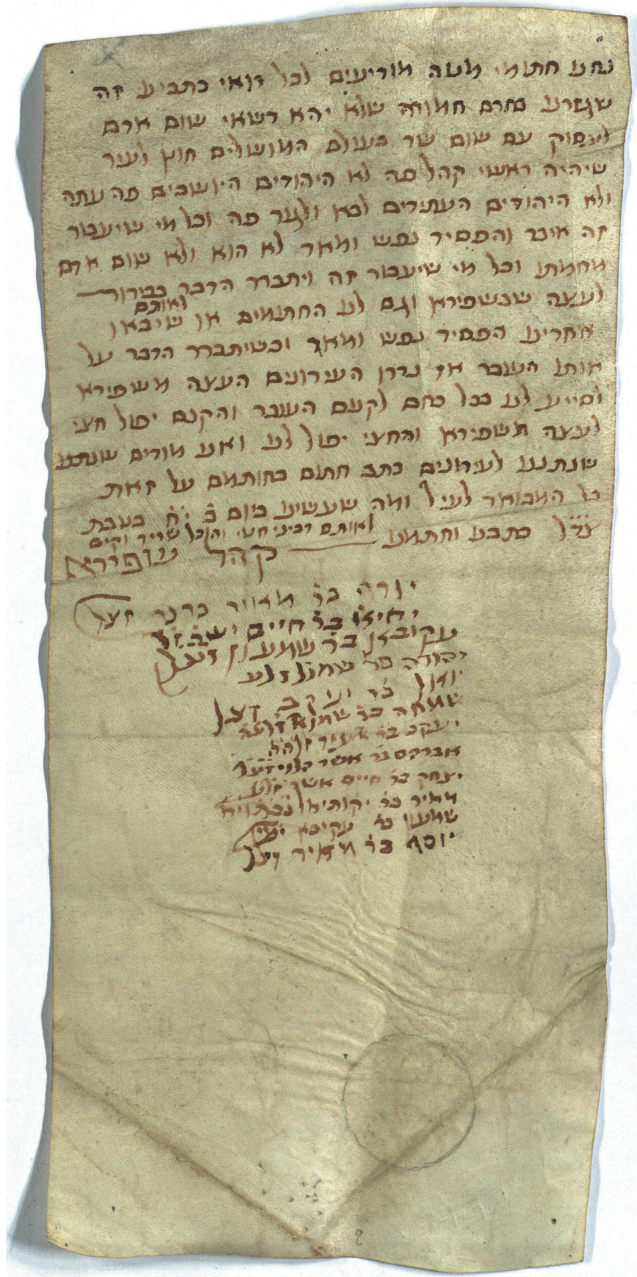
Fig. 5: Hebrew record of the Jewish community of Speyer; Speyer, Municipal Archives, Ur-kundenreihe 1 U, no. 248.

שפירא, "the Jewish community of Speyer") as well as the twelve members of the Jewish council (see Figs. 4 and 5).[43] The word *gehesemet*, in the German text, was derived from the Hebrew *hatam* (חתם), meaning both "to sign" and "to seal." In this version, it is conjugated with the German prefix "ge-," composed in the same way as the German word for "to seal" (*siegeln*) would be formed: *gesiegelt* ("sealed"). This Hebrew word – or, rather, Hebrew-German hybrid – appears not only in the record of the Speyer municipal council, but in quite a few Christian records as a *terminus technicus* for a Hebrew signature.[44] The use (and adaption) of a Hebrew word in business contexts can also be traced in other territories – the Latin word *starrum* (and the modern academic term *starr*) which was used in medieval England to describe a Jewish legal contract, is most likely derived from the Hebrew word *shtar* (שטר; receipt, quittance).[45]

A particularly interesting example for the use and validity of Hebrew in a Christian context is the Vienna "Zinsrevers" (see Fig. 6). In 1338, under the impression of the wide-ranging persecutions that followed an alleged host desecration in the Lower Austrian town of Pulkau, the Jewish community of Vienna willingly (or so the record stated) reduced the interest rates from eight to three pennies per week and pound for loans to the citizens of Vienna.[46] This – clearly coerced – concession was documented twice. In their German charter, Dukes Albrecht II and Otto confirmed the interest reduction and corroborated the text that was to be attached to their charter: the Hebrew record issued by the Jewish community.[47]

The issuance of a record by the Jewish community is in itself interesting since the dukes would have been within their rights as the lords of the Jews sim-

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43 Speyer, Municipal Archives, Urkundenreihe 1 U, no. 248, online: https://www.monasterium. net/mom/DE StaASpeyer/1U/0240/charter (last accessed on Sept. 11, 2021).
44 Lehnertz, *Judensiegel im spätmittelalterlichen Reichsgebiet* 1 (see note 10), 127 29; id., "Ka tavti al ha Tsetel Aschkenasische Wörter in Quellen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Jiddistik Mit teilungen* 51 (2014): 1 15; Simon Neuberg, "Noch einmal die *Bney Hes: (be)hesemen*," *Jiddistik Mitteilungen* 29 (2003): 10 13.
45 Olszowy Schlanger, "Money Language" (see note 2), 233, with n. 1. The *starrs* are edited in Olszowy Schlanger, *Hebrew and Hebrew Latin Documents from Medieval England* (see note 4).
46 Eveline Brugger and Birgit Wiedl, "Judenschutz und Hostienschändungslegenden. Die 'Pul kauer Verfolgung' von 1338," *David. Jüdische Kulturzeitschrift* 30 (2018): 62 63; Birgit Wiedl and Daniel Soukoup, "Die Pulkauer Judenverfolgungen (1338) im Spiegel österreichischer, böhmisch er und mährischer Quellen," '*Avigdor, Benesch, Gitl'. Juden in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien im Mittelalter*, ed. Helmut Teufel, Pavel Kocman, and Mila Řepa (Essen: Klartext, 2016), 129 58.
47 Vienna, Municipal Archives, H.A. Uk. no. 198, ducal charter with the Hebrew record sown onto the tag of Duke Otto's seal, see Fig. 6. Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 1 (see note 6), 336 38, nos. 439 (Hebrew) and 440 (German). As in the example from Kremsmünster from 1305, the Hebrew record is dated earlier (in this case, one day) than the German one.

Fig. 6: Charter of the Dukes of Austria with attached record of the Jewish community (upside down); Vienna, Municipal Archives, H.A. Uk. no. 198.

ply to decree the interest reduction, and their charter alone would of course have been sufficient in any court of law. Nevertheless, the city of Vienna obviously deemed it necessary to receive an acknowledgement of this "agreement" (i. e., in reality, the interest reduction against the community's safety) directly from the Jewish inhabitants themselves, and in Hebrew.[48] The Hebrew document has no contemporary German counterpart, which is once again proof of the legal validity of Hebrew in a Christian context, even in a situation where the Jewish party was clearly at a severe and more than only legal disadvantage. Furthermore, the Hebrew record uses the same stock phrasing as in the ducal charter.

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48 In the early fourteenth century, the Austrian dukes still upheld the protection of their Jewish subjects and were inclined to act against urban interests on occasion; see the overview by Eve line Brugger, "Von der Ansiedlung bis zur Vertreibung Juden in Österreich im Mittelalter," eadem, Keil, Staudinger, Lind, and Lichtblau, *Geschichte der Juden in Österreich* (see note 40), 123 227; here 218 19.
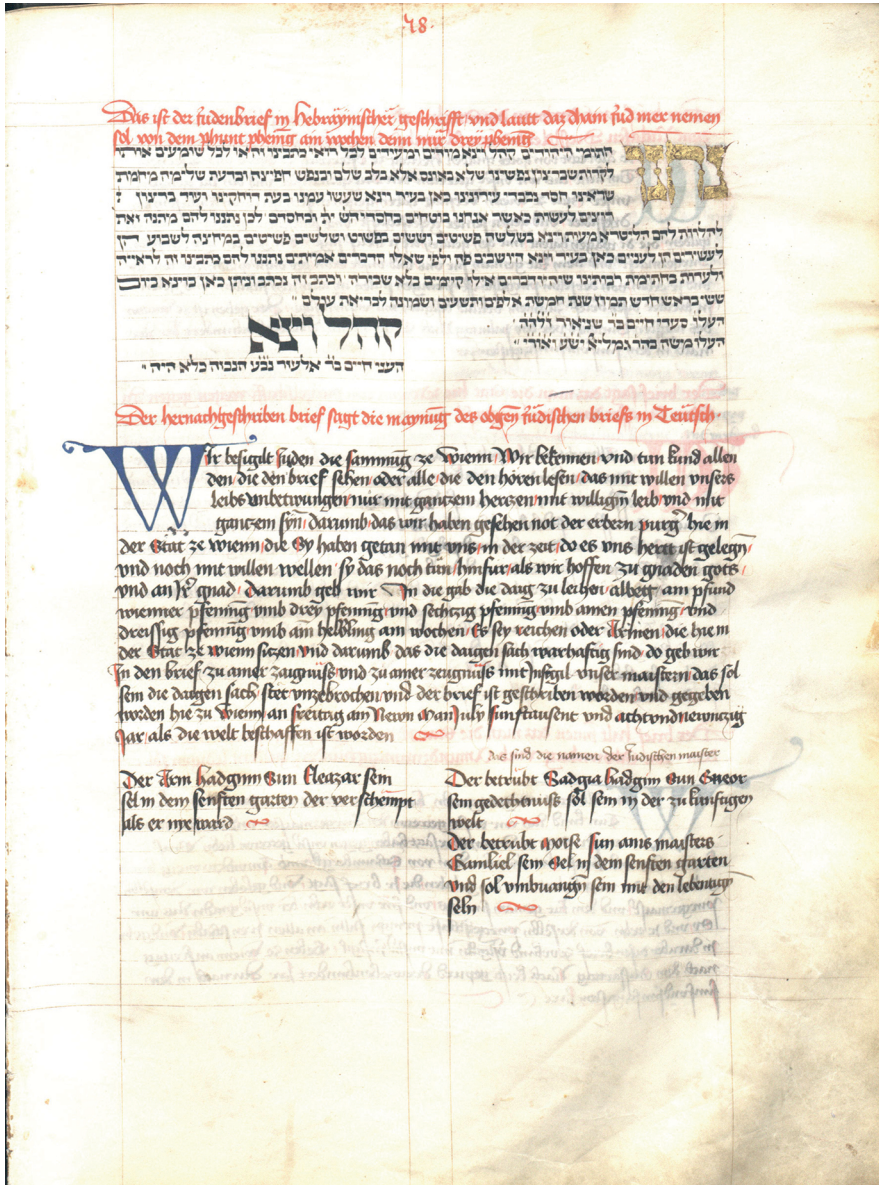
Fig. 7: Hebrew entry in the municipal book of Vienna; Vienna, Municipal Archives, 3.4.A.1.1, fol. 58r.

In 1434, the mayor of Vienna ordered all ducal charters pertaining to Viennese matters to be copied into the *Eisenbuch* (the oldest municipal book, *Stadtbuch*,

of Vienna), possibly connected with a (re-)organization of the municipal records collection.[49] While this endeavor included more than just the ducal charters in general, the copy of the Hebrew text, under the title *das ist der judenbrief in hebraynischer geschrift* ("this is the Jews' letter in Hebrew characters"), raises a few questions. All the titles are rubricated, including this one, but the Hebrew text was particularly highlighted: most of the initials of the records and charters are either red, blue, black, or green, but the initial three letters of the Hebrew text were among the few that were gilded (see Fig. 7).[50]

At first glance, its inclusion in the *Stadtbuch* may come as a surprise. While it is typical for municipal books to include older records into their collections that referred to legal issues which were no longer relevant,[51] the legal content of both the ducal charter and the Hebrew record was most definitely obsolete: thirteen years prior to the entry, in 1420/21, the Jewish inhabitants of the Duchy of Austria had been murdered or expelled in the course of a pogrom which is known as the *Viennese Gezera*.[52] Notwithstanding this, not only was the Hebrew text copied,

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49 Vienna, Municipal Archives, 3.4.A.1.1. See "*...Daz si ein Recht Puech solten haben...*". *Kodikologische, kunsthistorische und restauratorische Analysen zum Wiener Eisenbuch,* ed. Ferdinand Opll. Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte, 53 (Innsbruck, Vienna, Bolzano: StudienVerlag, 2010). On the entries of the ducal privileges in 1434, see the contribution by Alois Haidinger, "Das Eisenbuch im Mittelalter Kodikologische und paläographische Beobachtungen," 11 34; here 16 19. A digitized version of the manuscript can be accessed at the home page of the Municipal Archives of Vienna via https://www.wien.gv.at/actaproweb2/benutzung/archive.xhtml?id=Stueck++00000169m08alt#Stueck 00000169%20m08alt (last accessed on Oct. 1, 2021). The Hebrew record is on fol. 58r, the ducal charter on fol. 57v. On municipal books in general, see Mathias Franc Kluge, *Die Macht des Gedächtnisses. Entstehung und Wandel kommunaler Schriftkultur im spätmittelalterlichen Augsburg.* Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 181 (Leiden and Boston: Brill 2014); *Amtsbücher als Quellen der landesgeschichtlichen Forschung*, ed. Wilfried Reininghaus and Marcus Stumpf. Westfälische Quellen und Archivpublikationen, 27 (Münster: Landschaftsverband Westfalen Lippe LWL Archivamt für Westfalen, 2012), 107 24; Andreas Petter, "Schriftorganisation, Kulturtransfer und Überformung drei Gesichtspunkte zur Entstehung, Funktion und Struktur städtischer Amtsbuchüberlieferung aus dem Mittelalter," *Verwaltung und Schriftlichkeit in den Hansestädten*, ed. Jürgen Sarnowsky. Hansische Studien, 16 (Trier: Porta Alba Verlag, 2006), 17 63.

50 Gilded initials can be found on fol. 55v (Duke Rudolph IV), 64r (Emperor Charles IV), 82v (Sigismund, Hungarian King, and later Emperor), 84r (Pope Bonifatius), 88v, and 89r and v (Duke Albrecht V); generally, see Haidinger, "Das Eisenbuch im Mittelalter" (see note 49), 17.

51 On the question of the long term validity of charters and records, see Vogtherr, *Einführung in die Urkundenlehre* (see note 11), 15.

52 An encompassing analysis of the pogrom is still a desideratum. See the latest survey by Eveline Brugger, "Die Wiener Gesera von 1420/21," *Dialog* 119 (April 2020): 21 32. See also Klaus Lohrmann, *Judenrecht und Judenpolitik im mittelalterlichen Österreich* (Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau 1990), 298 311; rather problematic with its emphasis on the duke's economic reasons is the

but a supplementary translation into German that had not existed before was now added to the entry. While the writer of the German copies has most likely been identified,[53] the obviously trained, although not necessarily professional scribe[54] of the Hebrew text and the translator remain anonymous. The most likely answer to who had written and/or translated the Hebrew text would be a convert, perhaps one of the Jewish community members who was forcibly baptized during the 1421 persecution and expulsion.[55] The inclusion of the Hebrew record is therefore mainly based on its (literal) connection with the ducal charter, which as such was of "eternal validity" and for this reason kept in the municipal records collection, even if the matter it discussed was long obsolete. Its inclusion alone, however, was obviously not deemed sufficient, but there seems to have been a need, or at least wish, to understand its content.

Christians, too, could find it necessary to translate Jewish terms into their own cultural and legal understanding. For example, the German term *judenschule* (Latin: *schola iudaeorum*, "Jewish school") was commonly used throughout the Holy Roman Empire to describe the synagogue, thus naming the Jewish community's central institution by using (parts of) the activities that Jews undertook there.[56] The expression *judentuckhaus* ("Jewish house for bathing/ritual im-

article by Petr Elbel and Wolfram Ziegler, "*Am schwarczen suntag mardert man dieselben juden, all die zaigten vill guets an under der erden...* Die Wiener Gesera: eine Neubetrachtung," '*Avigdor, Benesch, Gitl*' (see note 46), 201 67. The Yiddish text of the *Gezera* has been edited by Artur Goldmann, *Das Judenbuch der Scheffstrasse (1389 1420), mit einer Schriftprobe*. Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutsch Österreich, 1 (Vienna and Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1908): 117 33. See also Simon Neuberg, "Die jiddischen Texte über die Wiener Ge sera von 1420/21," *The Jews of Europe Around 1400. Disruption, Crisis, and Resilience*, ed. Lukas Clemens and Christoph Cluse. Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden, A 27 (Wiesbaden: Harras sowitz, 2018), 145 56.

53 Haidinger, "Das Eisenbuch im Mittelalter" (see note 49), 16 17, supposes that it was most likely a certain Ulrich Hirssauer, at the time municipal scribe of Vienna.

54 The Hebrew was not written without mistakes. One mistake that jumps into the reader's eye is the authentication as "[Jewish] community of Vienna," which was written as וצא (*Vitza*) in stead of וינא (*Vina*), both looking very similar.

55 See for the forced converts, Martha Keil, "What Happened to the 'New Christians'? The 'Vi ennese Geserah' of 1420/21 and the Forced Baptism of the Jews," *Jews and Christians in Medieval Europe* (see note 4), 97 114. See Olszowy Schlanger, "Money Language" (see note 2), 242 (with an illustration of the record), for an example of Hebrew copied into the York Cartulary of the Vicars Choral by a Christian scribe, whose handwriting is "obviously non Jewish."

56 See Jörg Müller, Cologne 1329, KO01, no. 126, online via http://www.medieval ashkenaz.org/KO01/KO c1 0029.html; Bernhard Kreutz, Würzburg 1337, WB01, no. 413, online via http://www.medieval ashkenaz.org/WB01/WB c1 002g.html; David Schnur, Frankfurt 1390, FW02, no. 2351, online via http://www.medieval ashkenaz.org/FW02/FW c1 00zq.html, all in: *Corpus der Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden im spätmittelalterlichen Reich*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp and Jörg R. Müller,

mersion", to *tuck* meaning to dip into water) for the *mikwe* had a similar function.[57] The use of these terms not only attests to a familiarity amongst Christians with the function of these places and institutions, it also testifies to their importance since Christians made an effort to translate and describe them using their own cultural world. Equally, terms of more official relevance, such as the Latin *episcopus iudeorum* and the German *judenbischof* ("Bishop of the Jews"),[58] that appeared already in the late eleventh century as a translation for the Hebrew word *parnas* (פרנס), the head of the Jewish community, or the German term *judenmesner* ("Jewish sacristan or sexton") for the *shamash* (שמש, the servant or attendant of the synagogue),[59] and even the *sanchmeister*, literally "the sing-master," for the *chazan* (חזן),[60] again suggest a Christian knowledge of the respective duties associated with these offices, as well as a desire on the Christian side to translate these functions into terms of their own cultural understanding. Even the Jewish community itself could be described in terms that gave Christians an immediate idea of its "nature" or "functions."[61] In Austrian, Bavarian, and Southern Bohemian sources, for example, the term *judenzeche* ("Jewish guild")

Trier and Mainz, 2015 2016 (all last accessed on Oct. 1, 2021); Linz 1335: Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 1 (see note 6), 304 05, no. 385. *Scola iudeorum*: Vienna, 1204, Eadem, *Regesten* 1 (see note 6), 18 19, no. 5.

57 E. g., Wiener Neustadt: Keil, "Gemeinde und Kultur" (see note 40), 47; Enns: Norbert Haslhof er, *Politik mit Ennser Geschichte. Passauer Kirchenpolitik und Wiener Judenpolitik. Hintergründe der Wiener Geserah.* Forschungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Enns im Mittelalter, 2 (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2019), 176 77.

58 Latin: Benjamin Laqua, Maxim Novak, Rainer Barzen, Cologne, 1279/80, KS01, no. 28, online via http://www.medieval ashkenaz.org/KS01/CP1 c1 024v.html; Gerd Mentgen, Mainz, 1286, MZ01, no. 31, online via http://www.medieval ashkenaz.org/MZ01/CP1 c1 00n0.html. German: Gerd Mentgen, Worms, 1312, WO01, no. 150, online via http://www.medieval ashkenaz.org/WO01/CP1 c1 00ul.html, and David Schnur, Frankfurt 1340, FW01, no. 173, online via http://www.medieval ashkenaz.org/FW01/CP1 c1 022w.html, all in: *Corpus der Quellen* (see note 56), 2011 2020 (all last accessed on Oct. 1, 2021); Christoph Cluse, "Die mittelalterliche jüdische Ge meinde als "Sondergemeinde" eine Skizze," *Sondergemeinden und Sonderbezirke in der Stadt der Vormoderne*, ed. Peter Johanek (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2004), 29 51; here 40. For an example from York, see Olszowy Schlanger, "Money Language" (see note 2), 241.

59 Wiedl, " Jüdisch christliche Geschäftsurkunden" (see note 24), 441 42.

60 E. g., Steyr 1363, Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 2 (see note 6), 287, no. 1043. As a reference to a similar function in the monastic context from the same time period, see, e. g., Altenburg, Monas tic Archives, 1362 XII 25, online via https://www.monasterium.net/mom/AT StiAA/Urkunden/1362 XII 25/charter (last accessed on Sept. 11, 2021); see also the definition (cantor in a church, or municipal official responsible for financing the church music) in *Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch*, online via https://drw www.adw.uni heidelberg.de/drw cgi/zeige?index=lemmata&term=sang meister (last accessed on Sept. 11, 2021).

61 Cluse, "Sondergemeinde" (see note 58), 42.

is used frequently when describing the Jewish communities, and in doing so, evoking resemblances to other interest groups such as craft or merchant guilds with their various religious, social, legal, and economic functions.[62] Other terms such as *samnung*, usually used for monastic communities and for example used in the translation of the Viennese "Zinsrevers" in the *Eisenbuch* (see above and Fig. 7), or *gemain* as well as the Latin *universitas*, used for both religious communities and cities, reflect similar ideas – an association with a community that lived according to collective (religious) ideas.[63]

Ways of Translation Through Marginal Notes and Dorsal Notes on Records

Another form of bi- or even multilingualism is evidenced in the marginal and dorsal notes of many Jewish businessmen – and -women –, notes written on records received from Christian business partners.[64] Such notes briefly summarize the contents of the record in a highly abbreviated form, usually giving the name

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62 Birgit Wiedl, "Eine zünftige Gemeinde. Handwerkszünfte und jüdische Gemeindeorganisa tion im Vergleich," *Nicht in einem Bett Juden und Christen in Mittelalter und Frühneuzeit*, ed. Sabine Hödl. Juden in Mitteleuropa (St. Pölten: Institut für Jüdische Geschichte Österreichs, 2005), 44 49.

63 It is a still ongoing debate whether these terms are used to describe different aspects of the Jewish community e. g., in Austrian sources, the *judenzeche* and its leader, the *judenzechmeis ter*, are often used in context with religious social tasks of the community, mainly the *tzedaka* (poor box). However, there are too few examples to reach any definite conclusions, see Keil, "Ge meinde und Kultur" (see note 40), 39 40.

64 Martha Keil, "... *und seinen Köcher Anglis.* Kulturtransfer, Polemik und Humor in jüdischen Geschäftsurkunden des mittelalterlichen Österreich," *Aschkenas. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden* 26 (2016): 99 113; Lehnertz, "Katavti al ha Tsetel" (see note 44); Christian Scholl, "Hebräische Rückvermerke als Quellen für den Historiker. Erkenntnismöglichkeiten und Überlieferung anhand Ulmer Beispielen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Verschriftlichung und Quellenüberlieferung. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden und der christlich jüdischen Beziehun gen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich (13./14. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp and Jörg R. Müller. Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden, A 25 (Peine: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2014), 83 96; Christoph Cluse, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in den mittelalterlichen Niederlanden.* For schungen zur Geschichte der Juden, A 10 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2000), 123 32; Schnur, *Die Juden in Frankfurt am Main* (see note 18), 431 37; Andreas Lehnertz, "Hebräische Dorsualvermerke," *Zu Gast bei Juden. Leben in der mittelalterlichen Stadt. Begleitband zur Aus stellung*, ed. Dorothea Weltecke unter Mitarbeit von Mareike Hartmann (Constance: Stadler, 2017), 179 83. For examples from England, see Olszowy Schlanger, "Money Language" (see note 2), 244 45.

of the business partner(s) and occasionally the guarantors, the pawned object, or the sum owed (or both), and the date of the transaction and/or of the repayment, so that businessperson would not have to read the entire record, or even unfold it, when looking for it.

An example of a rather extensive note comes from a record produced in Frankfurt a. M. in 1346, which reads "Kunze Starkrut owes me and Falk 20 pounds. 21st of Siwan 106. Guarantors are Folze von Friedberg, Henkel von Fried- berg" (קונצא שטרקרוט חיי׳ לי ולואלקא כ׳ ליט׳ כ״א בסיון קו״ל ער׳ וולצא מורידבערק חינקל מורידבערק).[65] The main text of the record reveals the writer of the Hebrew note: the Jewish businesswoman Fromut who is named in the German text as the cre- ditor together with her business partner Falk. Apart from showing that Fromut had most likely written the Hebrew note herself, it also allows insight into Jewish record-keeping and "archival" practices. Such Hebrew dorsal often contain addi- tional information that cannot be gained from the charter, for example recalcu- lations of the debts after the payback date had passed, partial payments, silent business partners, and in which "archives" the record were stored – private, com- munal, or which business partner took them.[66]

In summaries like these, which are often written as dorsal notes, but also on other parts of the records such as the *plica* or the seal tags, Jewish businesspeo- ple usually transliterated the names of their Christian business partners into He- brew letters.

For example, the Jewish businessmen Salman from Hoštěradice, Joseph from Retz, and Kadym from Znojmo noted the respective names of the Christian issu- ers on the seal tags of the debenture bond they had received from their debtors, the Moravian Margrave Prokop and seven of his noblemen. For this they used transliterations of the names of the noblemen, but the word מרקיה (*markia*) for the Margrave's seal.[67] The same method was usually employed for names of cit- ies, houses, or field names, and also for specific German terms (for example, viti- cultural terms) for which either no Hebrew translation existed, or which Jewish businesspeople did not know – meaning in terms of multilingualism, that they likely knew the German word only.[68]

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65 David Schnur, Frankfurt, 1346, FW01, no. 250, online via http://www.medieval ashkenaz. org/FW01/CP1 c1 018 m.html, *Corpus der Quellen* (see note 56), 2011 (last accessed on Oct. 1, 2021).

66 See for some examples Schnur, *Die Juden in Frankfurt am Main* (see note 18), 431 47.

67 Vienna, Austrian State Archives, HHStA, AUR 1390 III 24, Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 4 (see note 6), 58 59, no. 1936.

68 E. g., notation of the German field name *mittern hochenwört* into Hebrew מיטר ההנברט onto the seal tag, see Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 4 (see note 6), 118 19, no. 2027, online via

Sometimes, however, they used other ways of translation. When jotting down the name of his debtor who carried the German family name Schneider ("taylor") on this debenture bond from 1404, the Jewish businessman Freudlein of Bruck an der Leitha in Lower Austria opted not to transliterate the letters into the Hebrew alphabet but to construct a translation of the name from the word for "tailoring" (חטך): "Erhart Schneider [...] 7 pounds" (ז׳ ליט׳ [...] ערהרט חטך).[69] Titles or offices were also translated either literally, such as *ba'al hatzer* (בעל חצר), that is "the Master of the Court/household," for the office of the *Hofmeister*, the *magister curiae*, or they could reflect the respective office's duties, such as *ba'al sar* (בעל שר), that is "the Master of the Lord," for the Captain (German: *Hauptmann* [of Styria]) in 1353, suggesting Jewish knowledge of the function of the Captain, who was the highest representative of the duke and the ducal administration in the respective territory.[70]

A particularly interesting point of translation is the tendency to use word puns or derogative translations on the repayment dates given in the records ac-

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https://www.monasterium.net/mom/AT DOZA/Urkunden/2581/charter (last accessed on Sept. 28, 2021).

69 Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 4 (see note 6), 286 87, no. 2302.

70 Brugger and Wiedl, *Regesten* 2 (see note 6), 140 41, no. 739 (Captain) and 186 87, no. 840 (*Hofmeister*), for the latter, see also Keil, "Jewish Business Contracts" (see note 22), 363. By con trast, in England with its early (royal) administration, the Exchequer of the Jews had been intro duced as early as the late twelfth century as the sole office to administer the Jews of England (Paul Brand, "The Administrative Functions and Jurisdictional Powers of the Exchequer of the Jews," *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, Volume 6: Edward I, 1279 81*, ed. id. [London: Jew ish Historical Society of England, 2005], 6 16; Irwin, *Acknowledging Debt* [see note 25], 3 5), the administration of many territorial countries within the Holy Roman Empire developed at a much slower and less regulated pace which made it difficult for the subjects, both Christians and Jews, to navigate the changing responsibilities of the offices. In the duchy of Austria, for example, several offices shared in the responsibility for the Jews: the chamberlain and the *Hof meister* were mostly named in context with administering Jewish (financial) affairs, whereas the Judge for the Jews, the *Iudex Iudeorum*, was tasked with legal affairs, but also officials such as the marshal, the captain of the respective county, and the *Hubmeister* seemed to have certain responsibilities in this regards, see Eveline Brugger, "*Soli duci hic casus reservabitur?* The Prac ticalities of Ducal Rule over the Jews in Medieval Austria," and Birgit Wiedl, "*Von des vorgenant en meines ampts wegen.* The Judenrichter A Search for Clues," both in *Medieval Ashkenas* (see note 5), 15 29 and 30 47. If required, other office holders could appear as the ducal represen tative, such as the ducal forest custodian who acted as "my [i.e., the issuing Jewish man Mer chlein's] judge on behalf of the duke," presumably because he was the only ducal official pre sent, see eadem, 37. On the offices in general, see Christian Lackner, *Hof und Herrschaft. Rat, Kanzlei und Regierung der österreichischen Herzöge.* Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband, 41 (1365 1406) (Vienna and Munich: Oldenbourg, 2002), particularly 56 114.

cording to the Christian calendar, since Saint days and Christian festivals were often used. A Hebrew dorsal note from Erfurt dated to the year 1419 mentions as payback date Saint John's Day. However, instead of writing the German name as "Johan" the dorsal note, written by Haym Gans, speaks of *yehoram* (יחרם), being Hebrew for "may he be destroyed/killed [for practicing idolatry]."[71] Another record from Koblenz dating to the year 1379 has the payback date of the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary – i.e., Candlemas – , which is associated with lights and candles (see Fig. 8).[72] The Jewish creditor noted this payback date with the Hebrew word *hoshech* (חושך), meaning the opposite of light, namely "darkness." Many more examples of this kind can be found in dorsal notes pointing to the polemical use of Hebrew word puns and derogatory terms for Christian Saint names and holidays, which also served the purpose of avoiding idolatry by invoking Christian idols, namely Saints, Mary, and Jesus.[73] Such word puns had a long tradition in the late Middle Ages and some of them appeared as early as the Hebrew Chronicles for the First Crusade of 1096.[74]

The examples given above show how the Jewish businessmen and -women dealt with transliterating or translating and sometimes even mocking Christian names and dates. There are also opposite examples of Hebrew records for Christian addressees carrying Latin dorsal notes. These notes refer to the Hebrew content and were presumably written either by the Christian recipient or their record-keepers, such as in one record from the Mainz archbishopric dating to 1343, issued by a certain Jew called Jacob. This record is a settlement agreement with a particular clause that forbade the Jewish settlers to leave the archbishop-

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71 Magdeburg, Landeshauptarchiv, Rep. U 14 XLVII, no. 40. Cf. Baumgarten, "Shared and Con tested Time" (see note 32); Nothaft and Isserles, "Calendars Beyond Borders" (see note 32).
72 Wiesbaden, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, 107, no. 18. See Franz Josef Ziwes, "Reynette von Koblenz. Jüdisches Frauenleben im späten Mittelalter," *Porträt einer europäischen Kernregion: Der Rhein Maas Raum in historischen Lebensbildern*, ed. Franz Irsigler and Gisela Minn (Trier: Kliomedia, 2005), 138 46, at 141.
73 Nothaft and Isserles, "Calendars Beyond Borders" (see note 32), 15 30; Keil, "Jewish Busi ness Contracts" (see note 22), 362.
74 Eva Haverkamp, *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während des Ersten Kreuz zuges*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Hebräische Texte aus dem mittelalterlichen Deutsch land, 1 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2005), 14, n. 63 (with a list of terms); Anna Sapir Abulafia, "Invectives Against Christianity in the Hebrew Chronicles of the First Crusade," *Cru sade and Settlement. Papers read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Cru sades and the Latin East and Presented to R.C. Smail*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), 66 72.
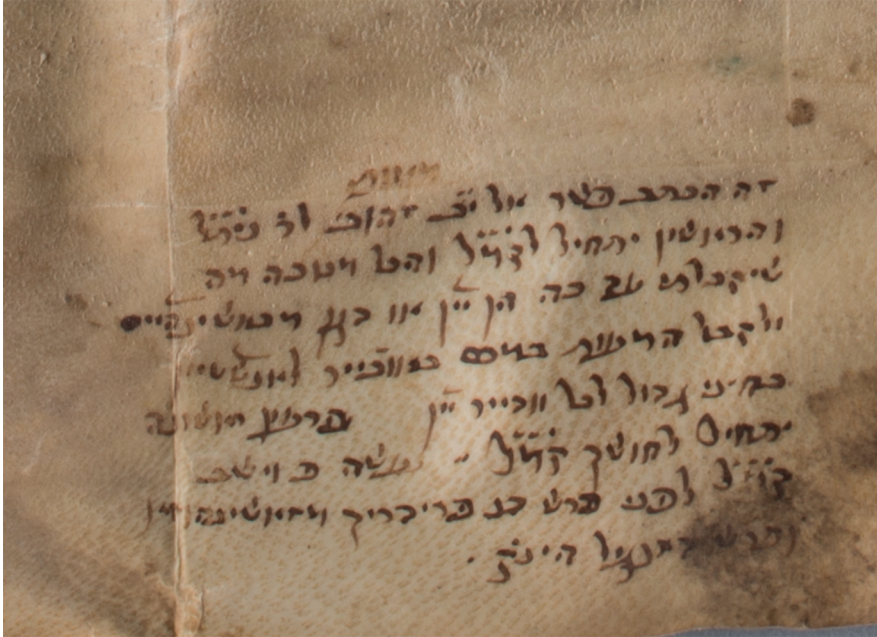
Fig. 8: Note of a payback date as *hoshech* (darkness) instead of Candlemass; Wiesbaden, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, HHStaW, Abt. 107, no. 18.

ric without the permission of their episcopal lord.[75] As surety, the Jews had to pledge their adherence to the regulations with all of their possessions, which is described by the Hebrew term *kinyan* (קנין), "a right of possession." This technical term was somehow understood by the Christians as well since they even used it in the Latin dorsal note when writing *kinian Copin Judei Gallici, quod manebit pigwa* [i.e., *pignora*] *et non recedet ad beneplacitum domini* ("the *kinyan*

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[75] Just as Christians, traveling Jews would obtain a safe conduct (right of escort, *Geleitrecht*) which guaranteed them the respective lord's protection. See Markus Wenninger, "Geleit, Geleits recht und Juden im Mittelalter," *Aschkenas. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden* 31.1 (2021): 29 77; for a literary example that centers on the safe conduct of a Jewish man, see Al brecht Classen,"Ungewöhnliche Perspektiven auf Juden in der deutschen und italienischen Lit eratur des Spätmittelalters. Feinde oder bloß nicht christliche Nachbarn in der Mærendich tung?," ibid., 1 28. For a general overview, see Martin Kintzinger, "*Cum salvo conductu.* Geleit im westeuropäischen Spätmittelalter," *Gesandtschafts und Botenwesen im spätmittelalter lichen Europa*, ed. Rainer Christoph Schwinges and Klaus Wriedt. Vorträge und Forschungen des Konstanzer Arbeitskreises für Mittelalterliche Geschichte, 60 (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2003), 313 63.

of Jacob the French Jew, who shall give pawns [as security] and who will not move away without the approval of my lord [i.e., the archbishop of Mainz]").[76]

Another example from the same archbishopric, issued in the same year, uses the Hebrew word for sealing/signing mentioned above, *hatam/gehesemet*. However, on this record, it is Latinized as *hasmotus* in *hasmotus Jacob et filii Joseph judeorum de Sobernheim* ("sealed record of Jacob and his son Joseph, Jews of Sobernheim").[77] Many more Hebrew *termini technici* appear in other legal sources, such as municipal and law court books.[78] They once again prove that Jews and Christians understood each other's legal terms and used them in order to be (legally) precise, which testifies to extensive as well as pragmatic communication of these legal terms.

Other Ways of Multilingual Communication

Business records were, of course, only one way of how Jews and Christians communicated with each other. Jewish authors of literary texts such as the *Melekh Artus*, an Arthurian romance novel in Hebrew from the late thirteenth century,[79]

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76 Rainer Barzen, Andreas Lehnertz, Gerd Mentgen, Mainz, 1343, MZ01, no. 288, online via http://www.medieval ashkenaz.org/MZ01/CP1 c1 01eu.html, *Corpus der Quellen* (see note 56), 2015 (last accessed on Oct. 1, 2021).

77 Rainer Barzen, Andreas Lehnertz, Gerd Mentgen, Mainz, 1343, MZ01, no. 285, online via http://www.medieval ashkenaz.org/MZ01/CP1 c1 01dz.html, *Corpus der Quellen* (see note 56), 2015 (last accessed on Oct. 1, 2021).

78 Lehnertz, "Katavti al ha Tsetel" (see note 44); David Schnur, "Juden und Gerichtsbücher am Beispiel der Reichsstadt Frankfurt am Main (1330 1400)," *Verschriftlichung und Quellenüberlie ferung* (see note 64), 217 73, here 238 39; Benjamin Laqua, "Kooperation, Kommunikation, Übersetzung. Zur Anlage und Überlieferung des Judenschreinsbuches der Kölner Laurenz Paro chie," ibid., 147 171; Kathrin Geldermans Jörg, '*Als verren unser geleit get.' Aspekte christlich jü discher Kontakte im Hochstift Bamberg während des späten Mittelalters*. Forschungen zur Ge schichte der Juden, A 22 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2010), 218.

79 For an overview of Hebrew and Yiddish adaptions of romance and chivalric novels, see *Aven tiuren in Aschkenas*, ed. Astrid Lemke. *Aschkenas. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden* 25,1 (Berlin, Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015): 1 160; Joseph Shatzmiller, *Fromme Juden und christlich höfische Ideale im Mittelalter*. Kleine Schriften des Arye Maimon Instituts, 10 (Trier: Arye Maimon Institute, 2008). On the *Melekh Artus*, see Norris J. Lacey and Goeffrey Ashe, "Me lekh Artus," *The New Arthurian Encyclopedia*, ed. Norris J. Lacey and Goeffrey Ashe. Garland Ref erence Library of the Humanities, 931 (New York, NY: Garland, 1996), 318; Caroline Gruenbaum, "The Quest for the 'Charity Dish': Interpretation in the Hebrew Arthurian Translation Melekh Artus (1279, Northern Italy)," *Medieval Encounters* 26 (2020): 517 42; Martin Przybilski, "Ein anti arthurischer Artusroman. Invektiven gegen die höfische Literatur zwischen den Zeilen des 'Melech Artus'," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 131 (2002): 409 35.

the recently discovered Yiddish epic from Cologne written on a slate before 1349,[80] and the *Dukus Horant*,[81] a fragment of an epic poem in Yiddish from the end of the 1380s closely related to the *Kudrun* poem, to name but a few, were not only well-versed in the language(s) of the various model texts but also knew how to adapt these narratives for their audience. This was a method which was continued in the famous Yiddish chivalric Romance *Bovo Bukh*[82] as well as the Yiddish exempla of the *Mayse Bukh*[83] into the early modern period.

From the earliest times of Jewish settlement in the Holy Roman Empire from the tenth century onward,[84] translators of scientific texts from the Greek and Arabic into Hebrew and Latin are mentioned,[85] whose skills partially resulted from some of the migrants' origins in Byzantine and Southern Italy, from where they came via Northern Italy to the areas north of the Alps. In later centuries, such

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80 Erika Timm, "Ein neu entdeckter literarischer Text in hebräischen Lettern aus der Zeit vor 1349," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 142 (2013): 417 43. For the Cologne slates, mostly in Hebrew language, see Malin Drees and Maximilian M. D. Holfelder, "Ein Blick in jüdisches Alltagsleben. Die mittelalterlichen Schiefertafeln aus Köln," *Beiträge zur rheinisch jüdischen Geschichte* 10 (2020): 5 42.

81 *Dukus Horant*, ed. Peter F. Ganz, Frederick Norman, and Werner Schwarz (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1964); Manfred Caliebe, *Dukus Horant: Studien zu seiner literarischen Tradition*. Philologische Studien und Quellen, 70 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1973); Gabriele L. Strauch, *Dukus Horant: Wanderer zwischen den Welten* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990); Gabriele L. Strauch, "Text and Context in the Reading of Medieval Literature A Case in Point: Dukus Horant," *Exemplaria* 3 (1991): 67 94; Fritz Peter Knapp, "'Dukus Horant' und die deutsche subliterarische Epik des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts," *Aschkenas. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden* 14 (2004): 101 23.

82 Claudia Rosenzweig, *Bovo d'Antona by Elye Bokher. A Yiddish Romance. A Critical Edition with Commentary*. Studies in Jewish History and Culture, 49 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015); Christoph Daxelmüller, "Zwischen Kabbala und Martin Luther Elija Levita Bachur, ein Jude zwischen den Religionen," *Wechselseitige Wahrnehmung der Religionen in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, vol. 1: *Konzeptionelle Fragen und Fallstudien (Heiden, Barbaren, Juden)*, ed. Ludger Grenzmann, Thomas Haye, Nikolaus Henkel, and Thomas Kaufmann. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, NF 4 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 231 50, particularly 247 49.

83 *Ma'aseh Book: Book of Jewish Tales and Legends*, 2 vols., ed. Moses Gaster (Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934).

84 Haverkamp, *Jews in the Medieval German Kingdom* (see note 2).

85 S(hlomo) D. Goitein and Paula Sanders, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Community of the Arab Worlds as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, vol. 1 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, CA, and London: University of California Press, 1967), 64; see also the many studies on scientific translations and translators in the anthology *Studies in History and Science* and in the journal *Aleph. Historical Studies in Science & Judaism*, e.g., Ruth Glasner, "Hebrew Translations in Medieval Christian Spain: Alfonso of Valladolid Translating Archimedes?" *Aleph* 13.2 (2013): 186 200.

professional translation processes within the German lands focused mainly on translations of novels and poetry from and to French, German, Yiddish, Hebrew, and Latin, and only at the end of the Middle Ages were scientific translations done from German to Hebrew/Yiddish (see Fig. 9).[86]

While both the literary and, particularly, the scientific texts were exclusive to and understandable by only a limited audience, the frequently used Jewry oaths were primarily taken in public by Jews for a Christian audience (see Fig. 10). These oaths had to be understood by the attending Christians and were therefore taken in German, but as with business charters, they had to be legally valid for both "sides." Thus, they had to combine traditions of Jewish and Christian law – and in doing so, they reflected both legal systems and languages in their phrasing.[87] Since Jewry oaths were essentially religious instruments, their texts implied motifs from the common Bible (i.e., the "Old" Testament) and addressed both a Christian and a Jewish understanding of how oaths and their texts had to be used. Oath-taking by Jews for their Christian counterparts happened before a court of law as well as in other situations, such as naturalization,[88] and the Jewish oath-takers – both men and women – answered by saying "Amen." Confirmations in Hebrew of such oaths were added to German charters that documented the release of a Jewish prisoner who, upon his release, had to swear

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86 See, for example, the Yiddish and Hebrew *Feuerwerksbuch* (Fig. 9), Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod.hebr. 235, online at https://mdz nbn resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12 bsb00035014 1 (last accessed on Nov. 21, 2021); a short discussion is provided in Moïse Gins burger, "Les Juifs et l'art militaire au moyen âge," *Revue des Études Juives* 197 (1929): 156 66.
87 Andreas Lehnertz, "The Erfurt Judeneid between Pragmatism and Ritual: Some Aspects of Christian and Jewish Oath Taking in Medieval Germany," *Ritual Objects in Ritual Contexts*, ed. Claudia D. Bergmann and Maria Stürzebecher. Erfurter Schriften zur jüdischen Geschichte, 6 (Jena and Quedlinburg: Bussert & Stadeler, 2020), 12 31 (with the latest literature); id., "The Jewry Oath (Judeneid). Legal Practice In Between," *In and Out* (see note 32), 53 57; Joseph Zie gler, "Reflections on the Jewry Oath in the Middle Ages," *Studies in Church History* 29 (1992): 209 20; Michael Toch, "Mit der Hand auf der Thora. Disziplinierung als internes und externes Problem in den jüdischen Gemeinden des Spätmittelalters," *Disziplinierung im Alltag des Mitte lalters und der Frühen Neuzeit. Internationaler Kongress, Krems an der Donau, 8. bis 11. Oktober 1996*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, 17 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademien der Wissenschaften, 1999), 157 71; Amnon Linder, "The Jewry Oath in Christian Europe," *Jews in Early Christian Law. Byzantium and the Latin West, 6th 11th Centuries*, ed. John V. Tolan and Nicholas R. M. De Lange (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 311 58.
88 Guido Kisch, "Die Rechtsstellung der Wormser Juden im Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift für die Ge schichte der Juden in Deutschland* 5 (1935): 122 33.

Fig. 9: Yiddish translation of the German *Feuerwerksbuch*; Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod.hebr. 235, fol. 34r.

an oath of truce/reconciliation (*Urfehde*), for example.[89] In the case of swearing oaths to other Jews, this was done in the Hebrew language; however, as of the

89 Andreas Lehnertz and Birgit Wiedl, "How to Get out of Prison. Imprisoned Jews and Their *Hafturfehden* from the Medieval and Early Modern Holy Roman Empire (Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)," *Incarceration and Slavery in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age. A Cultural Historical Investigation of the Dark Side in the Pre Modern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Studies in

fifteenth century, oaths were often accompanied by German or later by Yiddish translations during the oath-taking procedures, as not all Jewish men and women could follow the Hebrew texts.[90]

Finally, the need for a translator could also arise at a moment's notice – such as in the case of an orphaned Jewish man from Regensburg.[91] In his Yiddish letter from the early sixteenth century, he accused his stepfather of bilking him out of his maternal heritage, which he presented before both the Jewish community and the city council. The Regensburg city council found their translator of this Yiddish letter in the person of a theologian and preacher at the cathedral who transcribed the Hebrew letters "word by word as good as I was able to" (*von wort ze wortt als vill mir muglich geweset*). It remains mere speculation whether the city council did not have sufficient trust in the members of the Jewish community, or whether they themselves did not want to take on this job.

Conclusions

We can learn a great deal about the interactions between Christians and Jews by looking at their communication processes in business dealings and legal *formulae*. The evidence we presented in this paper proves that both Christians and Jews were – little surprising – well aware of each other's legal systems when coming together in business dealings. Both groups, it appears, were interested in finding ways to ensure legally binding *formulae* that satisfied the needs of both parties. It is of course important to stress that there was a permanent imbalance in these processes. Whereas Jewish men and women needed (and had) a deep understanding and detailed knowledge of the (Christian) legal systems – e.g., the municipal law of their hometown, which concerned and affected

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Medieval Literature (Lanham, MD, Boulder, New York, and London: Lexington Books, 2021), 361 413.

90 See, for example, Martha Keil, "Rituals of Repentance and Testimonies at Rabbinical Courts in the 15th Century," *Oral History of the Middle Ages. The Spoken Word in Context*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter. Medium aevum quotidianum. Sonderband, 11 / CEU medievalia, 3 (Krems and Budapest: Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der materiellen Kultur des Mittelalters, 2001), 164 76; here 169 70.

91 Munich, Bayerische Hauptstaatsarchive, Generalregistratur, Fasz. 1260, no. 18. See *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Juden in Regensburg 1453 1738*, ed. Raphael Straus. Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen Geschichte, N.F., 18 (Munich: Beck, 1960), no. 957.

Fig. 10: Jewry oath; Landshut, Stadtarchiv, Bd. 11, Amtsbuch, fourteenth century, fol. 57r.

them as well[92] – the extent of the Christians' acquaintance with Jewish law is difficult to ascertain and most likely was, for the most part, reduced to aspects that concerned them, such as valid forms of Jewish corroboration and authentication.

By way of communication and translation, they came to an understanding with their business partners. Sometimes the proofs for these processes point to polemics and also to misunderstandings. Nonetheless, the overall impression gained from these business records is that communication worked well and relatively smoothly; it was communication that sought pragmatic solutions. The knowledge about each other's (legal, religious, and social) customs was the result of the complex daily interactions, the life in close proximity if not even intermingled housing within the urban centers, and the different types of legal as well as economic dealings they had with each other.

By looking at examples of translation and communication between Jews and Christian, for instance, through the lenses of business records, we can learn a lot about Christian-Jewish everyday interactions, providing a broader image of their realities in the medieval and early modern Holy Roman Empire. There are diverse bilingual records from the medieval Holy Roman Empire since the business procedures did not follow strict *formulae* and therefore allowed for a multitude of ways of documentation that varied greatly from region to region, just as it did with Christian records. Much of this documentation occurred voluntarily and with the consent of both Jewish and Christian parties.[93] Often both parties of the business expected a certain advantage in the event that something would go wrong – and we have presented examples in this article showing, for example, that even a Hebrew record was seen as useful and valid by Christian business partners before a Christian court.

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92 See, e.g., Birgit Wiedl, "*...und kam der jud vor mich ze offens gericht.* Juden und (städtische) Gerichtsobrigkeiten im Spätmittelalter," *Mediaevistik. Internationale Zeitschrift für Interdiszipli näre Mittelalterforschung* 28 (2015 [2016]): 243 68.

93 Perry, "A Cultural History" (see note 10), 187, instead claims a "growing control over Jewish economic activity" as reason for the larger number of bilingual business records we can study nowadays. This might be true for the Iberian Peninsula and the English kingdom; however, it does not hold sway for the Holy Roman Empire. For some arguments on the consent and the voluntary documentations, see Schnur, *Die Juden in Frankfurt am Main* (see note 18), 327 (for Frankfurt); Olszowy Schlanger, "Jewish Christian 'Notarial' Encounters" (see note 5), 210 (for Co logne); Andreas Lehnertz, "*Sigilla ad debita*. Siegel für Judenschulden aus den erzstiftisch main zischen Städten des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Diplomatik. Schriftgeschichte, Siegel und Wap penkunde* 67 (2021): 171 206; here 189 197 (for the Mainz Archbishopric).
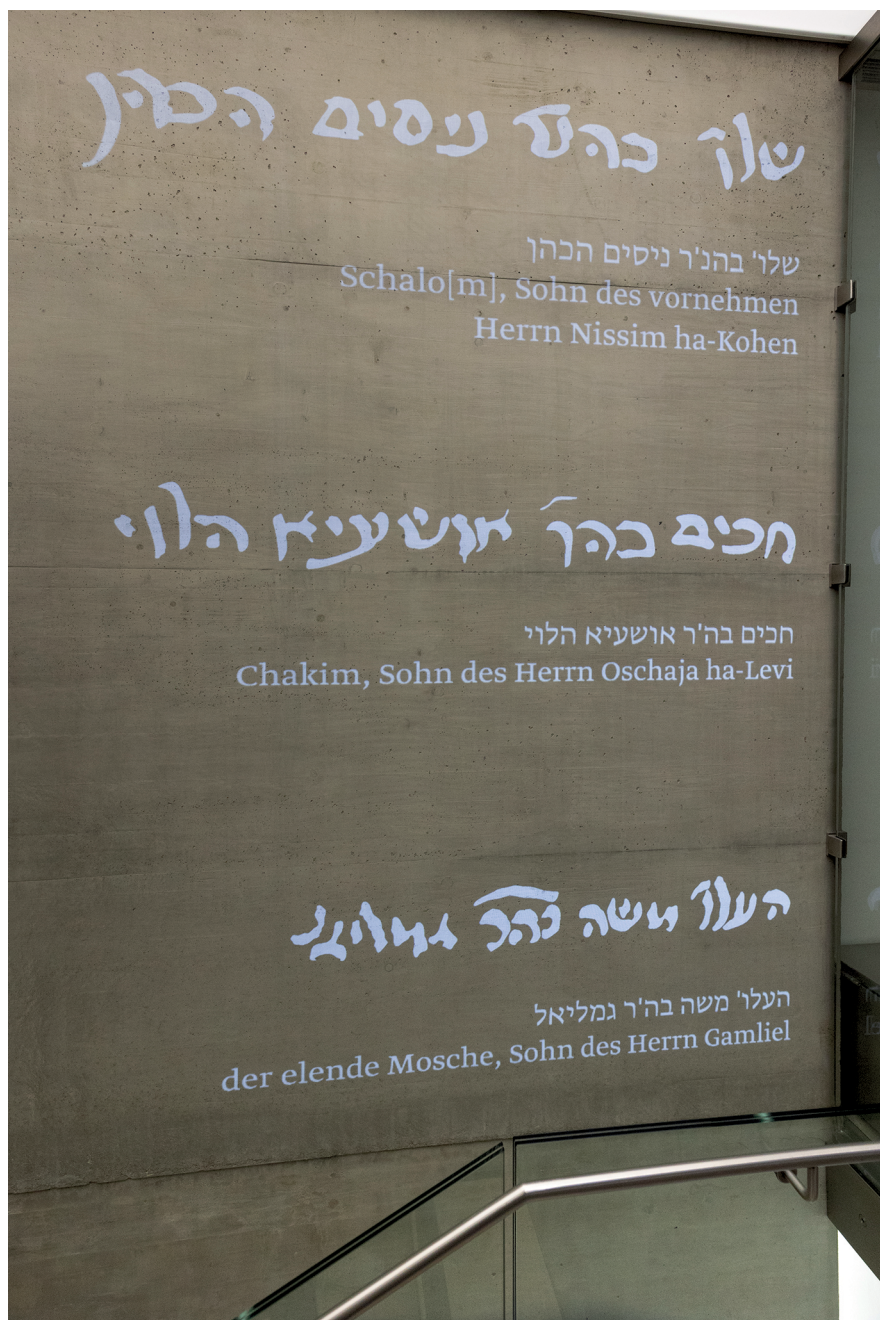
Fig. 11: Art Installation by Anna Artaker in the Jewish Museum Vienna, © JMW/Ouriel Morgensztern. The last signature is from the Vienna Zinsrevers (see Fig. 6).

Visitors of the new permanent exhibition on medieval Jewish Vienna,[94] which the Jewish Museum of Vienna opened on March 15, 2021, pass an art installation by Anna Artaker on their way down from the entrance hall to the museum in the basement. Along the wall opposite the entrance, medieval Hebrew signatures appear (see Fig. 11), animated as if in the process of being written, name by name and line by line, from the top to the bottom of the wall, thus accompanying the visitors step by step down the flight of stairs. The altogether eighteen signatures are taken not from religious texts or rabbinical writings, but from business documents of the Jewish inhabitants of the medieval city, and they enable the visitors to connect with the traces of the past Jewish community, while the transliterations into Hebrew and Latin print letters below the signatures allow them to recognize the individuals behind each name. For a representation of medieval daily Jewish life, they are the perhaps most appropriate choice: they bear witness not only to the close interaction between the Christian and Jewish inhabitants of medieval Vienna, but also to the mutual acceptance of each other's traditions.

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94 https://www.jmw.at/jart/prj3/jmw/main.jart?rel=en&reserve mode=active&content id= 1610511893597&j cc id=1615115451606&j cc node=ausstellung&j cc name=hybrid content; http:// anna artaker.net/ (all last accessed on Oct. 1, 2021), and the accompanying catalogue *Our Medi eval City! The First Jewish Community in Vienna*, ed. Astrid Peterle, Adina Seeger, Domagoj Akrap, and Danielle Spera (Vienna: Böhlau, 2021).

Christa Agnes Tuczay and Thomas Ballhausen

Demonic Operators: Forbidden Relations in Medieval Communication

Abstract: In our paper we address invocations and similar aspects of ritual/ceremonial magic as a vital part of the history and practice of medieval communication. On the basis of prior research and using a broad range of historical sources, we first offer a tentative typology of forbidden communication in the Middle Ages before providing a new way of reading the interplay of the actors and elements involved. Taking new theories into account, we point toward an emic view on communication: Human actors, non-human things, and supernatural beings can be better understood by redrawing the interplay/interaction of their respective denotations and shifting qualities. Calling upon spirits, angels, and demons, or even the devil within the framework of conjurations and invocations needs to be understood not only as a continuously existing historical phenomenon, but also as a dark twin to sanctioned (or even: sanctified) ways of communication (e.g., prayer, holy rituals, etc.).

Keywords: magical communication, demonic magic, *magia naturalis*, nigromancy, grimoire, demonic pact

Approach and Aims, Considering the Status of Current Research

This paper focuses on the complex field of conversation and communication with supernatural entities. We find relevant material in three different but sometimes interleaving genres: 1. medieval ghost stories, which also overlap with divination of the dead, termed necromancy; 2. the ancient reports of pacts with the supernatural; and 3. magical manuals involving conjurations of spirits by varying means of rituals, paraphernalia, and the like. Courtly secular literature also alluded to that topic. Research of magic in the western world in particular is a very complicated issue. The very definition of the term 'magic' has never been clear or concise, nor has it ever been universally agreed upon. Furthermore, differentiating between medieval magic and religion is rather problematic. The category of magic has to be studied in an emic manner, that is, from the perspective

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of the culture itself, from within. The notion existed in pre-modernity; further-more, the distinction between magic and religion was not as obvious as the currently predominant trends in post-colonial thinking would suggest.

Our overview of prohibited forms of communication builds on the following existing research: the groundbreaking studies of the US historian Lynn Thorndike on magic and experimental science in the *History of Magic and Experimental Science,* published in eight volumes from 1923 to 1958; on the periods from early Christianity and early medieval Europe to the late seventeenth century[1]; on *Richard Kieckhefer's Magic in the Middle Ages*,[2] which was followed by Valerie Flint's T*he Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*[3]*; and on* Franco Cardini's highly valuable but still untranslated *Magia, stregoneria, superstizioni nell'Occidente medievale.* We also took the editions of necromantic manuscripts into account[4] as well as Claire Fanger's collection of essays,[5] her valuable study *Rewriting Magic: An Exegesis of the Visionary Autobiography of a Fourteenth-Century French Monk*, and the indispensable collection *Magic and Magicians in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Times*, edited by Albrecht Classen.[6] Additional sources include the works of Michael Bailey[7] and other scholars on the topic of magic, and then specifically St. Augustine's semiotic theory of signs.[8]

1 Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science.* 8 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923 1958).

2 Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

3 Valerie Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

4 Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites. A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century.* Magic in History (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1997).

5 *Conjuring Spirits. Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*, ed. Claire Fanger. Magic in History (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1998); Claire Fanger, *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Idea and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012); Claire Fanger, *Rewriting Magic: An Exegesis of the Visionary Autobiography of a Fourteenth Century French Monk* (Philadelphia, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015).

6 *Magic and Magicians in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Times: The Occult in Pre Modern Sciences, Medicine, Literature, Religion, and Astrology*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of *Medieval* and *Early Modern* Culture, 20 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2017).

7 Michael Bailey, *Magic: The Basics* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).

8 Remo Gramigna, *Augustine's Theory of Signs, Signification, and Lying* (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2020); Robert Markus, "*Augustine on Magic:* A Neglected Semiotic Theory," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 40 (1994): 375 88.

Rituals and the Power of Words

For the social anthropologist Edmund Leach,[9] a ritual is a complex performance and a series of acts. It is the discourse structure in phrases and words that are used for communication. This process is based on a code. Magic that includes a ritual is also a communicative process. The rite is structured according to the coordinating logic of a code and is therefore comparable to a linguistic code system. The communication process of a magical ritual is made by the magician and may be observed by a user. The decoding of the message addressed to the receptor or recipient is based on knowledge of one or more symbolic codes belonging to the cognitive system shared by the participants in the ritual. Ritual communication consists of a sender, a recipient, and a message. Usually, the senders of a ritual message are actors of the ritual, and the recipients are often an entire group participating in a ritual. In this context, the message has collective meaning. In the magical context, there is no participating group. In the famous magical papyri, it is nearly always a lone magician who performs his ritual. The cases where he needs a helper, for example in crystal magic, are rare. In the pact stories, a user can gain the assistance of a magician as a ritual worker.

In ritual communication, the human beings communicate with the god(s) through prayers and sacrifices and wait for a reaction, i.e., a sign that the sacrifice has been received. The message in this communication process contains words of power. The magician or performer sends a secret message to an addressee. Medieval words of power are mostly found in manuscripts, but they also play a role in narratives. They were normally sung, spoken chanted, whispered, etc., either by a narrative character or an assumed historical person (sixteenth-century Dr. Faustus) who used the text in order to influence reality in a supernatural way.

Such actions are normally referred to as magic, depending on the identity of the performer, and words of power have often been defined as magic due to the emic view of religious texts. As a concept, magic has often been contrasted with religion, especially so when the religion involved was Christianity. In older research on magic, spells and prayers were described as distinct from each

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9 In general terms, see Edmund Leach, *Culture and Communication: The Logic By Which Symbols Are Connected* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Edmund Ronald Leach, "Ritualization in Man in Relation to Conceptual and Social Developments," *A Discussion on Ritualization of Behavior in Animals and Man*, ed. Julian Huxley. Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, Series B, vol. 251 (London: Royal Society, 1966), 403 08.

other. A spell is expected to be either evil, pre-Christian, or a form of popular religion, while a prayer is expected to be good. A good Christian prays piously in order to supplicate a deity to grant him/her a wish, whereas either a magician utters a spell or signs a contract with a demon in order to gain access or to issue a command. For instance, a neutral mode could be schematically envisaged as follows: performer → message to a supernatural power (angel, demon, God). Here we will deal mainly with performing magicians who address either demons or angels.

St. Augustine's Semiotic Theory

Magical practice was ubiquitous at the times of St. Augustine, and his attempt to offer a theoretical framework can be considered an unusual step. Christians, not only in antiquity but also in the Middle Ages, shared with their contemporaries a sense of living in a world surrounded by invisible powers. These powers could be benevolent or malevolent. Augustine's spiritual universe was not different from his pagan contemporaries, whose universe contained good and bad demons: the good demons were believed to rule over natural processes and human souls while the bad demons delude and collude with wicked and rebellious human beings and seek to cause harm to people. Good demons communicate with humans through significant actions such as dreams, inspired words, or visions. Bad ones communicate through magical operations such as invocations or conjurations – in such cases they can be coerced by (binding) spells[10] – and contracts.

These fundamental concepts behind Augustine's views on magic appear in these discussions about the efficacy of magical rites performed by the Pharaoh's magicians and the way they differ from the miracles performed by the servants of God.

Magicians privately work false miracles for selfish ends, whereas miracles are wrought in public by God's servants for the glory of God. Magicians mobilize the powers they control through secret pacts for their own selfish and partial ends. Saints, on the other hand, mobilize God's powers for public ends in line with God's purposes. On the surface, the deeds performed by magicians and by saints seem alike but they are done for different reasons and by different right: The magicians seek their own glory whereas saints seek the glory of God.

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10 See Fritz Graf, *Gottesnähe und Schadenzauber: Die Magie in der griechisch römischen Antike* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1996), 198 203.

The demons obey the magicians by a pact of association while saints invoke divine power. Phenomenologically, religion and magic belong to the same realm of activity, and for Augustine both were systems of communication. In his opinion, human beings cannot share a religion without being associated with it by means of a shared system of symbols, signs and rituals.

In his *De Doctrina Christiana*, Augustine makes use of his general semiotic theory to explore the relationships of a group sharing a culture. Superstitious practices link demons and human beings in an association created by a pact or agreement. Magic can be described as a symbolic system, a language of words, signs and rituals that secure the association of men and demons and establish the cohesion of the group on which the magical efficacy of is rites rests.

Sources of Spirit Communication

In this magical communication system, active senders of messages were rumored to enter deliberately into communication with demons. Generally speaking, people turn to the supernatural world by summoning a spirit with a certain wish they could not fulfill by their own human and hence very limited powers. The scheme of ritualistic communication follows the principle of every other form of communication: sender, receiver, and message (including data, noise, etc.). The sender of messages petitions supernatural entities and addresses them.[11] The receivers, God, angels, or demons, could be malevolent or benevolent. Accordingly, both communication partners had and have their own agenda. If it was a benevolent spirit, in the Christian context an angel, it acted in consent with God. Evil spirits, which, theologians claimed, could ultimately not do anything without God's will, had a more sinister agenda and therefore tried to lure their interlocutor into a contract with them, thereby taking them into a realm opposed to Christianity.

The purposes of conjuring up those various classes or types of spirits were manifold: gaining wealth was a strong incentive for ambitious people to gain competitive advantages with opponents. For example, "[i]n central Europe a spell invoking the new moon to grant wealth has existed since at least the Middle Ages."[12] The two main branches of magic were a legacy of antiquity. As Plotinus summarizes: "But how does magic (goeteia) work? By sympathy and the

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11 See Fritz Graf, *Gottesnähe und Schadenzauber* (see note 10), 188 92.
12 Michael D. Bailey, *Magic: The Basics* (see note 7) 38.

fact that here is a natural concord of things that are alike an opposition of things that are different."[13]

Magical rituals were thought to depend on natural forces. The laws of nature were not all known but were hidden even from the magicians. Magic was considered to be dependent on demonic collaboration and by forming a community with them. In the late Middle Ages, both branches of magic were established, and the theorists of *magia naturalis* tried to distinguish precisely which forms of magic could be natural and which would be demonic. Theologians and natural science philosophers, especially those at the University of Paris, like William of Auvergne, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas, made a point of distinguishing between these two types of traditional written magic. The branch called *magia naturalis* was established around the thirteenth century and was considered to be compatible with Christianity and the sciences. *Magia naturalis* was a form of magic which was closer to the natural sciences insofar as it claimed to know and exploit the occult properties of nature suffused by the celestial bodies.

While in antiquity the two ways of magical activity did not have to be distinguished for non-Christians, in Christian perspective there had to be a clear distinction. "If a magical rite was not a case of exercising the art of medicine, or some other natural *téchne*, then it must be a religious, though false, and therefore blasphemous, ritual. If magic is demonic and the demonic is wicked [...] then there is a new and urgent need to distinguish between scientific activity and religious ritual."[14]

The medieval term 'nigromancy,' meaning malevolent magic, was a form of ritual magic, whose educated users summoned demons[15] with magical circles, Latin recitations with words such as *conjuro*, *adjuro*. Generally speaking, the term *nigromancy* defines the necessary aid of supernatural powers that had to be addressed through rites. In contrast to the *magia naturalis*, nigromancy was closer to religion, and therefore most fiercely opposed by the Church. But neither nigromancy nor *magia naturalis* should be confused with the term witchcraft, because the latter has little to do with magical practices; rather, it is associated with an antithetical image of Christianity constructed from the fourteenth century onward in theological minds. There is one obvious connection between nigromancy and witchcraft: the pact with the devil.

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13 Plotinus, *The Enneads* (with the Greek text), trans A. H. Armstrong. Loeb Classical Library, 443 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), vol. IV, 44.40, quoted after Robert Markus, "*Augustine on Magic:* A Neglected Semiotic Theory" (see note 8), 377.
14 Robert Markus, "*Augustine on Magic*" (see note 8), 377.
15 Michael D. Bailey, *Magic and Superstition in Europe: A Concise History from. Antiquity to the Present*. Critical Issues in History (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), 104.

Since the late Middle Ages, the ancient term necromancy no longer circum-scribed magic by conjuring up the dead; generally, *nigromantia* meant black magic and was generally defined as "addressative magic."[16] The latter term defines it as communicative magic with supernatural beings. Nigromancy was thus defined as being contrary to the Christian order, as its purpose was to conjure and control the spirits, which included addressing and communicating with them. The spirits which the scholastics from St. Augustine onwards identified with demons or devils were entities aiming to control Christian humankind. Fields of magic suspected of demonic involvement were divination, astrology, and even alchemy. The field of divinatory practice often included predicting the future. In many ancient and modern societies, diviners have also been de-scribed as communicating with spirits, either supernatural beings like angels and demons, or souls of the human dead.

Interactors with the Spirits

The interaction and forms of magical practices with spirits vary in their purposes and aims.[17] Practitioners were monks, priests, physicians, healers, midwives, di-viners etc. The often-used terms "white" and "black" magic distinguished be-tween benevolent and malevolent ways.[18] Another dichotomy was that of high and low magic that can only be distinguished by elaborate or rather simple rit-uals. Both have the aim of conjuring and addressing supernatural spirits. Practi-tioners of high magic present it as a sophisticated art which requires fundamen-tal studies, while the unlearned practitioners of low magic do not require special

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16 Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 2), 20 21. The definition of "*addres sative magic*" is owed to Nicholas Weill Parot, "'Astrological Images' and the Concept of '*Addres sative*' Magic," *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period, ed.* Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra. Groningen Studies in Cultural Change *(Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2002), 117 36. Claire Fanger, Invoking Angels* (see note 5), 16, 150, 220, 221, 224, 231; Frank Klaassen, *The Transformation of Magic: Illicit Learned later Middle Ages and Ren aissance.* Magic in History (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013). Lisa A. Bergstrom, "Nigromancy in the Later Middle Ages," *Inquiries Journal/Student Pulse 3* (2006); online at: http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/articles/539/nigromancy in the later mid dle ages (last accessed on March 1, 2022).
17 Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 2).
18 In the case of healers and midwives, the distinction between these practices have often been questioned by the argument that those who have the power to heal also can cause disease and if somebody can infuse love to drive a girl to him who does not love him, then this cannot be called benevolent at all.

expertise at all. High magic is often defined as the domain of specialists and elit-ist groups in society, such as priests and scholars. It is not necessarily the case that they have always used elaborate rituals; they can also perform basic forms of magic. Some divinatory methods had overtones that were more rational than religious. Horoscopes and astrological prognostics were rooted in learned tradi-tions from antiquity onwards. Throughout history, many monarchs and rulers have relied on astrologers for advice in their political and military operations.

Generally speaking, ancient ritual experts specialized in complex rites that usually followed written formulas. The Mesopotamian rite of *maqlû*, for example, was performed by priests against evil spirits and apotropaic rites to protect against malevolent magic.[19] It was handed down in eight tablets containing over a hundred incantations and the full-length recitation would last the entire night.[20] By the thirteenth century, the medieval intellectuals had discarded par-ticularly unlearned superstitions such as the use of formulae and rituals that while rooted in Christianity were not approved by the Church for use beyond their divine purpose.

Centers of European intellectual discourse in the high Middle Ages were the courts of Burgundy[21] and the university of Paris. For the study of magic, two uni-versities were famed above all, Toledo and Salamanca.[22] Together with other branches or disciplines of knowledge, the Latin translations of magical and as-trological texts were discussed in the Iberian Peninsula during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This caused a kind of revival of elaborate ritual (known as ceremonial magic from the Renaissance onwards), and its prestige was much greater than those of simple rural sorcery because of the more complex techniques linked to astrology. The disciplines of astrology, talismanic magic and alchemy were imported via Arabic treatises. It is not surprising that Toledo

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19 *Tzvi Abusch "Mesopotamian Anti Witchcraft Literature: Texts and Studies Part I: The Nature of Maqlû: Its Character, Divisions, and Calendrical Setting," Journal of Near Eastern Studies 33.2 (1974): 251 62; The Witchcraft Series Maqlû, ed. Tzvi Abusch. Writings from the Ancient World, 37* (Atlanta: *SBL Press, 2015*).

20 Michael Bailey, *Magic: The Basics* (see note 7), 38; id., *Magic and Superstition in Europe: A Concise History from Antiquity to the Present* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).

21 Jan Veenstra, *Magic and Divination at the Courts of Burgundy and France.* Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 83 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1997).

22 Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic* (see note 2), 116 40; Benedek Láng, *Unlocked Books. Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe.* The Magic in History Series (Uni versity Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 2; Jennifer M. Correy, *Percep tions of Magic in Medieval Spanish Literature* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2005), 81.

in particular became the epitome of black arts, divination and demonic magic, since the first magical texts were translated.[23]

Practitioners of so-called learned and unlearned magic, such as the "cunning people," act according to similar purposes. Both can rely on written magical texts, which differ in the complexity or simplicity of their structure. After the invention of the printing press, the availability of magical texts in vernacular languages attracted much larger groups of people, who then had easier access to magical books and magical texts. Magical books were efficient instruments in their own right, even if the practitioners could not understand the written words or their meaning, either if they were illiterate or the words written were unknown to them.

Conjuration of Angels

Even angels could be conjured. In a fifteenth century source, certain letters were painted on the clean fingernails of a child; then quite easily three angels would appear with the help of God and the saints would answer one's questions following only few rites and prayers. These angels were easily attracted to humans.[24] The most important elaborate written corpus of magic was the *ars notoria* or notary art due to its ritual figure, the *notae*. Based on the biblical story in which Solomon had a vision of God and is granted wisdom, it claims to endow the practitioner with knowledge of all arts and learning by means of angelic revelation and the divine infusion of wisdom ascribed to King Solomon to conjure angelic spirits that distributed knowledge for their adepts.[25]

The medieval *Ars notoria* has been identified by modern scholars as a theurgic text of magic, although there are different opinions on the exact meaning of the term "theurgic" and its relevance to medieval magic. Theurgic texts require that the practitioner perform rituals for the soul's purification, rituals that involve communication and interaction with God and with spirits who are either neutral or divine and have the power of revelation. That is, knowledge is transmitted by divine powers. Theurgy as Claire Fanger[26] defines it is as a positive

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23 For definitions and classifications of the branches of medieval magic, see Benedek Láng, *Un locked Books* (see note 22), 17 46.

24 Richard Kieckhefer, Forbidden Rites (see note 4), 97.

25 Sophie Page, *Magic in the Cloister. Pious Motives, Illicit Interests, and Occult Approaches to the Medieval Universe*. The Magic in History (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 112 29; here 112.

26 Claire Fanger, *Invoking Angels (*see note 5), 16, 150, 220, 221, 224, 231.

term, salvific ritual enacted within a monotheistic framework surrounded by a theology that argued for their necessity.

Conjuration of Demons

In the high Middle Ages, Aristotelian thought mediated via Jewish and Islamic rationalism circulated among intellectuals and renewed an interest in demons and their powers. Medieval Christian demonology was rooted in Judaism and Early Christianity, but it was during the Middle Ages that the reflection and the use of demons prospered, as did, in its wake, narratives. The fall of the angels was discussed broadly among Christian theologians. Church Fathers had disagreed on the reason for their descent into hell and the exact sin they had committed but agreed that God had created demons and that it had therefore been God's will that they existed, and since God would not have created genuine evil, they must have been good originally and then turned evil as a result of sin. In several publications from the twelfth century, Petrus Lombardus (1100–1160) in his *Libri Quatuor senteniarum*[27] proposes that those demons were created by God and after their fall cannot come to grace again but are eternally damned.

Examples of medieval individuals engaging in any branch of magic show that even a great number of respected churchmen, theologians and even popes supported and were rumored to practice not only alchemy but also natural and even demonic magic. Certain types of magic were considered transgressive, particularly those which involved the interaction of beings besides God. Texts with demonic content positioned themselves as orthodox Christian practice and often clerics or good Christians were the authors. This does not mean that demonic magic was legitimate or legalized by papal or secular courts; rather, the practitioner of demonic ritual magic was believed to be within the Christian faith and not outside it, and therefore not a contradiction to Christianity.

While in some cases the possession of manuals of demonic magic were considered proof or heretical activities, in other times and context it would only be treated as mere possession with intent to practice or was ignored altogether.[28] But surely for every magical manual there were just as many canonical treatises against such practices. The basic concerns were that, as demons are part of the

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27 Petrus Lombardus, *Libri Quatuor sententiarum*. Bibliotheca Augustana. Ausgewählte Ab schnitte nach: *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae in IV libris distinctae Spicilegium Bonaventur ianum* IV/V, ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas (Rome: Grottaferrata, 1971), 519 964.

28 Benedek Láng, *Unlocked Books* (see note 22), passim.

natural world, if conjurations and interactions with them would unleash them into the human world either intentionally or unintentionally, such interactions with them could be looked upon as idolatry. Even so, if the communication or interaction was not intended, the potential of demonic invocation was there.

St. Augustine had equated *theurgia* with angelic magic and demonic magic with *goeteia*, as he detailed it in his *City of God* in Book IX and X. He agreed with the Neoplatonists of his time that there was a need for mediation between heaven and Earth but for the purpose of mediation or communication only. In his *De doctrina Christiana*, the opposition between public and private is the key argument for distinguishing between magicians and miracle working saints. Magicians access their powers through secret pacts for their own selfish purposes. Saints, on the other hand, perform miracles for God's glory and the public good.

The demons invoked by magicians obey them due to their mutual pact of association. In either case, in saints' prayers or magicians' invocations there is no direct efficacy, but rather a mediated action by spiritual beings. Augustine's explanation of efficacy of magic belongs to the same realm of action as sacraments; both are systems of communication, because humans cannot share a religion, be it heretical or true, without being associated within it by a shared system of symbols, signs or visible rituals.

According to his theory, signs mean something to those who agree on their meaning, thus constituting a linguistic community. Superstitious practices intertwine demons and humans into an association created by an agreement or pact.[29] According to St. Augustine, all magic relies on a pact with demons, which abound in nature. They can manipulate the hidden laws of nature to make it appear that the results of magical rituals are miraculous, thus leading the practitioner into idolatry.[30] Communication with demons is based on imaginary *signs* or a common language by means *of* which men and *demons* can communicate. *Signs* in themselves are arbitrary and only gain their meaning through mutual agreement. Augustine also distinguishes between an efficacy achieved by use of natural powers according to their inherent divine determination, in harmony with God's will. When a herb or a stone, etc., is used superstitiously, then a Christian has to be careful, especially when a good magical efficacy is given.

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29 Augustinus, *De doctrina christiana*, ed and trans. *R. P. H. Green. Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995)*, II 20 30; 22.36; 24 37.

30 In his *De divinatione daemonum* chapter 117; see Frank Klaassen, *The Transformation of Magic* (see note 16), 20.

Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), in chapter 105 of his *Summa contra Gentiles*,[31] explains the source of magicians' power as follows: Magicians use words with significance and conjurations of considerable length to gain a certain effect. A significant word would have no effect at all if uttered by a non-intellectual being. The intellect could be on the side of the individual who speaks or on that of the recipient who listens. In this case, the word has the function of making the term known. If it is the intellect of the recipient, he uses the word as a trigger to go into action to perform. With this discussion, Thomas tries to prove that for human beings it is impossible to work wonders or miracles through their own words.

It is not the words per se that have power in sorcery or magic; rather, it is only the concept behind the words. If the magicians could work miracles by their words alone, then they would not be humans like us. If they are humans like us, then their words are not independently efficacious. Invocations and adjurations are directed at a listener, an addressee. In magical practice, characters, diagrams, magical circles, and squares are used. A simple graphical drawing can never cause an action, otherwise geometric bodies would be able to act. Magical squares and the like are of the same use as charms; they all are signs. Signs are directed to another intellect, another addressee, and hence it is quite clear that it is not the magician that performs but the other intellect that is addressed by the magicians. Magicians presume that they can make a certain object an antenna for natural impacts. The intellectual subject to whom magicians turn with their diagrams and special words are evil. For Thomas Aquinas, magicians are criminals and an intellectual entity that helps criminals cannot be a virtuous being.

Thomas Aquinas, followed by Bonaventura (1221–1274), shaped a systematic and comprehensive angelology and demonology. Bonaventura asserts that the decline of the evil angels unequivocally tells us that both humans and angels possessed free will. The good angels remained faithful to God out of their love for God and not out of compulsion. Otherwise, if they did not possess free will, God would have been responsible for the fallen angels' expulsion and hence their fall would be God's fault.

The oldest non-literary record of conjuration practices among the Tyrolian rural population can be found in Hans Vintler's *Pluemen der tugent* (1411) [32:]

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31 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra gentiles*, trans. Anton C. Pegis (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2010).

32 Hans Vintler, *Pluemen der tugent*, ed. Ignaz V. Zingerle (I*nnsbruck:* Wagner, 1874). Cf. Wolfgang Ziegeler, *Möglichkeiten der Kritik am Hexen und Zauberwesen im ausgehenden Mittelalter* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1973), 34 46.

so wellen dise den teufel pannen
das si in pringen guet zesamen.
so wellen etleich warsagen
und wellen vil den teufel fragen,
wa lige golt und edel gestain.
....
so seind danne ettleich leut, die got gent zu laide
des nahtes an ain wegschaide
und rufen den milleartifex,
der do ist der poshait rex,
als das von im geschriben stat. (Vv 7694 98, 8233 38)

[some of them want to conjure the devil with spells in order to gain goods from him. Many use divinations and ask the devil where to find gold and precious stones. Many do it out of evil purposes, go to a fork in the road at night and call the milleartifex (devil) who is king of all evil, as is known from scripture]

In this treatise on superstitious customs of the rural population, only the belief in the possibility of conjuration is recorded. It is noteworthy that Hans Vintler and others, such as Johannes Hartlieb in his book of all forbidden arts,[33] only mention that there have been certain conjurations but shy away of relating the exact wording.

In the Munich handbook of a necromant from the first half of the fifteenth century, a spirit who claims to be a master of all sciences appears. He has to be addressed in the name of Apolin, Maraloth, Berith, and other entities with fantastic names, but also the trinity. Afterwards, the adept has to sleep on a sword that is covered with a cloth. In his dream, three kings will appear, among them the master. When he awakens, the master is still present in elegant clothing and demands the sword. He writes his name and the words in the blood of birds in the circle. Similar rites follow throughout the day long until the training in the sciences can begin. [34] If one desires a certain woman, one has to write her name in the blood of a dove on dog skin, recite the magical formulas, and 6 young men will appear to carry the lady into the magic circle. She will then be at his disposal as long he wishes. It is claimed that this method gave King Solomon power over women he desired.[35] From the sixteenth century onwards, there are German texts with clear instructions of how to conjure up the devil.

The National Library of Prague holds a manuscript that contains a late medieval German tutorial on conjuration using Runic letters. Originating from the sec-

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33 Johannes Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste* (Munich: Eugen Diederichs, 1998), 22 30, 68 79.

34 Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites* (see note 4), 193sq.

35 Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites* (see note 4), 201sq.

ond half of the fifteenth century, it is an example of extensive pharmacopoeia. The author, obviously a well-educated physician, used Runic letters to shelter his manuscript against unwanted readers. One third of the manuscript thus had to be decoded[36]:

> *Item* das *du machest*, *daß sint* die *rett* der *BOES GAIST*, UND was *du* IN *WILT* | *fragen*, so tue jm also : so TUO AIN ding / und gang zů NACHT ain OR in die |nacht vsse IN DAS FELD DA NIMAND | nit sy von HUS noch von KIRCHEN und |RIEF mit lutter STIM DIESE wortt: | *DI ABOLO, DIABOLICZO, SATANA, SATHANICZO, KUM her ZUO MIR* |ich will DIR ZUO SPRE CHEN, vnd | nim die PRESENT von mir, | die ich dir BRACHT han;

> *Vnd das* | soll sin ZUO DEM ERSTEN KOLEN | vnd BROT vnd KAES vnd dry ROS NEGEL vnd GERSTEN vnd och SALTZ, v vnd das nim jn die BLOSEN HAND | vnd wirf jm es fyr, so bald vnd du jn | sichst KOMEN vnd er wirt |komen wie ain SCHWARTZ HUINDLIN, | vnd was du IN FRAGST, DAS sagt er DIR. [...]

> [If you want to speak with the evil spirit and want to know something of him so you have to do the following: at nighttime you have to go to an uninhabited place, into the open field, und call upon him with a loud voice. Diabolo [...] come to me, I want to talk to You, and take the presents I have brought.

> That has to be first of all coals, bread and cheese and three horseshoe nails, barley, and salt, and all this you have to take with your bare hand and throw it. Soon you will see him appear ing in the shape of a small black dog, and whatever you ask him, he will tell you.]

Communication Via Written Contracts: The Pact with the Supernatural

Sovereigns, monarchs, and churchmen condemned malevolent magic from late antiquity onwards and continued this throughout the Middle Ages. Thirteenth-century Franciscan and Dominican preachers warned seriously about magic in their sermons. For example, the Franciscan preacher Bernardino of Siena[37] described the evil doings of people using incantation to cure disease, and prophesize the future, divining, and devoting themselves to superstition. Bernardino, who personally waged a war against magic, gathered and burned magical paraphernalia including magical incantations and writings with signs and characters

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36 Hartmut Beckers, "Eine spätmittelalterliche deutsche Anleitung zur Teufelsbeschwörung mit Runenschriftverwendung, " *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 113 (1984): 136 45; here 144.

37 See Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Under world of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 95.

evidently referring to demons. He also railed against the newly established custom of taking children to a well for purification, for example by rebaptizing them, clearly a mockery of the baptism ritual. According to his biographer, he personally destroyed a site where such baptism had been held.

The central argument of this war against magic and superstition was the possibility that magic might be demonic even when it seemed innocent on the surface. It was easy to reject demonic magic in general, but much more difficult to tell whether a particular practice was made with an appeal to demons. "One of the most common tests was whether it contained unintelligible words that might in fact be invocations of demons in some unknown tongue, or stage names that might be names for demons."[38]

Albertus Magnus, Petrus Lombardus, and especially Thomas Aquinas agreed, following St. Augustine, that evocations, conjurations, and sacrifices to spirits (of nature) can be understood as a pact with those spirits. In several of his treatises, Aquinas considered the issue of the demonic pact, distinguishing between a deliberate and formal pact (*expressa*) and pact not always entered into intentionally or tacit pact (*tacita*).[39] St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas suspected that demons were somehow involved in many magical actions. Aquinas dealt with these matters in his *Summa against the Gentiles*.[40] He concedes that some magic works through the powers of heavenly bodies and some by the hidden forces of nature or occult powers, but he rejected the idea that all magic works thus.

One of the most intricate questions was concerned with how incantations could have any effect. Many of the most important thinkers of the Middle Ages, such as William of Auvergne, had ruled out various possibilities but not some of the natural causes behind their effect. Nicholas Oresme also set the power of the imagination at the center of his argument, wondering whether hearing incantations was affected by certain physical properties inherent to the words themselves. When magicians use invocations, write characters and use figures, they certainly address intelligent beings. As magicians often use these arts for evil proposes, these beings they address are none other than demons.[41]

From late antiquity onwards, churchmen warned about the dangers of deliberately or inadvertently invoke demons. A churchman, a priest or exorcist had

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38 Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 2), 182.

39 Thomas Linsenmann, *Die Magie bei Thomas von Aquin* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000) Almut Neumann, *Verträge und Pakte mit dem Teufel: Antike und Mittelalterliche Vorstellungen im "Malleus maleficarum"* (St. Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 1997).

40 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra Gentiles* (see note 31), III, 84 88; and analyzed by Thomas Linsenmann, *Die Magie bei Thomas von Aquin* (see note 39), 141 74.

41 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra Gentiles* (see note 31), III, 104 07.

the authority to conjure up a demon, but only for a certain purpose: to exorcise people who had been possessed by an evil spirit. It was quite prohibited for laymen to use invocation to ask about secret knowledge or treasures.

Communication with the Devil via the Magic Circle

In his miracle stories, Caesarius of Heisterbach[42] describes diabolical conspiracies and evidence of demonic influence.[43] In three interconnected narratives he outlines the profile of a priest by the name of Philipp who was schooled in magic and used drastic examples to illustrate the dangers of ritual magic, the magical arts and demonic influence in general.

A knight who did not believe in demons was put right in drastic fashion by the priest. At noon, when the demons are as powerful as they are at night, the priest drew a circle[44] on the ground with a sword, and told the knight to step

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42 As to Caesarius's miracle tales, see: Axel Rüth, *Imaginationen der Angst: Das christliche Wunderbare und das Phantastische* (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 69 175; Anne Lawrence Mathers and Carolina Escobar Vargas, *Magic and Medieval Society.* Seminar Studies (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 13sq. For a comparison of Caesarius and The Stricker, see Maryvonne Hagby, *man hat uns fur die warheit ... geseit. Die Strickersche Kurzerzählung im Kontext mittellateinischer ›narrationes‹ des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts.* Studien und Texte zum Mittelalter und zur frühen Neuzeit, 2 (Münster, New York, Munich, and Berlin: Waxmann, 2001), 274 80; Cf. Albrecht Classen, "The World of Miracles: Science, and Healing in Caesarius of Heisterbach's Dialogus miraculorum (ca.1240) in Competition with Magic," Quidditas 40 (2019): 90 121.

43 Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum. Dialog über die Wunder*, ed. Nikolaus Nösges and Horst Schneider. 5 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), vol. III, 5, 2, 953 59. See Almut Neumann, *Verträge und Pakte mit dem Teufel* (see note 409), 205 17; for more detailed discussions, see Christa Agnes Tuczay, "Some Reports of Magic, Superstition, and Witchcraft in the Medieval *Mirabilia* Literature," *Folklore, Magic, and Witchcraft. Cultural Exchanges from the Twelfth to Eighteenth Century*, ed. Marina Montesano. Routledge Studies in the History of Witchcraft, Demonology and Magic (London and New York: Routledge, 2022), 119 31.

44 The magical circle is known to have been used in Jewish magic and surely has influenced other ceremonial medieval magic. See Joshua Trachtenberg: *Jewish Magic and Superstition. A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman's Jewish Bookhouse, 1939), 121sq. Trachtenberg mentions Honi the Circle drawer who lived in the first century B.C. E. See Judah Goldin: "On *Honi the Circle Maker:* A Demanding Prayer," *Harvard Theological Review* 56 (1963): 233 37. In his study, Lecouteux is mainly quoting from Pseudo Paracelsus. Claude Lecouteux, *The Book of Grimoires: The Secret Grammar of Magic*, trans. Jon E. Graham (2002; Rochester, VT, and Toronto: Inner Tra

into it, making sure not to stretch any part of his body out of the circle. A large number of demons soon appeared before the knight, finally followed by the biggest, most fearsome of them all, the devil himself. The devil first demanded the knight's cloak as a token of favor. When the knight refused, he demanded his belt, then a sheep from his flock and finally a chicken. The knight adamantly refused every demand, whereupon the devil tried to pull him out of the circle, but Philipp came to his aid and the devil had to flee.

In another story,[45] the same Philipp put a priest in a magic circle, and the devil immediately appeared and terrified the priest so much that he was able to pull him out of the circle before Philipp could step in. The priest died of the consequences of the abuse he had suffered at the hands of the devil. In a third story, Caesarius relates of Philipp's youth in Toledo with other students of magic. [46]

In this tale, the students asked their teacher for a practical demonstration of an invocation, which the teacher provided. He drew a circle on the ground in an open field and warned them not to step out of it under any circumstances, and not to promise or accept gifts. He summoned demons, who appeared in the form of knights and engaged in jousts, with a view to getting the students out of the circle. When this failed, they tried in the form of beautiful young girls. One girl slipped a ring onto one student's finger and pulled him out of the circle. The student vanished, together with the triumphant demons. The teacher heard his students' cries, rushed to them, and told them they would never see their fellow student again who had disregarded the warning. Enraged, the students demanded that he bring the vanished man back, or they would kill him on the spot. The teacher again summoned the devil, using all his powers of persuasion, and listing his merits. The devil let a tribunal of demons decide, and it released the young man: "The rescued [student] showed more by example than by words how godless and damnable that science was. He left Toledo and became [...] a monk in a monastery."[47]

Centuries later, in a Christian setting, the performance of a "similar" elaborate ritual took place, the University of Paris condemning a ceremony in which a group of "magicians" were involved. They had gathered around a "great circle conscribed with numerous unknown names and marked with various charac-

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ditions, 2013), 137 44; Owen Davies, *Grimoires. A History of Magic Books* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 6 43.

45 Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* (see note 43), vol. III, 5,3, 959 61.

46 Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* (see note 43), vol. III, 5,4, 961 67.

47 Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum* (see note 43), vol. III, 5,4, 961 67; here 965.

ters."[48] A bottle covered with parchments containing spells was placed in the center of the circle and put into motion. This performance was accompanied with the burning of incense and the reading of incantations. The purpose was to conjure a spirit to gain a hidden treasure.[49] In early modern times, uneducated practitioners are documented to have often engaged in treasure hunting to conjure a spirit protecting treasures, using rather simple rituals.[50]

Protective circles and rituals in delimited, enclosed spaces appear in courtly literature as well as in mirabilia and chronicles. Sophie Pages sums it up concisely:

> Magic circles had become a significant instrument in Christian ritual magic by the late thirteenth century and were quickly disseminated into popular consciousness as a powerful image of the boundary between the human and spirit world [...] This emblematic motif of medieval ritual magic was influenced by four traditions: clerics in astral magic texts, the seals and pentacles of Solomonic magic, protective circular amulets and the thirteenth century scholastic understanding of the cosmos.[51]

Communication via Books, Crystals

The addressive magic involves formulaic words, ritual gestures and also materials. Such materials used in magical contexts exist in nature or are manufactured for magical purposes through magical rites. Some of those materials are thought of as containing inherent powers or are considered instruments focusing energies. For rituals, learned branches of magic require education or training and also special rare items for their performance such as precious stones, metals, herbs, exotic rare plants of body partis of animals.[52]

Elaborate rituals also require special talismans and images. A very common feature of medieval magical rituals was the afore-mentioned magic circles adopt-

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48 Michael Bailey, *Magic: The Basics* (see note 7), 43

49 The Preacher Berthold of Regensburg (1270) mentions pacts with the devil to gain a treasure. See *Die Predigten des Berthold von Regensburg*, ed. Ignaz Pfeiffer Strobl I (Vienna: Wilhelm Brau müller, 1880), 342.

50 Johannes Dillinger, "Hexenverfolgungen in der Grafschaft Hohenberg," *Zum Feuer ver dammt, ed.* J. Dillinger, T. Fritz, and W. Mährle (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998), 1 161; here 130 133.; Johannes Dillinger, Magical Treasure Hunting in Europe and North America: A History (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

51 Sophie Page, "Medieval Magical Figures. Between Image and Text," *The Routledge History of Medieval Magic*, ed. Sophie Page and Catherine Rider (London: Routledge, 2019), 432 57; here 445.

52 Claude Lecouteux, *Grimoires* (see note 44).

ed and received from Jewish magical tradition. Magical books are and were certainly considered the ultimate instrument for magical practices not only because they contained magical recipes and formulas but often because the communication with the demons began with the opening of the book itself.[53] When conjuring up dead prophets, the lady of Endor and Odysseus knew their names and would have sent away other uncalled spirits. "A fundamental rule of magic is that it makes available the names of numinous (divine) beings and supernatural beings for the purpose of summoning them to come forth and take action."[54]

Magical texts seem to have only circulated in certain small elitist groups. Medieval knowledge of magic was based on few surviving texts from antiquity. The above-mentioned magqlû tablets or the documents of the Hellenistic period and the Greek magical papyri,[55] traded details of rites performed in Egypt in the second to fifth centuries C.E. These texts were only accessible to a small group and were rediscovered in the nineteenth century by a collector in Cairo.[56] Additionally, the *Sepher ha Razim*,[57] a Jewish mystical text dating from the fourth century, was only identified by a scholar in 1963. Presumedly the oldest medieval gri

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53 Peter Dinzelbacher, *Vision und Magie: Religiöses Leben im Mittelalter* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2009), 7 17.

54 Claude Lecouteux, *Grimoire* (see note 44), 36 52; here 36.

55 Kai Brodersen, *Gebet und Fluch, Zeichen und Traum: Aspekte religiöser Kommunikation in der Antike*. Antike Kultur und Geschichte, 1 (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2001); Theodor Hopfner, *Grie chisch ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber: Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, 1 (Amster dam: Hakkert, 1974); Daniel Ogden, "Binding Spells, Curse Tablets and Voodoo Dolls in the Greek and Roman Worlds," *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed. Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 1 90; Roy Kotansky, "Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets," *Mag ika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion,* ed. Christopher Faraone and Dirk Obink (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1991), 107 36. Albrecht Classen, "Zaubersprüche. Beschwörun gen und andere Formen des 'Aberglaubens': Kulturhistorische Betrachtungen für den Literatur und Sprachunterricht," *Unterrichtspraxis* 29.2 (1996): 231 39; Chiara Benati, "Painted Eyes, Mag ical Sieves and Carved Runes: Charms for Catching and Punishing Thieves in the Medieval and Early Modern Germanic Tradition," *Magic and Magicians in the Middle Ages and the Early Mod ern Time* (see note 6), 149 218; see also Classen's extensive introduction to that volume, 1 108.

56 Karl Preisendanz, Albert Henrichs, *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri*. 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1974 1974); *The Greek Magical Papyri in translation*, ed. Hans Dieter Betz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

57 Mordecai Margalioth, *Sepher Ha Razim: A Newly Recovered Book of Magic from the Talmudic Period, Collected from Genizah Fragments and Other Sources* (Jerusalem: Yediot Aharonot, 1966). *Sefer ha Razim: Das Buch der Geheimnisse*. Vol. I, ed. Bill Rebiger and Peter Schäfer. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism, 125 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009). *Sefer ha Razim: Das Buch der Geheimnisse.* Vol. II. Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar Texts and Studies in Ancient Juda ism, 132 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

moire, *The Sworn Book of Honorius*,[58] can be characterized as an angelic conjuration manual.

In the Middle Ages, Christians and Arabic scholars alike claimed that magical texts were based on ancient sources, but they also invented new forms of magic. The famous Arabic *Ghāyat al-Hakīm*, a manual of astral magic, describes how spirits can be invoked and controlled. Probably written in the eleventh century, the manual came to Europe in the thirteenth century. It was first translated into Spanish and then into Latin under the famous title Picatrix.[59] Alchemy is also a text-based tradition of magic. One of the most famous alchemical texts, the *Emerald Table*, only a short passage is attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, whose legendary figure gave his name to a whole tradition of magical writings. The so-called Hermetic corpus originated from the first to the fourth centuries. The Emerald Tablet dates from the eighth century.[60]

For the art of crystallomancy or scrying efforts to summon visions of a spirit any shining surface can be used. John of Salisbury wrote about an anointed fingernail. for example, used to conjure demonic images.[61] Other sources mention certain crystals, a mirror blade of swords and other shiny objects. It also played

58 Joseph H Peterson, *The Sworn Book of Honorius: Liber Iuratus Honorii*, (Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, 2016); Richard Kieckhefer, "The Devil's Contemplatives: The Liber iuratus, the Liber Visionum and Christian Appropriation of Jewish Occultism," Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic, ed. Claire Fanger (see note 5), 250 65; Katelyn Mesler, "The Liber iuratus Honorii and the Christian Reception of Angel Magic," Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries, ed. Claire Fanger (see note 5), 113 50; Jan. R. Veenstra, "Honorius and the Sigil of God: The Liber iuratus in Berengario Ganell's Summa Sacre Magice, in Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries, ed. Claire Fanger (see note 5), 151 91. For a digitized version, see https://orka.bibliothek.uni kassel.de/viewer/image/1343812736802/2/#topDocAnchor (last accessed on March 4, 2022).
59 Hellmut Ritter, *Picatrix, ein arabisches Handbuch hellenistischer Magie: Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg.* Vol. 1: *Vorträge 1921 1922*, ed. Fritz Saxl (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1923), 94 124; *Picatrix: A Medieval Treatise on Astral Magic*, trans. with an intro. Dan Attrell and David Porreca. The Magic in History Series (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019). See also Hellmut Ritter and Martin Plessner, *Picatrix: Das Ziel des Weisen von Pseudo Maǧrīṭī*. Übersetzung aus dem Arabischen. Studies of the Warburg Institute, 27 (London: University of London, 1962).
60 Julius Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen Literatur* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1926); Michael Frensch, "Die *Tabula Smaragdina:* Eine hermetische Betrachtung," *Hermetika* 4 (1983): 18 24; 5 (1984): 11 20; 6 (1984): 10 18.
61 See Christa Agnes Tuczay, "Scrying," *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft*, ed. Richard M. Golden (Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, 2006), IV 1023 24; "Ettlich haben gar ain lauteren schönen gepulierten cristallen: Die Kunst der Kristallomantie und ihre Darstellung in deutschen Texten des Mittelalters," *Mediävistik* 15 (2002): 31 50.

an important role in the early modern Fugger case.[62] In the sixteenth century, John Dee also turned to using crystals to conjure up angels. [63] There are different opinions about what appears in the bowls, mirrors, crystals etc. In most cases, there are signs, but also a person, spirits, demons or angels. In the lowered mirror in Patrai, the sick person appears in the mirror and the healer either sees him with in healthy condition or dead.

In medieval times, it was presumed that the vision that appeared was produced by the spirit residing within. Therefore, first of all, one had to force the spirit into the crystal with the appropriate spells. The spells are a curious mixture of religious and magical formulas. Part of the conjuration of the spirits consisted of the repetition of divine names, most of them in Hebrew. In the course of the use of these spells by many reciters who often did not understand what they were repeating the names became so corrupted that it is now difficult to interpret them. Obviously, this form of divination was seen as compatible with religion because often the crystal was to be placed on an altar.[64] St. Augustine interpreted the images appearing in the liquids as manifestations of demons pretending to be ghosts and thus deceiving the scryers. Nonetheless, preparations were thought proper because evil spirits could also enter the crystal to seduce the scryers and delude them. Therefore, the emphasis in all rituals is placed on purity: of the scryer himself, mostly an innocent boy, of the crystal that had to be polished and bathed in holy water, and of the conjurer who had to fast before performing the ritual.

Conclusion

In the present paper we have described, based on historical and literary sources and extensive research literature, forms (accounts, records) of forbidden forms of medieval communication that make use of magic. Taking into account the quite inconsistent definition of this term, we have arrived at a tentative typology that

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62 See Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil. Witchcraft Religion and Sexuality* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 2013sq.

63 *The Diaries of John Dee*, ed. Edward Fenton (Oxford: Day Books 1998); Deborah E. Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels: Cabalah, Alchemy and the End of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); **György E. Szönyi**, J*ohn Dee's Occultism. Magical Exaltation Through Powerful Signs* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2004).

64 In a sixteenth century Sloane Manuscript MS 3851, f.50b. Cf. George Frederick Kunz, *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones: Being a Description of Their Sentiments* (1913; New York: Dover Publications, 1971), 185.

makes this very communication comprehensible as interactions with spirits, conjurations of angels and demons, and as pacts with supernatural beings. With reference to St. Augustine's semiotic theory, we have described a magical communication system that contains pagan elements as well as clear demarcation moments (e. g., invoking and working of saints as legitimate communication). This theory, as we have been able to show, is comparable to classical models of communication concepts and continues to have an effect in the later, quite strongly evaluative discussion of questions of forbidden communication (e. g., in Thomas Aquinas, Petrus Lombardus, etc.). Besides the possibility of describing magic as an inwardly strongly structured system (good vs. malevolent; high vs. low) or the legitimacy of such communication in special cases (e. g., exorcism), the isolation of the magician in relation to the community, the search for reasons to motivate the use of forbidden communication, or even the continuous existence of a twofold discourse of magic stand out. We could demonstrate that the discourse of magical practice is always accompanied by a parallel discourse of reflection, criticism, or even prohibition, which gained importance and scope at the latest with the renewed interest in demons and their powers after an Aristotelian turn in medieval philosophy.

The dissemination of such texts via identifiable centers of knowledge is clearly dynamized by the development of the printing press, although the availability of magical texts or book objects does not guarantee their expert handling and use. In addition to this moment of expanded distribution, an emergence of elaborated narratives and thus a preoccupation with the narrativity of forbidden communication can also be observed. Within the spectrum of magical objects, the book has a clearly special position on all levels, since on the one hand it represents the ultimate instrument for magical practices, and on the other hand it favors or even enables the meaning of the powerful word in all its medializations.

Finally, on the basis of these considerations, two aspects can be highlighted which are addressed within our paper and could be investigated further in the future. Starting from the description as a semiotic model, depending on the chosen example, the factor of interference in forbidden communication can be granted an even more important role than assumed so far. Here, connections to relevant research from the history of science and recent philosophy could be of interest.[65] With regard to magical objects, which themselves often have

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65 Michel Serres, *Hermes II: L'interférence* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit 1972); Alexander R. Galloway, Eugene Thacker, and McKenzie Wark, *Excommunication: Three Inquiries in Media and Mediation* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press 2014); Cecile Malaspina, *An Epistemology of Noise* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic 2018).

to be created or refined by magical means, it might be productive to take up considerations from New Materialism. In contrast to Thing Theory, which is influenced by existential philosophy, the designation of the object as a thing no longer describes a loss of usefulness,[66] but rather a valorizing shift that ascribes new, relational valences, or even agency to the thing. In the context of a magical communicative situation, this means an understanding of that very situation as an assemblage of actors whose roles are constantly being played out anew in the process of acting on and with each other and are not permanently fixed in advance.[67]

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66 Bill Brown, *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press 2003); Albrecht Classen, "Symbolic Significance of the Sword in the Hero's Hand: *Beowulf*, *The Nibelungenlied*, *El Poema de Mio Cid*, the *Volsunga Saga*, and the *Njál's Saga*. Thing Theory from a Medieval Perspective," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 80 (2020): 346 70.
67 Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter. A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2010).

Chiara Melchionno

Paroemiac Expressions: A Touch of Color in the Ambassadors' Diplomatic Correspondence in the Fifteenth Century

Abstract: Is it possible – and, if so, how – to explain the presence of paremiac expressions – (proverbs, ways of sayings, proverbial phrases, and quotes) – in the correspondence of pre-modern Italian ambassadors? A distinction recently introduced in the discourse on proverbs defines a paremia as a sequence of syntagms constituting a single verbal act; a short, conventional, polysemic, and exhaustive expression, based on a logical-rhythmical, and binary opposition, which is typical of the oral tradition and is aimed at explicating a piece of advice. Pertaining to the oral dimension, it would seem almost paradoxical that these expressions can be found in such formal texts as the ambassadors' letters.

Actually, paremiac expressions mirror the communicative praxis of the Middle Ages, when orality and writing went hand in hand: the former was the predominant method of communication, but they both derived from the same rhetorical models, being therefore complementary and not opposites. This paper intends to investigate the presence of paremias within a number of diplomatic letters exchanged between the State of Milan and the Kingdom of Naples in the fifteenth century in order to understand what was their linguistic and communicative function and how greatly they influenced (and changed) the nature of Italian diplomatic letters itself.

A series of case studies, deriving from the letters kept in the State Archive of Milan and exchanged between Galeazzo Maria Sforza (lord of Milan) and Francesco Maletta (his ambassador to the court of Alfonso of Aragon in Naples) will be presented in order to highlight better the uniqueness of this correspondence, which lies in its composite linguistic features (a mix of Latin and Italian vernacular) and in the political and historical relevance of its content.

Keywords: Italian diplomatic correspondences, Italian Middle Ages and Renaissance, paroemiae, paroemiac expressions, proverbs

This paper intends to investigate the presence of paroemiac expressions, particularly proverbs and proverbial quotes, within a number of diplomatic letters exchanged between the State of Milan and the Kingdom of Naples in the fifteenth

century. The aim is to understand what was the linguistic and communicative function of these expressions and how greatly they influenced (and partly changed) the nature of Italian diplomatic letters itself.

In the period from the mid-fourteenth to the early sixteenth century (ca. 1350–1520), Italian diplomacy developed a network of negotiations which contributed to keep at bay conflicts at least until the end of the fifteenth century in Italy. As Lazzarini poignantly sums up, "Italian diplomacy was a process that aimed at elaborating a common political language and shaping a geography of interacting identities and powers in a space that was at the same time politically fragmented and culturally connected."[1]

Whilst at early stages of research, diplomacy was preminently considered as an institutional tool to build the modern 'nation-state,' and were mostly considered separately, the recent research considers it a flexible political activity, a social and cultural practice which elaborated a common language to enable political entities to build relations in formal and informal contexts; the practices of this process – negotiation, informing-gathering, representation, and communication – constantly interacted together.

In the period considered here, the political system of the Italian peninsula saw different political forces interacting in conflicts and negotiations: republics (Florence, Lucca, Siena, Genoa and Venice); principalities centered on episcopal and communal cities (Duchies of Milan and Ferrara, the marquisate of Mantua), and others based on feudal and ecclesiastic lordships (the marquisate of Monferrato, the prince-bishops of Aquileia and Trent); the Papacy and the Papal States in the center; the two kingdoms of Sicily and Naples in the south, temporarily unified under the name of kingdom of Naples under Alfonso of Aragon. As well as ambassadors, increasingly employed in long-lasting missions, also chancellors, secretaries, courtiers, aristocrats, intellectuals, merchants, and clerics took part in diplomacy through informal negotiations, short embassies, or even espionage.

The standardized common language which enabled the different states to communicate was the fifteenth-century vernacular and Latin, which saw the absorption of a classical heritage consisting of Ciceronian rhetoric, as well as linguistic and synctactical borrowings from classical Latin. Letters, dispatches, final reports, council acts and debates, documents-instructions, credentials, let-

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1 Isabella Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict: Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance, 1350 1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 46. The following abbreviations will be used for the sources: *Ambr.* = Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan; ASM = Archivio di Stato of Milan; SPE = Fondo sforzesco, Potenze Estere; *DS II* = Dispacci sforzeschi da Napoli, II; MAP = Fondo Mediceo Avanti Principato; w. n. = without numeration; w. l. = wrong location.

ters of appointments and safe-conducts were the written texts chanceries produced. In the central chanceries, which were the most important centers of production of public written records, chancellors, secretaries and *notarii* elaborated a range of techniques which made possible the production of more or less homogeneous records.

These were produced in rough copies, loose originals or authentic copies in registers, and each group multiplied according to several chanceries, producing a "mundo de carta."[2] The documents created by ambassadors and those created for them are diplomatic sources which can be divided into two groups: letters, i.e., both *missive* and *responsive*, written either by public authorities to their ambassadors or other correspondents abroad (or vice versa), and the preparatory and final work of the diplomatic mission (from instructions to final reports). This second group included texts which defined the ambassadors' agenda, which had different denominations: *memoriale*, *sommario*, *instructione*, *informatione*, *ricordança*.[3] The objective of an ambassador was to relate "diffusamente", "distinctamente," and "iustificate."[4]

The diplomatic correspondence mirrors the communicative praxis of the Middle Ages, when an 'osmotic' relationship existed between orality and writing. They both derived from the same rethoric models,[5] being therefore complementary, and not opposites, contrary to our contemporary perception. As one historian points out correctly: "l'opposition oral/écrit n'était pas pleinement pertinente au sein de ce monde de lettres [...] Écrire, parler, négocier, c'était tout un."[6]

Admittedly, the instructions which were contained in the ambassadors' letters anticipated the oral exposition of their content, and what was said during

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2 Quote from a letter written from G. A. della Torre to Leonello d'Este (Grosseto, 18 March 1448, ASMO ASE, Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggi degli ambasciatori, Napoli, 1), edited in *Dispacci sforzeschi da Napoli, I, 1444 2 luglio 1458*, ed. Francesco Senatore, preface by Mario del Treppo (Salerno: Carlone Editore, 1997), 32 33, n. 9; also title of Francesco Senatore, *"Uno mundo de carta", Forme e strutture della diplomazia sforzesca* (Naples: Liguori editore, 1998).

3 "Memoriali" were behavioral aides mémoires written and used in chanceries: they generated a specific genre, the "ricordo," which had the aim of reminding future ambassadors of the rules of diplomatic missions.

4 Letter from Francesco Sforza to Antonio da Trezzo, Milan, 22 Aug. 1460, ASM, SPE, Naples, 204, cc. 50 58.

5 Like oratory and epistlography, which had the same reference models.

6 Stefano Andretta, Stephane Péquignot, Marie Karine Schaub, Jean Claude Waquet, and Christian Windler, "Conclusion," *Paroles des négociateurs: L'entretien dans la pratique diplomatique de la fin du Moyen Âge à la fin du XIXᵉ siècle*, ed. Stefano Andretta. Stephane Péquignot, Marie Karine Schaub, Jean Claude Waquet, and Christian Windler (Rome: École française de Rome, 2010), 397 419; here 406.

diplomatic negotiations returned to be written on paper. In short, it was a cycle, where orality and writing went hand in hand.

Both in letters and in oral communication the language is self-centered: the linguistic ego represents the deictic centre (i. e., the position of the speaker in relation to a specific time, place, or person in a certain context) of a linguistic act which requires an interlocutor. In both it is also common to find mistakes owed to the speed of execution in the first case (in the form of concordance mistakes) and elocution in the second one.[7] Finally, another point in common is the topicalization, a mechanism of syntax that places the clause topic of a sentence at the beginning of it, instead of the canonical position further to the right.[8] Topicalization aims at emphasizing a new element, the comment or rheme, and presupposes a statement which has to be disproved or rectified;[9] it occurs in marked clauses, namely clauses whose order of words does not correspond, on the basic of its syntactic features, to the fundamental structure of the sentence.

Topicalization,[10] with a special relief accorded to right and left displacements[11] with a topicalizing function, is a peculiarity of proverbs: one of the most striking features of paroemiae lies exactly in the distinctive position of the 'paroemiac topic,' which represents the topic of the expression and which is usually placed at the beginning.

The term 'paroemiac expressions' refers to a wide panorama of components. The main ones are: proverbi *strictu sensu* (proverbs), modi di dire (ways of sayings), locuzioni proverbiali (proverbial phrases) and motti proverbiali (quotes).[12] Paroemia is a Greek word (παροιμὶα) which was not originally used in Italian, despite being the basis of terms like paroemiology and paroemiography. Yet, in re-

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7 Generally speaking, it is possible to state that it is more common to find oral features in auto graph letters: letters for which no *minuta* (i. e., the preparatory draft of a document which was then corrected, approved, and finally copied into its definitive version, drafted by chanceries' secretaries or *dictatores*) has been written.

8 In Italian, the right text displacement usually occurs with a cataphoric object pronoun, placed in relief at the beginning of the sentence. A difference exists between topicalization and left text displacement: in the first one, the element anticipated is not reprised using an atonic pronoun, differently from the right text displacement.

9 To the contrary, the left text displacement intends to emphasize the known element, the topic.

10 Corresponding to the Italian "tematizzazione."

11 They are among the Italian "costrutti marcati."

12 In Italian, the term "locuzioni proverbiali" refers to clauses which are grammatically incom plete. In fact, "locuzione" indicates a group of words which are in a grammatical relationship or are simply juxtaposed to each other, having an own semantic autonomy, like single words. A quote instead is a short sentence with a witty or moralising tone, which does not intend to be a universally valid statement but a sort of punctul commentary or remark on a certain subject.

cent decades this term has been introduced to bring order to the terminological confusion existing among all the different types of paroemiac expressions, which I have just mentioned. A paroemia can therefore be defined as a sequence of syntagms constituting a single verbal act; a short, conventional, polysemic, and exhaustive expression, based on a logical-rhythmical and binary opposition, which is typical of the oral tradition. A paroemia is aimed at explicating a piece of advice which is considered to be universally valid, and which is related to the most various aspects of life and human activity or behaviour. In fact, a first criterion to distinguish a paroemia *strictu sensu* from the other forms is that a paroemia is such when it is strongly established in the linguistic memory of a community of people.

The Italian Geoparoemiology School distinguishes among three main synctactic structures:

a) Monofrastic: a paroemia is constituted by a single clause. Ex.: "il bisogno aguzza l'ingegno" (meaning: "need sharpens wits");

b) Hypotactic: a paroemia where the independent clause – or main clause, is preceded by the dependent – or subordinate, clause. Ex.: "chi aspettò – non pericolò" (meaning: "those who wait – do not run risks");

c) Paratactic: a paroemia constituted by two independent or main clauses. Ex.: "Ai bimbi non promettere – ai santi non far voti" (meaning: 'don't make promises to children – don't make vows to saints'). This paroemiac type has also a more synthetic variant, in which two short syntagms or two single terms are opposed. Ex.: "Parenti – serpenti" (meaning: "relatives – snakes").

The figures of speech which constantly occur in paroemiae are: *accumulatio*, anadiplosis, anaphora; antithesis; antonomasia; chiasmus; *climax*; *correctio*; diafora; ellipsis; epanadiplosis; epanalepsis; figura etymologica; hyperbole; litotes; synecdoche; metaphor; metonym; oxymoron; parallelism; paronomasia; personification; simile; synonymia. The main one though is the isocolon. This is a binary suddivision of the paroemia in which there are two mirroring segments. More specifically, an isocolon can be a dicolon, where two opposite segments can be found (ex.: "Una rondine / non fa primavera," corresponding to the English "one swallow / doesn't make a summer"), or a tricolon, where three contrasting segments can be found (ex.: "Contadino / scarpe grosse / e cervello fino", literally meaning "a farmer / big shoes / good brains").

A systematic examination, conducted on approximately five hundred letters, has resulted in the analysis of many paroemie, proverbial quotes and phrases, some of which are presented here. The *corpus* was composed as follows.

– A hundred seventy-five letters published in *Dispacci sforzeschi da Napoli, II (4 luglio 1458–30 dicembre 1459)*.[13] They contain the correspondence between the kingdom of Naples and the State of Milan, more specifically, between Antonio da Trezzo – who was for fifteen years ambassador of Milan to the court of Alfonso I of Aragon[14] (1396–1458; he reigned from 1442 to 1458) in Naples – and Francesco Sforza (1401–1466), duke of Milan (from 1450 to 1466);

– Three hundred-sixteen letters, unpublished, contained in the State Archive of Milan, Fondo Cancelleria Ducale Sforzesca, Potenze Estere, Napoli. They contain the correspondence between the kingdom of Naples and the State of Milan; more specifically, between Francesco Maletta, ambassador of Milan to the court of Ferdinand of Aragon (known as Ferrante I, king from 1458 to 1494) and Galeazzo Maria Sforza, duke of Milan (from 1466 to 1476).

Paroemiae

1) "La nocte gli faria pensiero et la matina responderia."

This paroemia corresponds to the English "The night will give you counsel" or "Our pillow is our best adviser, it is better to sleep on it." The letter which contains it is addressed from Antonio da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza.[15]

It is placed in an indirect speech: the ambassador reports king Ferdinand I of Naples's – commonly named Ferrante – words. Ferrante of Aragon succeeded his father Alfonso as king of Naples in June 1458 and, concerned about asserting his power, he strove to strenghten old and new alliances. The Milanese ambassador followed the whole process on behalf of his master, Duke Francesco Sforza.

The proverb is used by the king himself has to decide to whom some land holdings have to be assigned – to Sigismondo Malatesta or to Everso dell'Anguil-

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13 *Dispacci sforzeschi da Napoli, II (4 luglio 1458 30 dicembre 1459)*, ed. Francesco Senatore (Salerno: Carlone Editore, 2004), from now on DS II. I wish to thank Prof. Francesco Senatore, University of Naples "Federico II," for the transcriptions of the letters published in DS II and the photographic reproductions of the documents contained in ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 225.

14 Alfonso the Magnanimous was king of Aragon as Alfonso V, king of Sicily as Alfonso I, king of Valencia as Alfonso III, king of Majorca Sardinia and Corsica as Alfonso II, king of Naples as Alfonso I.

15 Venosa, 8 Apr. 1459, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 212 213. Edited in DS II, here 251 53, n. 95.

lara – and says, indeed, that he will think about it and give the answer the fol-
lowing day.

It is a paratactic type of paroemia, whose aim is to persuade; it is recorded in
the *Dizionario dei Proverbi* (IX. 19. 6.3; IX. 19. 6. 3. a.; IX. 19. 6. 3. b. "La notte è la
madre dei pensieri"; IX. 19. 6. 3. b. I.; IX. 19. 6. 3. b. II; IX. 19. 6. 3. b. III.; IX. 19. 6. 3.
c. "La notte è madre dei consigli"; IX. 19. 6. 3. d.)[16] and exists in many variations
and in different languaes, French, Spanish, and German[17]:

> Fr.: La nuit donne (porte) conseil; la nuit est mère de pensées;
> Sp.: Dormiréis sobre ello, y tomaréis acuerdo; consultarlo con la almohada;
> Ge.: Guter Rat kommt über Nacht; die Nacht ist die Mutter der Gedanken.

A similar proverbial expression, which is not a paroemia but a way of saying, is:

> "Per modo de dire scr<i>ve quanto se sogna la nocte."

contained in a letter addressed from da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza.[18] It is the am-
bassador himself who speaks and implies the popular origin of the proverb, by
saying "as the way of saying says, he writes what he dreams during the night."
This example shows how proverbial expressions are characterized by a great pol-
ysemy according to the context in which they occur. Here, the sense is not exactly
the one which has been remarked in the previous one: it is a bit derogatory and
pejorative, meaning that "'he writes almost without thinking what casually oc-
curs to his mind during the night."

2) "Che'l fructo se vole mangiare quando è de sasone."

This letter is addressed from da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza.[19] Literally, it means:
"a fruit can be eaten only when it is mature," which figuratively means that
"things have to be done at the right time."

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16 Valter Boggione, Lorenzo Massobrio, *Dizionario dei proverbi, i proverbi italiani organizzati per
temi. 30000 detti raccolti nelle regioni italiane e tramandati dalle fonti letterarie* (Turin: UTET
2004).
17 In Augusto Arthaber, *Dizionario comparato di proverbi e modi proverbiali in sette lingue, ital
iana, latina, francese, spagnola, tedesca, inglese, greca antica* (Milan: Hoepli, 1972), 457, n. 902.
18 Campo sul fiume Ofanto presso Candela, 13 Jun. 1459, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 105 06. Edited
in *DS* II, here 289 93, n. 115.
19 Venosa, 5 May 1459, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 22. Edited in *DS* II, here 265 68, n. 102.

The context is the following: the ambassor strongly advises the king to visit the Prince of Taranto. Ferrante replies to him by saying that this idea had already occurred to him several times, but the reason for which he still hadn't made the visit was that he didn't think it was the good time. He therefore says that a fruit can be eaten only when it is ripe.

The paroemia is placed in an indirect speech: it is the king himself who mentions it. It is a hypotactic paroemia, whose aim is to persuade, recorded in some Italian hystorical-etymological dictionaries and also the *Dizionario dei Proverbi:* Tommaseo-Bellini[20] 2, 945 (s. v. 'frutto') and 4, 1161 (s. v.'stagione'); GDLI, *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*,[21] XX, 41–42; *Dizionario dei proverbi* (.2.1.22; I.2.1.22.a.; 1.2.1.22.b.I.; I.2.1.22.b.II.; VI. 9.1.4.25.IV.; X.4.14.1.10.a.; IX. 19.5.1.).

3) "Meglio è essere capo che coda."

The paroemia literally means "it is better to be the head than the tail", figuratively meaning that "it is better to be a leader than be submitted to someone". The letter[22] in which it is contained is addressed from Brocardo De' Persico[23] to Giacomo Piccinino (1423–1465).[24]

The context is the following: Brocardo strongly urges Piccinino to move to Abruzzo, so that he can use the critical situation of the kingdom to his advantage, in case of an Angevin invasion.

It is a monofrastic proverb, whose function is to persuade: the ambassador uses it to reinforce the idea that Piccinino has to move immediately, by synthesizing it in an effective and powerful short form. This idea is confirmed by the fact that the ambassador uses the same paroemia two times in the same letter.

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20 Niccolò Tommaseo, Bernardo Bellini, *Dizionario della lingua italiana* (Turin: UTET, 1865 1879).

21 Salvatore Battaglia, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* (Turin: UTET, 1961 2002).

22 Napoli, 6 Oct. 1459, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 68 69. Edited in DS II; here 373 76, n. 148.

23 Giacomo Piccinino's chancellor (see following note).

24 Piccinino led a dangerous group of Gueplhs (exiles and outlaws) and built alliances against the State of Milan. He aimed at attacking the supporters of Lega italica to overthrow the Aragon ese dynasty in Naples and formed an alliance with John II of Anjou, René of Anjou's son, but he was defeated by the Lega. He was assassinated through a conjure between Francesco Sforza and Ferrante: under the pretext of reconciliating wth Ferrante, he was sent to Naples by Sforza, where he was imprisoned together with his secretary Brocardo de' Persico. See *Dizionario Biog rafico degli Italiani:* https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/jacopo piccinino %28Dizionario Biog rafico%29/ (last accessed on Oct. 28, 2021).

It is recorded in Tommaseo-Bellini 1, 1476 and the *Dizionario dei proverbi*, which records many inteesting variations (VIII.3.1.24.b.; VIII.3.1.24.b.III.; VIII.3.1.24. b.V.; VIII.3.1.24.b.VI.), in which domestic animals are placed in opposition to exotic ones. Ex.: VIII.3.1.24.b.: "è meglio esser capo di lucertola che coda di drago" ("it is better to be the head of a lizard than the tail of a dragon"); VIII.3.1.24.b.IV.: "è meglio esser capo di gatto, che coda di leone" ("it is better to be the head of a cat than the tail of a sturgeon").

4) "Il diavolo non è così brutto como lo si dipinge."

This paroemia corresponds to the English "the devil is not so black as he is painted," and is contained in a letter addressed from Galeazzo Maria Sforza to Francesco Maletta.[25]

It is a hypotactic type of paroemia, whose function is to persuade, as we can deduce from the context: the Duke of Milan has accepted the reproaches made by Ferrante to him, which were pronounced in the presence of Ippolita Sforza. Ippolita was Galeazzo's sister, being daughter of Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti; she was Duchess of Calabria, having married Alfonso II, surnamed Duke of Calabria, who was Ferrante's son. The Duke then says that he is going to cultivate his friendship with the king and orders the ambassador to tell Ippolita to cheer up, because "the devil is not so black as it is painted": any difficulties will be promptly solved. It is clear how the Duke of Milan uses it to reinforce his reassurance to his sister. The proverb is recorded in GDLI IV, 339 and *Dizionario dei proverbi* (X.7.7.4.5); it exists in other languages, starting from ancient Latin:[26]

> Lat.: Multa narrantur atrociora quam sint;
> Fr.: Le diable n'est pas si noir, qu'on le fait;
> Sp.: No es tan bravo el león, como le pintan;
> Ge.: Der Teufel ist nicht so schwarz, wie man ihn malt.

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25 ASM SPE, *Napoli,* 225, 51 52; ASM SPE, *Napoli,* 225, 53. Unpublished.
26 In Arthaber, *Dizionario comparato di proverbi* (see note 17), 193, n. 380.

5) "Se le serrano rose fioriranno."

This paroemia corresponds to the English "if they are roses, they will flourish," and it is contained in a letter addressed from Francesco Maletta to Galeazzo Maria Sforza.[27]

It is a hypotactic type of proverb, whose function is to persuade, as it can be deduced from the context: Maletta reports the words of Fabrizio de la Leonessa, who is sure that the controversies between Naples and Milan will be solved if the Duke of Milan does what the king of Naples tells him to do. The ambassador then concludes by saying in his own words that if they are roses, they will flourish, reinforcing and summarizing what Fabrizio de la Leonessa has told him and persuading the Duke of Milan that an agreement with Naples will be found. This paroemia is recorded in *Dizionario dei proverbi* in many variants (x.7.6.8.14).

6) "Chi vole gustare dele penne del'inferno de estate vada in Puglia et in Apruzo de inverno."

This paroemia literally means "those who want to experience pains of hell would better go to Puglia during summer and Abruzzo during winter" and it is contained in a letter addressed from Giovanni Caimi[28] to Francesco Sforza. The ambassador talks about his imminent trip to Puglia[29] and declares that what the proverb says is true. It is a hypotactic proverb which, in this case, has only an informative function. It is recorded in the *Dizionario dei proverbi* VIII.7.4.1.1 (see also VIII.7.4.11).

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27 ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 225, 111 13. Unpublished.

28 Ambassador of Francesco Sforza to Pope Callixtus III, to whom he asked to annul the engagement between Drusiana, Francesco Sforza's illegitimate daughter, and count Giacomo Piccinino. He was sent to Ferrante to reaffirm Sforza's support for him. See *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani:* https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni caimi (Dizionario Biografico)/ (last accessed on Oct. 28, 2021).

29 Puglia has always been renowned, especially with regards to its fertility and cultivations, as it is reflected by many expressions. See LEI, *Lessico etimologico italiano*, ed. Max Pfister [from Vol. VIII, also ed. Wolfgang Schweickard] (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1979), s. v. 'Apulia,' III, 385.40 45. On the analysis of this proverb, see also Francesco Montuori, "Sui proverbi della Campania", *La fortuna dei proverbi identità dei popoli. Marco Besso e la sua fondazione*, ed. Laura Lalli (Rome: Artemide, 2014), 153 63; here 154 55.

Proverbial Quotes

1) "A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos."

This quote is contained in a letter[30] addressed from Orfeo Cenni[31] to Francesco Sforza and refers to the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 7, 16 and Mt 7, 20): [16] a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos. Numquid colligunt de spinis uvas, aut de tribulis ficus? / [20] Igitur ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.[32]

In the letter the ambassador talks about a mission he made in support of Ferrante's succession to the throne, during which he met with two men who confirmed their devotion to Ferrante; even if their words were positive, though the ambassador is doubtful about their real intentions, which will be verified sooner or later by their actions.

A widespread proverb which is very similar to this quote is "Ex fructu cognoscitur arbor", which can be found in several languages, starting from ancient Greek[33]:

> Gr.: Ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκω;
> It.: Dal frutto si conosce l'albero;
> Eng.: A tree is known by its fruits; By the husk you may guess at the hut;
> Fr.: On connaît l'arbre à son fruit; C'est par le fruit qu'on connaît l'arbre.
> Sp.: El árbol por el fruto es conocido.
> Ger.: Den Baum erkennt man an seinen Früchten.

Another biblical quotation is:

> "Non qui inceperit, sed qui perseveravit usque in finem, hic salvus erit"[34]

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30 Capua, 28 Jul. 1458, ASM SPE, Napoli, 198, 99/100 101/102. Edited in *DS II*, here 59 61, n. 15.
31 Francesco Sforza's ambassador, he was sent to Naples to support the succession to the throne of Ferrante after Alfonso.
32 *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem, iussu Pii XI, Pii XII, Ioannis XXIII, Pauli VI, Ioannis Pauli II, cura et studio monachorum Abbatiae Pontificiae Sncti Hieronymi in Urbe Ordinis Sancti Benedicti edita. Textus ex interpretatione Sancti Hieronymi, I XVIII* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1926 1995); online at http://vulsearch.sourceforge.net/ (last accessed on September 20, 2021).
33 In Arthaber, *Dizionario comparato dei proverbi* (see note 17), 156, n. 302.
34 G. Caimi to Francesco Sforza, Teano, 29 Aug. 1458, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 172 75. Edited in *DS II*, 97 98, n. 32.

which also derives from the Gospel of Matthew, 10, 22 and 24, 13[35]: "et eritis odio omnibus propter nomen meum: qui autem perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit" (10, 22); "qui autem perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit" (24, 13).

2) "Qui nescit fingere nescit regnare."

This expression corresponds to the the English "He who knows not how to dissemble, knows not how to rule" and is contained in a letter addressed from Francesco Sforza to Antonio da Trezzo.[36]

This quote has a long history, which seems to date back to Plato's *Sophist* (260c, 3–4)[37] and *Cratylus* (385b).[38] Plato used it to explain that the false of speech originates from the false of thought.[39] The contrastive scheme true-good/false-evil had already been discussed by Aristotle in *Metaphysics* (IV, 7 1011B, 26 ss. e VI, 4, 1027b 25 ss).[40] The quote then appeared in two political treaties from 1589. In Giovanni Botero's *La Ragion di Stato* and in some dictionaries of proverbs[41] it is attributed to the French king Louis XI.[42] It is also in Justus Lipsius's *Principorum sive Civilis Doctrinae Libri Sex*.[43]

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35 In *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam vulgatam versionem:* see previous note 32.

36 Milano, 29 Sep. 1458, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 199, w. n. Edited in DS II, here 131 33, n. 47.

37 For the critical edition, see Platone. *Sofista*, in *Opere complete. Cratilo, Teeteto, Sofista, Politico*, ed. Lorenzo Minio Paluello, Manara Valgimigli, Attilio Zadro (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1987), 2, 240.

38 For the critical edition, see Platone. *Cratilo*, in *Opere complete* (see note 37), 9 10.

39 It originates particularly from the alterity of two options which characterizes the choices made by mind: the true and the false.

40 IV, 7 1011B, 26 ss. e VI, 4, 1027b 25 ss. For the critical edition, see Aristotele, *Metafisica*, ed. Carlo Augusto Viano (Turin: UTET, 2014), 1027b: "Il vero ed il falso non sono nelle cose (quasi che il bene fosse il vero e il male senz'altro il falso), ma solo nel pensiero; anzi, per quanto con cerne gli esseri semplici e le essenze, non sono neppure nel pensiero".

41 In Arthaber, *Dizionario comparato di proverbi* (see note 17), 266, n. 518.

42 "Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare". For the critical edition, see Giovanni Botero. *Della ragion di Stato* (Rome: Donzelli, 1997), ed. Chiara Continisio, here 117. Botero narrates an anec dote: Louis XI (king of France from 1461 to 1483) did not want his son, the future Charles VIII, to receive a proper instruction, but he did his best to make him learn at least these five Latin words: *qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*. The second part of *Ragion di stato* is dedicated to political prudence.

43 Justus Lipsius, *Politicorum sive Civilis Doctrinae Libri Sex, augustissimae & invictissimae im peratrici Mariae Theresiae, Hungariae, Bohemiae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Sclavoniae Reginae* (Vienna: typographia kaliwodiana, 1751) liber IV, caput XVI, p. 133. Available at Google Books: https://

In the seventeenth century the quote underwent a variation, becoming: "qui nescit dissimulare nescit vivere"; its sense was therefore extended to quotidianity, not only to the act of reigning. Torquato Accetto used this variation in *Della dissimulazione onesta* (1641)[44]; the same can also be found in Ferrante Pallavicino's *Il principe ermafrodito* (1640).[45] The quote enjoyed a certain popularity in some minor Italian dramaturgy plays of the late seventeenth century: in Ignazio Capaccio's *Il fingere per vincere* (1697), Pietro Mancuso's *Fingere per vincere* (1705), Raffaele Tauro's *Il fingere per vivere* (1673). As it often happens to quotes, it has also gained a truly proverbial sense; this is confirmed by its presence in the *Dizionario dei Proverbi* (VIII.4.5.2.3.; IX.25.3.1.9; IX.25.3.1.9. II.) and in some Italian hystorical-etymological dictionaries: Tommaseo-Bellini 4, 117[46] and 2, 811 (s. v. *fingere*); GDLI XV, 727.

This quote is also employed in other languages[47]:

Fr.: Celui qui ne sait pas dissimuler, ne sait pas régner;
Sp.: Quien no sabe disimular, no sabe reinar;
Ger.: Wer sich nicht zu verstellen versteht, versteht nicht zu regieren; wer niemals sich verstellen kann, / Ist zum regieren nicht der Mann.

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books.google.com/books?id=nmNWAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs ge summary r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false (last accessed on September 20, 2021). Lipsius does not specify though whether with "Fridericus" he refers to Frederick I, Frederick II, or Frederick III. He dedicates this book, which is an antology of ancient writers, to the theme of political prudence, and talks about decepion, disinguishing between *deceptiunculae* (venial lies) and *magnae fraudes* (grave deceptions). For a critical edition, see Justus Lipsius, *Politica: Six Books of Politics or Political Instruction*, ed. and trans. Jan Waszink (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2004).

44 For the critical edition, see Torquato Accetto. *Della dissimulazione onesta*, ed. Goffredo Bellonci (Florence: Le Monnier, 1943), cap. IV: *La simulazione non facilmente riceve quel senso onesto che si accompagna con la dissimulazione*, p. 59: "Io tratterei pur della simulazione e spiegherei appieno l'arte del fingere in cose che per necessità par che la ricerchino; ma tanto è di mal nome che stimo maggior necessità di farne di meno, e, benché molti dicono: *Qui nescit fingere nescit vivere*, anche da molti altri si afferma che sia meglio morire che viver con questa condizione".

45 "Chi non sa mentire, non sa regnare". For the critical edition, see *Il principe ermafrodito*, ed. Anna Maria Pedullà, in *Romanzi e parodie di Ferrante Pallavicino*, ed. Anna Maria Pedullà (Turin: Unione tipografico editrice, 2009), 124. Baltasar Graciàn wrote on that subject as well in *Arte della prudenza* (1647) and Francis Bacon in *Of Simulation and Dissimulation* (1625).

46 Tommaseo Bellini 4, 117 adds an interesting specification by stressing that in this expression the sense of "to reign" is the Dantean "to steal": "Prov. Tosc. *46. Chi non sa fingere non sa regnare* (Di quel regnare che Dante mette insieme col rubare)."

47 In Arthaber, *Dizionario comparato di proverbi* (see note 17).

3) "Spem vultu simulat premit altum corde dolorem."

This quote is in a letter addessed from Francesco Maletta to Galeazzo Maria Sforza[48] and refers to Virgil's *Aeneid* (book I, verse 209). Ippolita Sforza has just communicated to his husband, Alfonso Duke of Calabria, the news that Galeazzo Maria Sforza has made a proposal of coronation to the king of Dacia. Alfonso is apparently glad about it, but – the ambassador adds – as Virgil says, he simulates happiness; in his heart, he is not glad at all. Here the quotation is used by Maletta to express a personal opinion, to warn the Duke of Milan against deceptive appearances. This case shows how sometimes ambassadors felt fully involved in the news they gave, by also giving advice to their "employer."

Proverbs have always accompanied human activity or behaviour[49]: a demonstration of their timeliness is offered by a case, recently analyzed,[50] of a paroemiac expression which became matter of debate in the State of Maryland. The dispute concerned a proverb which appears on Maryland flag's coat of arms and began in 1989, when some female students of Baltimore asked to remove it from the emblem, regarding it as sexist: FATTI MASCHII PAROLE FEMINE – MANLY DEEDS, WOMANLY WORDS – which derives from I FATTI SON MASCHI, LE PAROLE SON FEMMINE,[51] having the same meaning. Despite the fact that this prov-

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48 ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 225, 184 85. Unpublished.

49 After all, one of the two etymological hypothesis for the term paroemia leads back to παρ᾽οἶ μον, that is to say παρὰ + οἶμος 'along the way,' which can be intended metaphorically as the way of life. In the lexicons and *etymologica* of the late ancient and Byzantine world the most recurrent definition of παροιμία was λόγος ὠφέλιμος, word useful to life (βιωφελής) and to the community (κοινωφελής). See Paolo Rondinelli, "Il concetto di proverbio nell'antichità e nel Rinascimento," *Ragionamenti intorno al proverbio*, Atti del II Congresso Internazionale del l'Atlante Paremiologico Italiano in memoria di Paola Chicco, Andria, 21 24 aprile 2010, ed. Te mistocle Franceschi (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso 2011), 167 78; here 167.

50 In an article by Paolo Rondinelli, Antonio Vinciguerra, "Le parole son femmine e fatti son maschi'. Storia e vicissitudini di un proverbio," *Studi di Lessicografia Italiana* 33 (2016): 21 38. I wish to thank Prof. Francesco Montuori, University of Naples "Federico II", for having brought this contribution to my attention.

51 On the paroemia, see Giuseppe Giusti, *Proverbi*, ed. Elisabetta Benucci (Florence: Le Lettere, 2011); here 175, n. 1822. For the equivalents of this proverb in other languages see Arthaber, *Di zionario comparato di proverbi* (see note n. 17), here 503, n. 999. For the opposition words/facts, see Renzo Tosi, *Dizionario delle sentenze latine e greche* (Milan: BUR Rizzoli, 2017), n. 32: "Facta, non verba!". *Facta non verba* appears in the emblem of the 143rd Field Artillery ARNG California Unity Crest and in some coats of arms of UK and Italian families, while *Acta non verba* is adopted by the US Merchant Marine Academy. Tosi also records "Lunga lingua, corta mano," signaling paroemiac equivalents in English, French, Spanish and German: "Words and no deeds are rush es and reed"; "Bien dire fait rire, bien faire fait taire"; "Antes de la hora gran denuedo, venidos

erb is not officially recognized, it can be found in official documents and some years ago a draft law in favour of a more politically correct form of the proverb ("strong deeds, gentle words") was proposed. The origin of this paroemia lies in the Latin "Facere virorum est, loqui (vero) mulierum," from which the Italian form "Le parole son femmine e i fatti son maschi" derives, even if the origin is the Byzantine Eustathius's *Iliad Commentary* (twelfth century). It can also be found in Boccaccio's *Decameron* (ca. 1350) and Basile's *Cunto de li cunti* (1634 and 1636; "Le parole so' femmine e li fatti so' mascole").[52] The proverb has then spread from Italy throughout Europe[53] and arrived to England thanks to John Florio (1552–1626), who was a linguist and a lexicographer himself and

al punto venidos al miedo"; "Viel Handwerk, wenig Herz." See also Carlo Lapucci, *Dizionario dei proverbi italiani* (Florence: Le Monnier, 2007), s. v. 'fatto',' and Gino Capponi, *Raccolta di proverbi toscani nuovamente ampliata da quella di Giuseppe Giusti* (Florence: Tipolitografia Ramella, 1911, anastatic reprint Livorno: Edizioni Medicee, 1971); here 125 26. Also Modena's emblem presents a motto, *Avia pervia:* see L. De mauri, *5000 proverbi e motti latini*, Flores sententiarum. *Raccolta di sentenze, proverbi e motti latini di uso quotidiano, in ordine per materie, con le fonti indicate, schiarimenti e la traduzione italiana*, ed. Gabriele Nepi and Angelo Paredi (Milan: Hoepli 1979), 665. Erasmo da Rotterdam's *Adagi* record *Mulierem ornat silentium:* Erasmo reports Sophocles' *Aiace Flagellifero* as source (Γυναιξὶ κόσμον ἡ σιγὴ φέρει) which in turn quotes Homer, *Od.* 1, 358 (Μῦθος δ' ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει). See *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera Omnia emendatiora et avctiora*, ed. (Leiden: Petri Vander Aa, 1703; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961), vol. II, 991 A.
52 The proverb is present, even if implicitely, in the dialogue beween Dioneo and Pampinea: for the critical edition, see Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, ed. Vittore Branca (Turin: Einaudi 2013), vol. II, VI, Concl., here 781, 34. On this proverb in novels, see also: Teodolinda Barolini, "Le pa role son femmine e i fatti son maschi. Toward a sexual poetics of the *Decameron* (Dec. 2.9, 2.10, 5.10)," eadem, *Dante and the Origins of Italian Literary Culture* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), 81 303; already in *Studi sul Boccaccio* 21 (1993): 175 97, and Paolo Rondinelli, "Il proverbio come strumento di rappresentazione delle 'cose del mondo'. Un elemento innova tivo nell'*ars narrandi* decameroniana," *Boccaccio e la nuova* ars narrandi, Atti del convegno in ternazionale di studi, Varsavia, 10 11 ottobre 2013, ed. Włodzimierz Olszaniec and Piotr Salwa (Warsaw: Instytut Filologii Klasycznej Sub Lupa, 2015), 29 41. *Le parole son femmine ed i fatti sono maschi* is also recorded in Gustavo Strafforello, *La sapienza del mondo, ovvero dizio nario universale dei proverbi di tutti i popoli*, vol. II (Turin: A. F. Negro Editore, 1883), 41. For the critical edition of Basile's *Cunto de li cunti*, see Giambattista Basile, *Lo cunto de li cunti*, ed. Car olina Stromboli (Rome: Salerno editrice, 2013), here I, 44. On the crucial importance of proverbs in Basile's *Cunto*, see also Francesco Montuori, "Sui proverbi della Campania" (see note 29).
53 Eng.: "Words are women, deeds are men"; also "Words are men's daughters, but God's sons are things"; Fr.: "Paroles sont femelles, et les faits sont mâles"; "Les actes sont des mâles, et les paroles sont des femelles"; Sp.: "Obras son amores que no buenas razones"; Ger.: "Taten sind Männer, Worte sind Frauen; Handeln macht den Mann, die Rede ist ein Weiblein." In Arthaber, *Dizionario comparato di proverbi* (see previous note 17), here 503.

cites it in *Giardino di Ricreatione* and *A worlde of* words.[54] The history of this proverb, beginning in the classical age, passing through the Byzantine period, and then arriving in the Italian, the Elizabethan and the American culture, clearly shows how paroemiac studies can make a great contribution as for intercultural, literary and linguistic studies.

Conclusion

In order to draw some conclusions, it could be stated that in some cases paroemiae are an integral part of the speech of the ambassadors, so they are not introduced by *verba dicendi* and are not part of an indirect speech, but they are words which belong to the ambassador himself.[55] Other times, instead, the ambassador expressly declares the popular origin of the paroemia used, introducing it with impersonal forms like "it is said that … ." Finally, paroemie can be used to give a summarising conclusion to what has just been said.

Altogether, diplomatic letters have a double function: to inform and to argue. They have an informative function when they are used to make a summary of events, negotiations or conversations; on the other hand, they have an argumentative function when they aim at persuading someone. In brief, the presence of a paroemia in a clause reveals just this second function.

Eventually, for what concerns the formal aspect, paroemiae can be found both in direct speech and indirect speech. If it is the ambassador who speaks, then the function of the speech can be both recapitulatory and persuasive; if, instead, the words of other people are reported, the function of the speech is gen-

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54 In *The Epistle Dedicatorie*, Florio writes: "Some perhaps will except agaist the sexe, and not allowe it for a malebroode, sithens as our Italians saie, *Le parole sono femine, e i fatti sono ma schij*, Wordes they are women, and deeds they are men. But let such know that *Detti* and *fatti*, wordes and deeds with me are all of on gender. And though they were commonly Feminine, why might not I by strong imagination […] after their sexe?" Reference edition: John Florio, *A worlde of wordes, or Most copious, and exact dictionarie in Italian and English* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1598); contemporary edition: John Florio, *A Worlde of Words*, ed. Hermann Haller (Toronto, Buf falo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

55 On the use of direct and indirect speech in diplomatic autograph letters, see Francesco Mon tuori, Francesco Senatore, "Discorsi riportati alla corte di re Ferrante d'Aragona," *Discorsi alla prova*, *Atti del Quinto Colloquio italo francese Discorsi pronunciati discorsi ascoltati: contesti di eloquenza tra Grecia Roma ed Europa, Napoli S. Maria di Castellabate (Sa), 21 23 settembre 2006*, ed. Giancarlo Abbamonte, Lorenzo Miletti, and Luigi Spina (Naples: Pubblicazioni del Di partimento di Filologia Classica F. Arnaldi dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II), n. s. 1, 519 75.

erally persuasive. It seems clear that probably the most important reason why paroemiae in diplomatic *corpora* are worth being studied lies in the fact that such a relatively small linguistic phenomenon manages to change the function of an entire text, by changing, at least in part, the function of letters themselves.

So if it is true that, to cite a proverbial quote from Ovid, *tempus edax rerum*,[56] it appears to be likewise true that words don't disappear, they leave a mark.[57] In this contribution I hope to have shown, in the case of paroemiac expressions this is made possible thanks to the brilliance of expressions they are built on and the force and dynamism of their images. Their ambiguity, polysemy, and variants produce a continuous renovation of form and meaning; they fit perfectly in all kinds of oral and written expression, in a continuous migration from popular imagery to a broad spectrum of texts, from literary to diplomatic ones. The combination of these characteristics makes proverbs crucial carriers of linguistic features over many centuries: a real litmus test of how linguistic and social usages incessantly change according to time and space but at the same time remain anchored in a common, strong background.

Appendix

Phrases from *Dispacci sforzeschi* II

The list of the following phrases follows an alphabetical order and has a substructure based on a thematic order, in order to provide a thorough insight to whom may be interested. Fifty-five thematic cathegories have been identified according to the main figurative topic of each expression, following the criteria of the *Dizionario dei proverbi, i proverbi italiani organizzati per temi*.[58] The inclusion of the phrases in each thematic cathegory is listed below.

Accuracy, precision: 73; ambition, greed: 19, 54; authority and tasks: 5, 14, 50, 51, 68; breaking of promises: 84; certainty: 65; compassion 44; complaints: 88; control of a situation: 41; cunningness, cowardice: 16; determination, steadfast-

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56 Ov, met. xv, 234 36: *Tempus edax rerum, tuque, invidiosa vetustas, / omnia destruitis vitiata que dentibus aevi / paulatim lenta consumitis omnia morte.* For the critical edition, see Ovidio. *Metamorfosi*, ed. Nino Scivoletto (Turin: UTET 2013), here 722.

57 I translate here a fortunate expression by Péquignot: Stéphane Péquignot, "'De bonne et très gracieuses paroles': Les entretiens d'Antoni Vinyes, syndic de Barcelone, avec le roi d'Aragon Alphonse le Magnanime (Naples, 1451 1452)," *Paroles de négociateurs* (see note 6), 27 50; here 50.

58 See note 16.

ness: 70; development of a situation: 87; discretion: 35, 71; dishonesty: 29; domination, oppression, arrogance: 15, 37, 45, 66, 77, 94, 97, 98, 99; duties and responsibilities: 76; expression of opinions: 63; foolishness, ineptitude: 22; good feelings: 95; good fortune: 38, 43, 75, 96, 99, 100, 104; honesty: 30, 72; hostility and conflicts: 20, 57, 58, 61, 62, 64, 103; imprudence, recklessness: 8, 53; instigation: 26; inventiveness: 21; kindness: 2; lack (of goods, time): 12, 81; limits exceeded: 32; miscommunication, misunderstandings: 78, 80; negative opinions: 86; negligence, superficiality: 7, 24, 28; notoriety, resonance: 39; payments and remunerations: 55; positive opinions: 42, 4; poverty: 69, 102; protection, tutelage: 36; prudence: 34; rage, envy: 11; reconciliation: 48; relationships: 23; resourcefulness, solicitude: 1, 27, 52, 67; respite, relief: 47; sacredness, importance: 40, 101; safety: 85, 90, 103; fomentation: 31, 33; sincerity, frankness: 6, 17; spirit of sacrifice: 91, 93; submission: 46, 66, 74; supply: 25; suppression of emotions: 56; the thick of the action: 9; time management: 3; trust: 59, 60, 79, 82, 83; unfruitfulness of actions: 89; unfulfilled expectations: 49; wisdom, expertise: 10, 18.

When necessary for a better understanding from the Italian, both the literal and figurative meaning are given. Reconstructed forms are marked by an asterisk.

1) **Accendere fuoco**[59]**:** 'to start a fire'; 'to trigger events'
2) ***Andare cum le mane più dolce**[60]**:** 'to use gentler manners'
3) **Andare molto in longo**[61]**:** 'to drag on for a while'
4) ***Avere grande credito**[62]**:** 'to have the esteem of someone'
5) ***Avere en praticha**[63]**:** 'to employ someone to do something'
6) **Baptizare le cose se non per il suo nome**[64]**:** 'to call things by their name'
7) **Bottarese direto le spalle**[65]**:** lit. 'to put st behind one's shoulders'; fig. 'to neglect something'

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[59] Antonio da Pistoia to Francesco Sforza, Rome, 4 Jul. 1458, *DS II* 2, *Ambr.*, Z 219 Sup., 9365; [A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza], Campo presso Belcastro, 12 Oct. 1459, *DS II* 151, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 87 89; [A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza], Campo presso Nicastro, 25 Oct. 1459, *DS II* 155, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 113 14.

[60] A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Barletta, 11 Jan. 1459, *DS II* 70, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 19 20.

[61] A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, *DS II* 70 (see previous note).

[62] A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Giugliano, 5 Jul. 1458, *DS II* 3, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 229 231.

[63] Fermano Antici da Recanati to his brother Bartolomeo, Capua, 22 Jul. 1458, *DS II* 12, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 64 67.

[64] G. Caimi to Francesco Sforza, Teano, 30 Aug. 1458, *DS II* 35, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 179.

[65] Diomede Carafa to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso Avigliano, 25 Aug. 1459, *DS II* 137, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 11.

8) ***Butarsi al carnazo**[66]**:** lit. 'to get into a massacre'; fig. 'to get into a fight with the risk of being atrociously killed'

9) ***Comenzare a ballare**[67]**:** lit. 'to start dancing'; fig. 'to get to the heart of something'

10) ***Chiudere la porta de potere fare male**[68]**:** 'to prevent from doing harm'

11) ***Crepare de passione et de invidia**[69]**:** 'to die of passion and envy'

12) ***Cum lo dito potere dinumerare**[70]**:** lit. 'to count on one's fingers'; fig. 'to count few things'

13) **Dare caldo a**[71]**:** 'to follow-up to something'

14) **Dare carico**[72]**:** 'to burden somebody with something'

15) ***Dare in preda**[73]**:** 'to give over to plunder'

16) ***Despizarsi da la pratica**[74]**:** 'to avoid a task'

17) ***Dire de core**[75]**:** 'to say in a hearfelt way'

18) **Drizare questa barcha**[76]**:** lit. 'to raise the boat'; fig. 'to fix a problem, to restore a situation'

19) ***Essere ucello che apetisce magiore pasto**[77]**:** lit. 'to be a bird which wants a greater meal'; fig. 'to be someone who aspires to a greater reward'
Also: ***essere ucello de grande pasto.**[78]

20) ***Essere alle mano**[79]**:** 'to have a physical conflict'

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66 F. Cusani to Francesco Sforza, Barletta, 11 Jan. 1459, ᴅꜱ ɪɪ 69, ᴀꜱᴍ ꜱᴘᴇ, *Napoli*, 200, 14.

67 F. Cusani to Francesco Sforza, ᴅꜱ ɪɪ 69 (see previous note).

68 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo sul fiume Ofanto presso Candela, 10 Jun. 1459, ᴅꜱ ɪɪ 114, ᴀꜱᴍ ꜱᴘᴇ, *Napoli*, 200, 101 03.

69 B. Antici da Recanati [to Francesco Sforza], [30 Aug. 1458], ᴅꜱ ɪɪ 36, ᴀꜱᴍ ꜱᴘᴇ, *Napoli*, 1250, 48 49.

70 A. da Trezzo to Bianca Maria Visconti, Teano, 19 Aug. 1458, ᴅꜱ ɪɪ 31, ᴀꜱᴍ ꜱᴘᴇ, *Napoli*, 198, 157.

71 Francesco Sforza to Antonio da Trezzo, Cremona, 9 Oct. 1459, ᴅꜱ ɪɪ 149, ᴀꜱᴍ ꜱᴘᴇ, *Napoli*, 201, 73 76.

72 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Barletta, 6 Mar. 1459, ᴅꜱ ɪɪ 84, ᴀꜱᴍ ꜱᴘᴇ, *Napoli*, 200, 148; ᴅꜱ ɪɪ 92 ᴀꜱᴍ ꜱᴘᴇ, Napoli, 200, 183 85.

73 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso il bosco di Magliano, 26 Jun. 1459, ᴅꜱ 118, ᴀꜱᴍ ꜱᴘᴇ, *Napoli*, 200, 134/135 36/137, 139.

74 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso il bosco di Magliano, 22 Jun. 1459, ᴅꜱ 116, ᴀꜱᴍ ꜱᴘᴇ, *Napoli*, 200, 119.

75 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Barletta, 2 Mar. 1459, ᴅꜱ ɪɪ 81, ᴀꜱᴍ ꜱᴘᴇ, *Napoli*. 200, 127 29.

76 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Venosa, 14 Mar. 1459, ᴅꜱ ɪɪ 86, ᴀꜱᴍ ꜱᴘᴇ, *Napoli*, 200, 159 60.

77 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo sul fiume Acquavella, 9 Aug. 1459, ᴅꜱ ɪɪ 130, ᴀꜱᴍ ꜱᴘᴇ, Napoli, 201, 229 31.

78 [A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza], Campo presso Belcastro, 12 Oct. 1459, ᴅꜱ ɪɪ 151, ᴀꜱᴍ ꜱᴘᴇ, Napoli, 201, 87 89.

79 J. A. de Foxa to Ferrante of Aragon, Trani, 3 Jul. 1459, ᴅꜱ ɪɪ 120. ᴀꜱᴍ ꜱᴘᴇ, Napoli, 201, w. n.

21) ***Essere farina de**[80]**:** lit. 'to be one's flour'; fig. 'to be somebody's idea'
22) ***Essere trattati da piffaro**[81]**:** lit. 'to be treated like a fife player'; fig. 'to be treated like a foolish person'
23) ***Essere tri corpi et una anima**[82]**:** lit. 'to be three bodies and one soul'; fig. 'to be intimately connected to one another'
24) **Fare a mezo**[83]**:** 'to do something half-way, to leave something incomplete'
25) **Fare carnagio**[84]**:** 'to get supplies of meat'
26) ***Fare cum el caldo d'altri**[85]**:** 'to do something at the instigation of somebody else'
27) **Fare de l'imposibile posibile**[86]**:** 'to make the impossibile possible'
28) ***Fare de tute le cose uno fasso**[87]**:** lit. 'to put everything into a same bundle'; fig. 'to put everything together without distinction' (cf. the proverb 'to put all eggs in one basket')
29) **Fare per indirecto**[88]**:** 'to do something by dishonest means'
30) **Fare per recto**[89]**:** 'to do something by honest means'
31) ***Fare levare la cresta a**[90]**:** lit. 'to make someone get on their high horse'; fig. 'to foment spirits'
32) **Fare miraculi**[91]**:** 'to make miracles'

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80 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Napoli, 30 Dec. 1459, DS II 175, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 225.
81 DS II 8, *Ambr.*, Z 219 Sup., 9366. The term *piffero* with the meaning of 'stupid, foolish person' also appears in a letter written by Angelo Poliziano to Lorenzo de' Medici in Pisa (Firenze, 26 Jun. 1477, MAP XXXV, 564): "[...] Voi mi deste lettere in secho [...] io me le missi nella scarsella, non stimando fussino di molta importantia, perché ve l'aveva date quel piffero." In Poliziano. *Lettere volgari*, ed. Elisa Curti (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2016), here 12, n. 5.
82 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Capua, 13 Jul. 1458, DS II 5, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 44/45 46.
83 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo sul fiume Ofanto presso Candela, 10 Jun. 1459, DS II 114, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 101 03; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso Belcastro, 12 Oct. 1459, DS II 151, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 87 89.
84 G. Betes to Francesco Sforza, Napoli, 11 Dec. [1459], DS II 168, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 205, 240 41.
85 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo sul fiume Acquavella, 9 Aug. 1459, DS II 132, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 228.
86 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, DS II 70 (see note n. 60).
87 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso S. Antonio, 2 Sep. 1459, DS II 138, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 25 26; Itinerary of king Ferrante, [Campo presso Rende, 4 Sep. 1459], DS II 139, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201.
88 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, DS II 118 (see note n. 73).
89 See previous note.
90 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso Rende, 15 Sep. 1459, DS II 143, ASM SPE, *Na poli*, 201, 41 42.
91 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Capua, 15 Jul. 1458, DS II 6, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 51 52.

33) **Fare movere qualche rumore**[92]**:** lit. 'to make some noise move'; fig. 'not to manifestate openly one's opinion but arrange for it to circulate among other people'
34) **Fare qualche nido**[93]**:** lit. 'to make a nest'; fig. 'to go for safety, to take shelter'
35) ***Fare sottomane**[94]**:** 'to do secretly'
36) **Fare spalle a**[95]**:** 'to escort somebody in order to give them protection, to protect'
37) **Fare stare al signo**[96]**:** lit. 'to keep somebody in check,' fig. 'to have supremacy over somebody'
38) **Fare uno gran salto**[97]**:** lit. 'to take a big leap'; fig. 'to improve significantly one's condition'
39) ***Fine a le prete nominare**[98]**:** lit. 'to call up to the stones; fig. 'to have great resonance'
40) ***Giurare in mano in su l'evangelii**[99]**:** lit. 'to swear on the Gospel'; fig. 'to swear solemnly, with exteme gravity'
41) **Guidare la barca**[100]**:** lit. 'to drive a boat'; fig. 'to have control of a situation'
42) **Havere ad fare grande capitale et grande concepto**[101]**:** 'to hold somebody in high esteem'
43) ***Havere la victoria in mano**[102]**:** lit. 'to have victory in one's pocket'; fig. 'to be sure to win'
44) **Havere mercé de**[103]**:** 'to have mercy upon somebody'

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92 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Capua, 22 Jul. 1458, *DS II* 10, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 83 85.
93 B. de' Persico to Giacomo Piccinino, Napoli, 6 Oct. 1459, *DS II* 148, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 68 69
94 G. Caimi to Francesco Sforza, Teano, 29 Aug. 1458, *DS II* 32, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 172 75
95 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo sul fiume Ofanto, 10 Jun. 1459, *DS II* 113, ASM SPE, *Napoli,* 200, 99; [A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza], Campo presso Belcastro, 12 Oct. 1459, *DS II* 151, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 87 89.
96 A. da Trezzo o Francesco Sforza, Capua, 15 Jul. 1458, *DS II* 6, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 51 52; A. da Trezzo o Francesco Sforza, Venosa, 5 May 1459, *DS II* 102, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 22.
97 B. de' Persico to Giacomo Piccinino, *DS II* 148 (see note n. 93).
98 B. de' Persico to Giacomo Piccinino (see previous note).
99 Marchese da Varese to Francesco Sforza, Murano, 16 Aug. 1458, *DS II* 26, ASM SPE, *Venezia*, 345.
100 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, *DS II* 6 (see note n. 91).
101 Francesco Sforza to Antonio da Trezzo, Cremona, 9 Oct. 1459, *DS II* 149, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 73 76.
102 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, *DS II* 86 (see note n. 76).
103 *Universitas* and men of Trani to Ferrante of Aragon, Trani, 5 Jul. 1459, *DS II* 121, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 158.

45) ***Havere o per força o per bona voglia**[104]**:** lit. 'to obtain by violence or free will'; fig. 'to obtain by all means'

46) **Ingiotire boconi amari**[105]**:** lit. 'to eat bitter swallows'; fig. 'to endure pain and sorrows'

47) **Lassare respirare**[106]**:** 'to let somebody breathe' 'to bring relief to somebody'

48) **Levare ogni rugine**[107]**:** lit. 'to remove rust'; fig. 'to let go of a grudge against somebody'

49) **Levare fantasie ad**[108]**:** 'to disappoint expectations'

50) **Levare questo impacio**[109]**:** 'to get out of a scrape'

51) **Levare questo peso da dosso**[110]**:** 'to take weight off somebody's shoulders'
Also: ***levare da le spale**[111]; ***levare impacio da le spale**[112]; ***togliere da le spale**[113]

52) ***Metere ad efecto li penseri**[114]**:** 'translate thoughts into actions'

53) ***Mandare ala ventura**[115]**:** 'to take one's chance'
Also: ***meterse a sbaraglio**[116]

54) **Mangiare intrate**[117]**:** lit. 'to eat an income'; fig. 'to waste an income'

55) ***Metere a scotto**[118]**:** 'to give a reward to somebody'

56) **Metere da canto**[119]**:** 'to put aside'

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104 G. Betes to Francesco Sforza, Napoli, 28 Sept. [1459], DS II 147, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 215, 167 68; G. Betes to Francesco Sforza, Napoli, 11 Dec. [1459], DS II 168, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 205, 240 41.
105 Francesco Sforza to Antonio da Trezzo, Milano, 29 Sep. 1458 DS II 47, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 199.
106 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo sul fiume Ofanto presso Candela, 13 Jun. 1459, DS II 115, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 105 06.
107 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, DS II 6 (see note n. 91).
108 A. da Trezzo o Francesco Sforza, Campo presso Nicastro, 25 Oct. 1459, DS II 155, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 113 14.
109 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, DS II 10 (see note 92).
110 A. da Trezzo o Francesco Sforza, DS II 155 (see note 108).
111 A. da Trezzo o Francesco Sforza (see previous note).
112 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Cosenza, 1 Nov. 1459, DS II 157, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 135 37.
113 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, San Pietro [al Tanagro], 21 Nov.1459, DS II 160, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 158 60.
114 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Venosa, 23 Apr. 1459, DS II 101, ASM SPE, Napoli, 200, w. n; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Venosa, 6 May 1459, DS II 103, ASM SPE, Napoli, 200, 27.
115 [A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza], DS II 151 (see note 78).
116 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, DS II 114 (see note 68).
117 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza (see previous note).
118 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Teano, 19 Aug. 1458, DS II 27, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 152.
119 DS II 3, ASM SPE, Napoli, 198, 229 31; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Capua, 15 Jul. 1458; DS II 6, ASM SPE, Napoli, 198, 51 52.

57) ***Metere in ropta**[120]**:** 'to put to rout'
58) **Metere la coraza contra**[121]**:** lit. 'to wear the armor'; fig. 'to start a conflict against'
59) ***Meterse in le braza**[122]**:** lit. 'to put something into somebody's arms'; fig. 'to entrust oneself to somebody'

Also: ***remetterse liberamente in le mano.**[123]
60) ***Metere in le mane**[124]**:** lit. 'to put something into somebody's hands'; fig. 'to entrust somebody with something'
61) **Metere le mane adosso**[125]**:** 'to beat somebody'
62) ***Mettere a saccomano**[126]**:** 'to plunder'
    Also: ***porre a sacomano**[127]
63) ***Mettere boca**[128]**:** 'to expess one's opinion'
64) **Mettere mano a spada**[129]**:** lit. 'to use a sword'; fig. 'to fight'
    Also: **senza colpo de lança né spata**[130]**:** 'without using any spear or sword'
65) ***Mettere per cosa ferma**[131]**:** 'to assume for certain'
66) ***Mettersi al basso**[132]**:** 'to put oneself in a condition of submission'
67) ***Mettersi in puncto**[133]**:** 'to be ready'
    Also: ***stare in puncto**[134]

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120 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Venosa, 14 Mar. 1459, DS II 89, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 157.
121 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, DS II 10 (see note 92).
122 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, DS II 6 (see note 91).
123 [A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza], [Capua, 18 Jul. 1458], DS II 9, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 1249, 185 86 (w. l.).
124 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, DS II 160 (see note 113).
125 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Napoli, 5 Dec. 1459, DS II 166, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 172 74.
126 Fermano Antici da Recanati to his brother Bartolomeo, Capua, 22 Jul. 1458, DS II 12, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 64 67; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Venosa, 14 Mar. 1459, DS II 89, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 157; Ferrante of Aragon to Francesco Sforza, Campo sul fiume Crati presso Co senza, 6 Sep. 1459, DS II 141, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 34; G. Betes to Francesco Sforza, Napoli, 23 Sep. [1459], DS II 146, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 215, 161 62.
127 G. Betes to Francesco Sforza, Napoli, DS II 168 (see note 84).
128 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Capua, DS II 6 (see note 91).
129 Orfeo Cinni's report to Francesco Sforza, DS II 14, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 103/104 09/110 [A]; ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 159 60.
130 G. Betes to Francesco Sforza, Napoli, DS II 168 (see note 84).
131 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Giugliano, 4 Jul. 1458, DS II 1, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 227 28.
132 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, San Pietro [al Tanagro], 21 Nov. 1459, DS II 160, ASM SPE, *Napoli,* 201, 158 60.
133 Antonio da Pistoia to Francesco Sforza, Roma, 4 Jul. 1458, DS II 2, *Ambr.*, Z 219 Sup., 9365; DS II 8, *Ambr.*, Z 219 Sup., 9366.

68) **Mostrare el volto a**[135]: 'to show one's strong side'
69) ***Non havere da manzare uno dì**[136]: lit. 'to have nothing to eat even for a day'; fig. 'to be in a condition of extreme indigence'
70) ***Non dare una sola petra**[137]: 'to give or concede nothing'
71) ***Non ne fare una minima parola**[138]: 'to reveal nothing'
72) ***Non togliere una petra**[139]: 'to subtract nothing from somebody'
73) ***Observare ad unguem**[140]: 'to follow to the letter, as accurately as possible'
74) ***Passare per i pedi**[141]: 'to pass through one's control'
75) **Pigliare bon fructo**[142]: 'to benefit from, to achieve a good result'
76) ***Pigliare el carico**[143]: lit. 'to take a burden'; fig. 'to make oneself responsible for somehing'
77) ***Pigliare la briglia cum li denti**[144]: lit. 'to tighten the reins with one's teeth'; fig. 'to take over aggressively, to gain the upper hand'
    Also: **Pigliare lo freno cum li denti**[145]
78) **Pigliare le cose a roverso**[146]: 'to misunderstand'
79) ***Pigliare pede**[147]: 'to get a footing, to develop'
80) **Prendere fede de**[148]: 'to trust someone'
    Also: **pigliare fede**[149]

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134 [A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza], DS II 9 (see note 123).
135 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso Rende, 7 Sep. 1459, DS II 142, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 36.
136 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Venosa, 25 Jul. 1459, DS II 126, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 197 98.
137 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Capua, DS II 10 (see note 92).
138 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, DS II 70 (see note 60).
139 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso S. Antonio, 2 Sep. 1459, DS II 138, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 25 26.
140 See previous note.
141 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Venosa, 5 May 1459, DS II 102, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 22.
142 Isabella of Chiaromonte to Francesco Sforza, Napoli, 20 Oct. 1459, DS II 154, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 109.
143 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Barletta, DS II 70 (see note 92).
144 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso il bosco di Magliano, 23 giugno 1459, DS II 117, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 159 60.
145 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Teano, 19 Aug. 1458, DS II 28, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 158.
146 O. del Carretto and G. Caimi to Francesco Sforza, Roma, 24 Jul. 1458, DS II 13, *Ambr.*, Z 219 Sup., 9367.
147 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso Calitri, 9 Jul. 1459, DS 123, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 171.
148 DS II 57, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 199, 93 94; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso il bosco di Magliano, 26th June 1459, *DS II* 118, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 134/135 36/137, 139; A. da Trez

81) ***Prendere per male**[150]**:** 'to take something wrong, to loook at something with suspicion'

82) **Puzare al cello**[151]**:** lit. 'to smell bad up to the sky'; fig. 'to be excessive (referred to negative feelings)'

83) ***Quasi havere tempo de manzare**[152]**:** lit. 'to have no time for eating'; fig. 'to have no time at all'

84) ***Redure la palla in mano a**[153]**:** lit. 'to give the ball to someone'; fig. 'to give power to somebody'

85) **Reposare sopra le spalle**[154]**:** 'to leave the initiative to somebody, to rely on someone'

86) ***Retrahere la mano**[155]**:** lit. 'to remove one's hand from something'; fig. 'to draw back'

87) **Reuscire ad mano salva et in securo**[156]**:** lit. 'to emerge from a situation with one's hand safe'; fig. 'to emerge unharmed from a situation'

88) **Scrizare in caveza**[157]**:** lit. 'to joke while having a belt at one's throat'; fig. 'to complain about one's condition on a whim, without a reason'

89) **Senza fare fructo**[158]**:** 'without achieving results'

Also: *fare poco fructo[159]

90) **Senza perdere un pilo**[160]**:** lit. 'without losing a single hair'; fig. 'to be unharmed'

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zo to Francesco Sforza, Campo sul fiume Acquavella, 9 Aug. 1459, ᴅѕ ɪɪ 131, ᴀѕᴍ ѕᴘᴇ, Napoli, 201, 226.

149 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso Calitri, 7 Jul. 1459, ᴅѕ ɪɪ 122, ᴀѕᴍ ѕᴘᴇ, *Napoli*, 201, 164 66.

150 O. del Carretto and G. Caimi to Francesco Sforza, ᴅѕ ɪɪ 13 (see note 146).

151 A. [da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza], [Venosa, 15 30 Apr. 1459]. ᴅѕ ɪɪ 99, ᴀѕᴍ ѕᴘᴇ, *Napoli*, 1248, 72, w. l.

152 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, [Teano, 4 8 Aug. 1458], ᴅѕ ɪɪ 23, ᴀѕᴍ ѕᴘᴇ, *Napoli*, 1248, 61 (w. l.).

153 B. de' Persico to Giacomo Piccinino, ᴅѕ ɪɪ 148 (see note 93).

154 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, ᴅѕ ɪɪ 10 (see note 92).

155 See note 151.

156 [A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza], ᴅѕ ɪɪ 151 (see note 78).

157 T. Moroni to Francesco Sforza, Bella, 16 Jul. 1459, ᴅѕ ɪɪ 125, ᴀѕᴍ ѕᴘᴇ, *Napoli*, 201, 178 79.

158 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso Nicastro, 25 Oct. 1459, ᴅѕ ɪɪ 155, ᴀѕᴍ ѕᴘᴇ, *Napoli*, 201, 113 14.

159 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, San Pietro [al Tanagro], 21 Nov. 1459, ᴅѕ ɪɪ 160, ᴀѕᴍ ѕᴘᴇ, *Napoli*, 201, 158 60.

160 G. Betes to Francesco Sforza, ᴅѕ ɪɪ 168 (see note 84).

91) **Spandere el proprio sangue**[161]: lit. 'to shed one's blood'; fig. 'to sacrifice one's life'

92) ***Spogliare fin alla camisa**[162]: lit. 'to take off on's shirt'; fig. 'to deprive somebody of everything'

93) **Spogliarse la veste de dosso**[163]: lit. 'to take off one's clothes'; fig. 'to do one's utmost (to achieve a goal)'

94) **Stare a signo**[164]: 'to be subdued'

95) ***Stare de bona voglia**[165]: 'to be in a good mood'

96) ***Stare in bono termine**[166]: 'to be bound to a favorable conclusion'

Also: *redure ad bono termine[167]; ad bono fine[168]

97) ***Tenere a stecho**[169]: 'to keep somebody in a state of deprivation'

98) ***Tenere a bechatelle**[170]: lit. 'to give somebody the morsels used to feed falcons'; fig. 'to flatter somebody with small rewards in order to hold them at bay '

99) ***Tenere la briglia in mano**[171]: lit. 'to tighten the reins'; fig. 'to restrain somebody'

Also: ***Tenere il morso in boca a**[172]

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161 G. Caimi to Francesco Sforza, Teano, 29 Aug. 1458, DS II 32, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 172 75.

162 A. Guidoboni and A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Venosa, 31 Mar. 1459, DS II 93, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 198.

163 A. da Trezzo to F. Sforza, Venosa 23 Apr. 1459, DS II 101, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, w.n.

164 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, DS II 84 (see note 72).

165 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Napoli, 5 Dec. 1459, DS II 166, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 172 74.

166 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso Nicastro, 25 Oct. 1459, DS II 155, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 113 14; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Capua, 28 Dec. 1459; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Capua, 28 dicembre 1459, DS II 174, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 205, 11 12.

167 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Venosa, 12 Apr. 1459, DS II 97, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 221.

168 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Cosenza, 1 Nov. 1459, DS II 157, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 135 37; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, San Pietro [al Tanagro], 21 Nov. 1459, DS II 160, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 158 60.

169 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo sul fiume Acquavella, 9 Aug. 1459, DS II 131, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 226.

170 G. Caimi, A. da Trezzo and O. Cenni to Francesco Sforza, Capua 31 Jul. 1458, DS II 20, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 112 14.

171 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Giugliano, 5 Jul. 1458, DS II 3, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 229 31; Francesco Sforza to Antonio da Trezzo, Milano, 7 Jul. 1458, DS II 4, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 238 40; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Barletta, 10 Feb. 1459, DS II 76, ASM SPE, *Napoli*. 200, 96 97; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Barletta, 21 febbraio 1459, DS II 79, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 112; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso il bosco di Magliano, 26 Jun. 1459, DS II 118, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 134/135 36/137, 139; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo sul fiume Acquavella,

100) **Trovare lo terreno mole**[173]**:** lit. 'to find fertile ground'; fig. 'to find a propitious situation or occasion'

101) ***Vedere el Samgredale**[174]**:** lit. 'to see the Holy Graal'; fig. 'to see something of sacred importance'

102) **Vendere la camisa**[175]**:** lit. 'to sell one's shirt'; fig. 'to be deprived of everything'

103) **Venire ad roptura**[176]**:** 'to break the peace'

104) ***Venire ad salvamento**[177]**:** 'to save oneself, tu survive'

105) ***Vivere sanza ombra**[178]**:** 'to live without suspicion'

9 Aug. 1459, *DS II* 131, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 226; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso Rende, 5 Sep. 1459, *DS II* 140, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 30 31.

172 T. Moroni to Francesco Sforza, Bella, 16 Jul. 1459, *DS II* 125, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 178 79.

173 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Capua, 13 Jul. 1458, *DS II* 5, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 44/45 46.

174 Orfeo Cinni's report to Francesco Sforza, *DS II* 14 (see note 129).

175 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Barletta, 10 Feb. 1459, *DS II* 76, ASM SPE, *Napoli*. 200, 96 97; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Barletta, 11 Feb. 1459, *DS II* 77, ASM SPE, *Napoli*. 200, 99; A. Guidoboni e A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Venosa, 27 Mar. 1459, *DS II* 92, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 200, 183 85.

176 P. Beccaria and A. da Trezzo to F. Sforza, Andria, 18 Nov. 1458, *DS II* 57, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 199, 94 94; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Venosa, 25 Jul. 1459, *DS II* 126, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 197 98; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo sul fiume Acquavella, 9 Aug. 1459, *DS II* 131, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 226; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso S. Antonio, 2 Sep. 1459, *DS II* 138, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 25 26; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso Rende, 15 Sep. 1459, *DS II* 143, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 41 42; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Campo presso Nicastro, 25 Oct.1459, *DS II* 155, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 113 14; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, San Pietro [al Tanagro], 21 Nov. 1459, *DS II* 160, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 158 60; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Napoli, 5 Dec. 1459, *DS II* 165, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 175 77.

177 A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Napoli, 26 November 1459, *DS II* 164, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 164; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Napoli, 5 Dec. 1459, *DS II* 165, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 175 77; A. da Trezzo to Francesco Sforza, Capua, 22 Dec. 1459, *DS II* 171, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 201, 203.

178 O. Cenni to Francesco Sforza, Capua, 28 Jul. 1458, *DS II* 15, ASM SPE, *Napoli*, 198, 99/100 01/ 102.

Nere Jone Intxaustegi Jauregi

Communication and Translation in Early Modern Basque Society. The Role Played by the Public Notaries

Abstract: The public notaries have been very important worldwide since the thirteenth century; not only in the apparatus of the state, but also in the daily organization of people's lives. They were, among other things, in charge of writing testaments, codicils, labor contracts, dowries, or loans. Therefore, communication was a key element of their job since they had to write down names, dates, and personal information that the clients provided them with. However, a communication problem could arise when the clients did not speak the administrative language. In our case, the Basque territories belonged to the Castilian Crown, but Basque and Castilian are completely different languages. Basque monolingual speakers made up around 90 % in early modern society. For that reason, the public notaries in the Basque territories had more responsibilities, since they also had to perform translator-tasks.

This paper will address these translator-tasks carried out by the public notaries and will analyze the training of the public notaries, and the demand of those linguistic skills among men and women, and also in urban and rural spaces. In order to achieve that, archival records will be used.

Keywords: Basque, Biscay, early modern period, public notaries, translation

Introduction

As Jean Delisle and Judith Woodsworth indicate, people have translated since time immemorial; translators have been used as vital links in the enormous chain through which knowledge was transmitted among people separated by language barriers.[1] Today alone the number of languages in the world is estimat-

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[1] Jean Delisle, Judith Woodsworth, *Translators through History*. Benjamins Translation Library, 13 (Amsterdam, Philadelphia, PA, and Paris: Benjamins Pub. Co./UNESCO, 1995), XV. See also the comments on translation by Albrecht Classen in the Introduction to this volume.

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ed at about 6,000 (including sign languages),[2] hence the existence of translators is inevitable and essential for most societies.

This paper is focused on the early modern age, when translation played a major role in European society. For example, it was that period when the Bible was translated from Latin to vernacular languages in novel fashions by such luminaries as Martin Luther. In fact, there are authors like Karen Newman and Jane Tylus who claim that there would not have been a Renaissance without translations.[3] Those translating agents have not always been language professionals. History shows us that other social groups, such as churchmen or missionaries, have also carried out vital translation works. This paper focuses on another type of translator: the public notaries in early modern Basque society.

However, before writing about Basque public notaries and their translation skills, in order to understand fully the tasks carried out by those men, it is important to specify two aspects: the Basque language and the Basque territories.

Regarding the language, briefly speaking, Basque has three main characteristics: firstly, it is a pre-Indo-European language, that is, it was spoken in prehistoric Europe before the Indo-European languages arose.[4] In fact, it is the only surviving pre-Indo European language in western Europe.[5] Secondly, it can be stated that it is an isolated language, since there is no linguistic relation with any other existing languages. There are many theories about a hypothetical linguistic relationship between Basque and other languages, being the most remarkable the Basque-Armenian theory[6]; however, nothing is conclusive. Finally, the neighboring languages are Romance languages,[7] so they are completely different languages. It has to be pointed out that there has been an obvious influence on the vocabulary, syntax and morphology, especially from Spanish to Basque; however, the Basque has maintained its original personality, which is undoubtedly a very extraordinary historical phenomenon.[8]

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2 Victoria Fromkin, Robert Rodman, and Nina M. Hyams, *An Introduction to Language* (Boston, MA: Thomson Heinle, 2003), 359.
3 Jane Tylus and Karen Newman, *Early Modern Cultures of Translation* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 1.
4 First written evidence of Indo European languages appeared during the Bronze Age (approximately 3300 B.C.E. to 1200 B.C.E.).
5 José Ignacio Hualde, Joseba A. Lakarra, and R. L. Task, *Towards a History of the Basque Language* (Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publishing Company, 1995), 1.
6 Vahan Setyan, *Armenian Origins of Basque: The Linguistic Verdict* (Morrisville, NC: Lulu, 2018).
7 The Spanish and the French, and a little further away, the Portuguese, the Galician, the Catalan, and the Italian. They all derive from Latin.
8 Antonio Tovar, *The Basque Language* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957), 17. See also Gregory B. Kaplan, "The Impact of Bilingualism and Diglossia in Cantabria

As it can be seen on the following map, the Basque language is spoken in seven historical territories: Álava, Biscay, Gipuzkoa and Navarre, that are geographically located in Spain, and Labourd, Low Navarre, and Soule, which are in France.
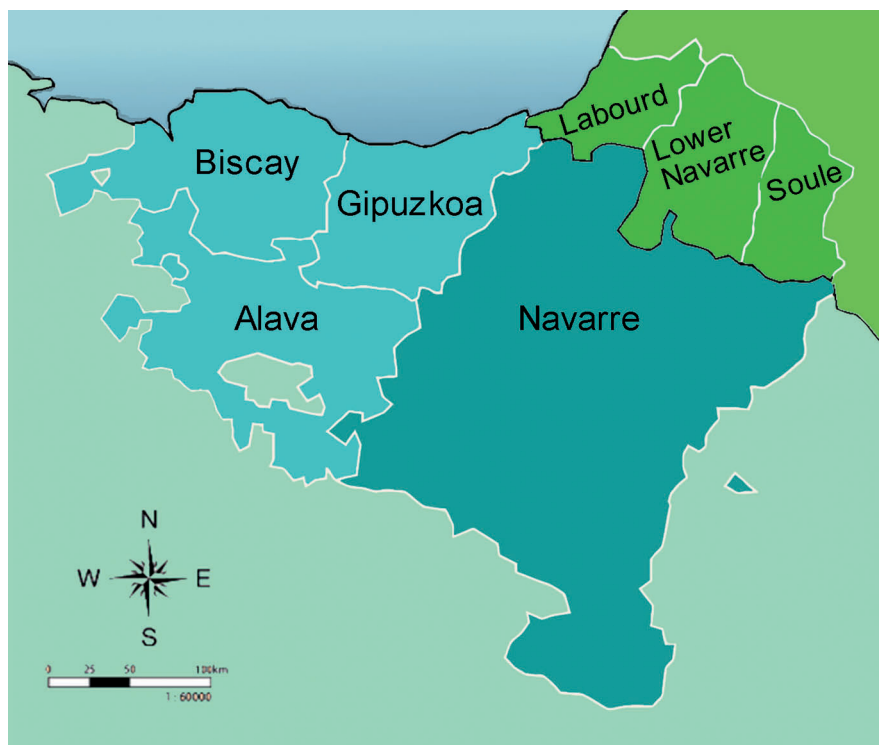
Fig. 1: Map of the seven Basque historical territories. Copyright: Nere Jone Intxaustegi Jauregi and Aitor Castañeda Zumeta.

It is important to highlight that there has never been a political union between these seven territories. It is true that there was a kind of union between some of them in some concrete historical periods; for example, Álava, Biscay, and Gipuzkoa were part of the Kingdom of Pamplona (later of Navarre) during the reign of the monarchs Sancho III the Great (1004–1035) and his son García Ramírez

(1035–1054),[9] but those three territories were part of the Navarrese Kingdom, so it is not possible to speak about a union between equal territories.

Nowadays, Basque is a co-official language with Spanish in Álava, Biscay, and Gipuzkoa, which are part of the Basque Autonomous Community since 1979; in Navarre, which is another Autonomous Community, the Basque also has a degree of official status, but in the French part it has none.[10] Nevertheless, throughout the centuries, not only was Basque not an official language in those territories, but it was also not the only spoken language; moreover, it was not a written language, since its use was almost exclusively limited to the oral sphere.[11] In this way, for example, in Navarre the political powers used Latin, Navarrese Romance, French, or Occitan.[12]

Despite its precarious recognition, the vast majority of the Basque population spoke it. In fact, many travelers were surprised by this fact.[13] One of those was Aymeric Picaud, a cleric who in the twelfth century did the Camino de Santiago,[14] that is, the pilgrims' way to the shrine of the Apostle Saint James in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in northern Spain. He wrote the *Liber peregrinationis*, where it is possible to read his experience and also the negative descriptions he offered about the Basque people and their language. We can also mention Arnold von Harff (1471–1505), a German traveler who wrote about languages and customs during his journeys. His aim was to collect essential pocket vocabulary, such as items of food, household or useful phrases like "Good morning." Not only did he write down Basque words and phrases, but he also created lists of Albanian, Breton, Croatian or Hebrew.[15] Finally, it is

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9 Antonio Ubieto Arteta, "Estudios en torno a la división del Reino por Sancho el Mayor de Navarra," *Príncipe de Viana* 21.80 81 (1960): 163 236; here 201.

10 Robert Lawrence Trask, *The History of Basque* (London: Routledge, 1997), 1.

11 Peter Burke, *Lenguas y comunidades en la Europa moderna* (Madrid: Akal, 2006), 97.

12 Ana Zabalza Seguin, "One Kingdom, Two Languages. Anthroponomatrics in Early Modern Navarre," *Names and Their Environment: Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences*, ed. Carole Hough and, Daria Izdebska (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2016), 279 88; here 279.

13 Iñaki Reguera, Alberto Angulo Morales, *Historia del País Vasco, Edad Moderna (siglos XVI XVIII)* (Donostia San Sebastián: Alegia Editorial Hiria, 2004), 15.

14 Carmen Jusué Simonena, "Picaud, Aymeric," *Notitia Vasconiae. Baskoniako Historialarien, legelarien eta pentsalari politikoen hiztegia*. I. liburua (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2019): 342 6, here 342.

15 Robert Elsie, "The Albanian Lexicon of Arnold von Harff, 1497," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 97 (1984): 113 22; here 114; cf. Albrecht Classen, "Multilingualism in Medieval Europe: Pilgrimage, Travel, Diplomacy, and Linguistic Challenges. The Case of Felix Fabri and His Contemporaries," *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Communication and Miscommunication in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval

also important to mention Jean François Paul de Gondi (1613–1679), who was a French churchman and agitator in the Fronde,[16] who had to flee France due to this enmity with Cardinal Mazarin. He arrived in the Basque city of San Sebastian by ship, and as it can be read in his Memoirs, "spoke in Spanish and French to three men whom we saw on board, but they understood neither of these languages."[17] Those three men understood nothing because they only spoke Basque.

So how many native speakers were there? As Juan Madariaga Orbea has observed, and it can be seen in the following Table[18], during the 16th and 17th centuries, Basque monolingualism was almost omnipresent[19].

Table 1: Table of Basque Speakers in 1600

Territories	Inhabitants	Number of Basque speakers	% of Basque speakers
Álava	70.000	50.000	71,4
Biscay	74.000	64.380	87,0
Gipuzkoa	77.000	73.900	96,0
Navarre	170.000	108.800	64,0
Labourd	45.000	38.700	86,0
Low Navarre	23.000	22.540	98,0
Soule	15.000	14.700	98,0

Juan Madariaga Orbea, *Sociedad y lengua vasca en los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia, 2014), 734.

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and Early Modern Culture, 17 (Berlin and Boston, MA: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 279 311; here 306 09. See also id., "Traveler, Linguist, Pilgrim, Observer, and Scientist: Arnold von Harff Ex plores the Near East and Finds Himself Among Fascinating Foreigners," *Ain güt geboren edel man: A Festschrift for Winder McConnell on the Occasion of His Sixty Fifth Birthday*, ed. Gary C. Shockey with Gail E. Finney and Clifford A. Bernd. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 757 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2011), 195 248.

16 A series of Civil Wars that took place between 1648 and 1653.

17 *Memoirs of the Cardinal Retz* Vol. III (London: T. Becket, T. Cadell, and T. Evans, 1754), 264.

18 Juan Madariaga Orbea, *Sociedad y lengua vasca en los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Bilbao: Euskalt zaindia, 2014), 734.

19 Juan Madariaga Orbea, "La mediación lingüística entre la población vasca y las institu ciones, 1600 1840," *El euskera en las altas instituciones de gobierno a través de la historia: jor nadas internacionales*, ed. Álvaro Ador Lerga and Andrés Urrutia (Pamplona Iruña: Pamiela, 2014), 86 142; 86.

In this way, except the areas adjacent to Castile (western part of Biscay and southern of Álava and Navarre) and in the cities of Bilbao and Orduña (Biscay) and Bayonne and Biarritz (in Labourd), where Castilian and Gascon were respectively spoken, the vast majority of the population only talked Basque.[20]

As it can be read in the records, the Basque people from early modern period did not perceive this linguistical matter as a confrontation between Basque and Spanish and Gascon (and later French). Languages had their own spheres: the Basques used their mother tongue at home, that is it was a language used in an oral context, while the latter occupied the written production. However, as Basque lacked a graphical system, it was gradually socially marginalized and its use was considered vulgar by the high social groups.[21]

On the other hand, and before going into specifics, it is important to highlight that this linguistic plurality was not exclusive for the Basque territories, since we can find many similar examples throughout the Spanish Empire. For example, Southern Spain witnessed multilingualism too, in this case with Arab language, since the Mudejar community[22] was unfamiliar with the Spanish. Such was the situation that in 1501, when the city of Málaga created a specific notary for the Arab language, which lasted until 1513. Besides, since 1505 in the Real Chancillería de Granada, that is, the highest court in southern Spain, there were public notaries who could spoke Arab because the inhabitants did not speak fluently Spanish.[23] However, in 1566 King Philip II forbade that the public notaries used Arab, so the use of Spanish was made compulsory.[24] Catalan was also a widespread spoken language in the Eastern part of the Peninsula; in this way, in 1707 King Philip V banned the use of Catalan in notary documents in Valencia.[25] Finally, we can also mention the American territories; for example,

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20 Madariaga Orbea, *Sociedad y lengua vasca* (see note 21), 587 620.

21 José María Jimeno Jurio, *Capítulos de la historia del euskera* (Pamplona Iruña: Pamiela, 2004), 68.

22 This name refers to the Muslims who remained in Iberia despite the Christian conquest.

23 Alfonso Sánchez Mairena, "Escribanías públicas y del concejo de Marbella (Málaga) y su jurisdicción entre los siglos XV y XVII," *El nervio de la república: el oficio de escribano en el Siglo de Oro*, ed. Enrique Villalba Pérez and, Emilio Torné Valle (Madrid: Calambur, 2010), 119 43; here 132 33.

24 César Gallastegi Aranzabal, *Euskera y régimen foral. Lengua, comunicación, poder y Derecho en Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa y Álava (1500 1876)* (Bilbao: IVAP, 2017), 72.

25 Pascal Marzal Rodríguez, Sergio Villamarín Gómez, "El control de la práctica notarial en el proceso de Nueva Planta: la visita de 1723 a los notarios de Castellón," *Derecho, historia y universidades: estudios dedicados a Mariano Peset*. Vol. II (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2007), 161 72; here 162.

there were bilingual public notaries in México, where Mayan or Yucatecon were also used.[26]

Records show us undoubtedly that the public notaries played a decisive role when translating documents. However, it was to be pointed out that they were not professional translators, so they did not write their translations. All the translate process was oral since their task was only to translate and explain the meaning of the document, which was written in Spanish. We do know about the translate process because the public notaries used to indicate it: "traducción a la lengua vascongada".

Public Notaries

The institution of the public notary had its birth in the thirteenth century, when the Italian city of Bologna became the undisputed center of the *Ars Notariae* in Western Europe thanks to the masterpiece of Salatiele and Rolandino Passaggeri.[27] This notarial boom took place due to the fact that the authorities saw it as a suitable public instrument: the public faith with which the office was clothed.[28] We cannot forget that the public notaries did not simply hold an *officium*, but were appointed public officials, which carried the quality of *publicus notarius*.[29] As Leonor Zozaya Montes states, the public notary was the depositary of the public faith. In other words, with his presence the public notary could attest, and with his signature documents were authorized, granting them legal validity.[30] These functions set him apart from the scribes that had existed until then, whose job was simply to copy and write.

26 Kathryn Burns, "Notaries, Truth and Consequences" *The American Historical Review* 110 2 (2005): 350 80; here 363 64.

27 Ronald G. Witt, "Kristeller's Humanists as Heirs of Medieval dictators," *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Angelo Mazzocco. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 143 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2006), 21 35; here 33.

28 Carmen Carracedo Falagán, "El escribano municipal según una información enviada al Con sejo de Castilla el año 1626: requisitos legales para ejercer el oficio," *Boletín del Instituto de Es tudios Asturianos* 133 (1990): 45 72; here 47. For serious challenges of this group of administra tive officials in the English context, see the contribution to this volume by Daniel F. Pigg.

29 José Bono Huerta, *Historia del derecho notarial español.* Vol. 2 (Madrid: Junta de Decanos de los Colegios Notariales de España, 1979), 271.

30 Leonor Zozaya Montes, *De papeles, escribanías y archivos: escribanos del concejo madrileño entre 1557 y 1610* (Madrid: CSIC, 2011), 39.

From the sixteenth century on, Europe witnessed an unprecedented increase in the number of university educated men.[31] However, according to Tamar Herzog, university studies did not dominate the professional world as it occurs nowadays.[32] In this way, it was not so common to see future public notaries studying at universities; in fact, only a minority of them had university studies, which conferred them prestige.[33] There were other alternatives to obtain knowledge, such as the study of diverse legal formulas[34] or simply practicing with writing professionals. Therefore, it is possible to glimpse that there was an artisan concept of the office of notary.[35] The records let us see that the future public notaries followed a training with public notaries, with whom they used to learn not only to read and write but also some basic Law. When the training period was over, they had to take an exam in order to obtain the public notary certificate. In order to take the exam, according to King Philip II, it was compulsory that the apprentice was, at least, 25 years old.[36]

Due to the topic addressed in this paper, we could ask ourselves if the apprentices received any kind of language training. As far as the records show, the answer is no; therefore, translations were carried out by the men whose mother tongue was Basque and also spoke Spanish, but they had not received any specific linguistic training. Moreover, it is possible to perceive that lack of linguistic skills in the writing of documents; for instance, in the inventories many public notaries wrote some objects in Basque language because they did not know the equivalent Spanish word.[37] However, they could communicate in both language, which was necessary. Furthermore, the Basque authorities were aware of that reality in the territory, which is why they required the existence of bilingual public notaries.

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31 Richard L. Kagan, *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 1.

32 Tamar Herzog, "Sobre la cultura jurídica en la América colonial (siglos XVI XVIII)," *Anuario de Historia del Derecho español* 65 (1995): 903 12; here 908.

33 Christian Neschwara, *Geschichte des Österreichischen Notariats.* Vol. I: *Vom Spätmittelalter bis zum Erlass der Notariatsordnung 1850* (Vienna: Manzsche Verlags und Universitätsbuchhand lung, 1996), 247.

34 Kathryn Burns, "Dentro de la ciudad letrada: la producción de la escritura pública en el Perú colonial," *Historia* 29 (2005): 43 68; here 44.

35 Tamar Herzog, *Mediación, archivos y ejercicio. Los escribanos de Quito (siglo XVII)*. Studien zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte, 82 (Frankfurt a. M.: Klostermann, 1996), 36.

36 *Nueva Recopilación:* Libro Cuarto, Título XXV, Ley XXX; *Novísima Recopilación:* Tomo III, Libro VII Título XV, Ley II, ed. Boletín Oficial del Estado (Madrid: BOE, 1993).

37 Madariaga Orbea, *Sociedad y lengua vasca* (see note 21), 340.

Thereby, in sixteenth-century Navarre, the public notary Pedro de Lanza wrote: "la mayor parte de los habitantes del reino son vascohablantes que no saben castellano,"[38] that is, most of the inhabitants of Navarre did not speak Spanish, but Basque, so the public notaries had to translate the documents. Moreover, in the years 1677–1678, a memorial was introduced in the Parliament of Navarre, which took place in Pamplona, requesting that the notaries spoke Basque.[39] The province of Gipuzkoa, where the use of Basque language is indisputable, also legislated this issue. Public notaries used to be appointed by the monarchs, who used to select Castilian notaries; in this way, in 1513 Queen Joanna I decided that the territorial and local administration of the Province of Gipuzkoa would appoint the public notaries,[40] and from that moment on, there were only public notaries that spoke Basque. On the other hand, as it can be read on the records, in Biscay it was compulsory to be a native to hold a public post; not only the public notary was born in Biscay, but also his parents and paternal and maternal grandparents. In this way, the command of the Basque language was quite assured.

It is important to concrete what do we mean by translation. As it has already be mentioned, the public notaries did not carry out any professional translations, but neither did they write any translation: simply oral explanations were given.

Finally, and before given some specific examples, it is important to observe that the Catholic Church had stated in the bull *De idiomate beneficiatorum* (fourteenth century) that each person should receive the doctrine and the sacraments in the language they understood.[41] Therefore, priests in Basque territories had to speak Basque too. In this way, for instance, in the village of Urretxu, which is in Gipuzkoa, the bishop had ordered that when the priests spoke from the pulpit, they had to say the same thing in Spanish and later in Basque.[42] So, the public notaries were not the only ones who were in charge of translations, but their actions were related to public and private documents, and not to religious issues.

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38 Peio Monteano Sorbet, *El iceberg navarro: Euskera y castellano en la Navarra del siglo XVI* (Pamplona Iruña: Pamiela Argitaletxea, 2017), 51.

39 Ana Zabalza Seguín, "Los escribanos reales en el último reino peninsular incorporado a la Corona de Castilla: Navarra, siglos XVI y XVII," *El nervio de la república: el oficio de escribano en el Siglo de Oro*, ed. Enrique Villalba Pérez and Emilio Torné Valle (Madrid: Calambur, 2010), 259 75; here 262.

40 Rosa Ayerbe Iríbar, *Miguel de Aramburu. Nueva Recopilación de los Fueros, Privilegios, Bue nos Usos y Costumbres, Leyes y Ordenanzas de la Muy Noble y Muy Leal Provincia de Guipúzcoa (1696)* (Donostia San Sebastián: Iura Vasconiae, 2014), 501.

41 Madariaga Orbea, "La mediación lingüística entre la población vasca" (see note 20), 87.

42 Madariaga Orbea, "La mediación lingüística entre la población vasca" (see note 20), 88.

Some Examples of Translations in Biscay

As the following examples show, the public notaries carried out their translation tasks in various forms and situations. They had to translate records both to women and men, who lived in cities or small towns, which were on the coast or inside the territory. It is possible to read a variety of cases, such as nuns who professed the conventual closure, women requesting divorce, or commercial translations.

A Female Convents

As it occurred in western Europe, many female semi-religious communities were spread all over Spain. They were known with different names, such as seroras, beatas, or freilas, and they were lay women who usually were linked to a Catholic Order but had not taken any kind of vow, so they did not live into claustration. However, this situation changed in 1563 when, as Silvia Evangelisti points out, the Council of Trent (1545–1563) approved a reform-program that prescribed strict cloister rule all over the Catholic conventual landscape.[43] As a consequence, the convents embraced the closure. The Basque convents were not an exception, and there was also a gradual enclaustration.[44]

Taking into account this scenario, the beatas from the community Santa Isabel in Areatza-Villaro took the claustration vows in 1627. The *Archivo Franciscano Ibero Oriental* archive in Madrid keeps the document that explains the claustration process,[45] and we can read that the public notary Martín Ruiz de Anunçibay had to translate all the trial documents into the Basque language since the nuns had not been able to understand a word of it. The closure ceremony was led by the Franciscan Fray Antonio de Zornoza and it was witnessed by members of the local council, such as the mayor Francisco de Leguizamón, and other members like Esteban de Zuazo and Francisco de Aguirre. The spoken language in administrative matters was Spanish, which had prestige, but was not spoken by the nuns, therefore a translation was needed. Moreover, it is necessary to realize

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43 Silvia Evangelisti, "'We do not have it, and we do not want it': Women, Power, and Convent Reform in Florence," *Sixteenth Century Journal* XXXIV.3 (2003): 677 700; here 677.

44 For more information on this, see Nere Jone Intxaustegi Jauregi, "Beatas, beaterios and convents: the origin of the Basque female conventual life," *Imago temporis: Medium Aevum* 11 (2017): 329 41.

45 Archivo Franciscano Ibero Oriental, Villaro 619/35.

that the women had committed themselves to a closure that was for life, but in a language that they could barely understand; hence the importance of the public notaries.

B Local Councils

Near Areatza-Villaro is the town of Zeanuri, where there were elections to the local council in 1685. It is important to highlight that all the members of the local councils of the Biscay were elected in annual elections, in which the sortition (in Spanish *insaculación*) election system was used.[46] So, on January, when the election was carried out, the public notary José Ibarreta stated that "las ordenanzas que esta anteiglesia tenía las cuales me las hicieron leer a mi el dicho escribano en dicho ayuntamiento en lengua vascongada para que las entendiesen todos,"[47] that is, he had to read in Basque the local ordinances of the town for all the inhabitants to understand the statutes.

It is quite significant that most of the inhabitants were not able to understand the laws that regulate their daily live.

C Divorces

Until the nineteenth century, Biscay was part of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Calahorra y La Calzada, and the Holy See was in the city Calahorra, which is located nowadays in the Autonomous Community of La Rioja. In this way, the Ecclesiastical Court was outside the Basque borders, therefore it was not possible for a bishop to speak or understand the Basque language. The ecclesiastical courts interpreted the canon law, and so they witnessed many disputes, such as the ones related to marriages, wills or divorces. Medieval and Early Modern divorce differed from current one,[48] since it only consisted on a marital separation of property and cohabitation between the spouses, remarriage was not pos-

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46 Rosario Porres Marijuán, "Insaculación, régimen municipal urbano y control regio en la Monarquía de los Austrias," *El poder en Europa y América: mitos, tópicos y realidades,* ed. Ernes to García Fernández (Vitoria Gasteiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la UPV, 2001), 169 234; here 200.

47 Archivo Histórico Foral de Bizkaia [AHFB], JCR0796/019.

48 Antonio Gil, "Mujeres ante la justicia eclesiástica: un caso de separación matrimonial en la Barcelona de 1602," *Las mujeres en el Antiguo Régimen: imagen y realidad (siglos XVI XVIII),* ed. Isabel Pérez Molina (Barcelona: Editorial Icaria, 1994), 169 202; here 178.

sible (unless there was a passing). It was the woman who usually asked for the divorce, and the most common reason for divorce was abusive behavior (both physical and verbal), although waste of dowry and adultery were also common reasons. The break-up process was carried out in front of the ecclesiastical dignitaries, and the spouses had to bring witnesses, who were supposed not to omit any details. Some records show us that the public notaries were in charge of not only translating but also interpreting, which is logic given the personal nature of the process and the questions raised therein.

In this way, we can mention the divorce case between Juan de Aguirre and Margarita de Uribe, who lived in the village of Arrancudiaga at the end of the seventeenth century.[49] The husband's sexual impotence was the ground for divorce, and so a surgeon and other medical staff examined the husband; moreover, the husband was interrogated on this matter and it was the duty of the public notary to translate such a delicate and private matter.

Adultery was one of the most common causes for divorce. In case of infidelity, the requestor party had to prove that their spouse had had intercourse with another person. When a baby was born as a result of having an affair, that fact eased the process, and that was what occurred between Antonio de Gadiola and Teresa de Asteche, who had a daughter called Águeda in 1690.[50] However, he was married and his wife asked for the divorce when she was told about the infidelity and the daughter. Simón de Huarte was designated translator of that trial, and he had to transcribe all the details and consequences of that adultery.

D Criminal Trials

Many translations were carried out as a consequence of criminal trials, where the defendants usually faced an accusation of injuries and damages. In this way, Pedernales and Meñaca, which are a coastal village and a village near the sea, witnessed those type of cases in the eighteenth century, while the public notaries of those processes came from the town of Guernica. In 1745, Gabriel de Azqueta and his son, who lived in Pedernales, litigated against Domingo and Manuel de Aresti, father and son, and Bautista de Echebarria due to a fight. It was the public notary Tomás de Celaya who acted as translator,[51] while the also public notary Pedro Pablo de Elorriaga helped Josefa de Cortesena and his son Antonio

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49 Archivo Diocesano de Calahorra [ADC], 27/82/4.
50 ADC, 27/556/13.
51 AHFB, JTB0532/006.

with the Spanish language in 1785, when mother and son started a criminal process against Juan Bautista de Gaubeca, and the three of them lived in Meñaca.[52]

E Commercial Relationships

On the other hand, it is essential to mention the House of Trade of Bilbao, or in Spanish *Consulado y Casa de Contratación de Bilbao*. This merchant institution was founded in 1511 by Queen Joanna I, daughter and heiress of Isabella I and Ferdinand II, the Catholic Monarchs, and it controlled all the commerce from the Northern Spain.[53] Consequently there was a high number of foreign merchants, such as French, Irish or English.[54] So it is possible to see that the public notaries had to translate not only from Spanish to Basque, but also to other languages. For example, in 1674 Antonio de Salcedo, who worked in the *Consulado*, made translations into Latin and other languages, and he earned 8 reales,[55] while in 1798 Manuel de Ibarrola, who was a public notary in Bilbao, was involved as translator in the trial between the Italian Giuseppe Travi and the French Louis Guerin.[56]

But not only Bilbao played a significant role in the commerce. Lequeitio is a coastal town, and it had been used since Middle Ages by the shipping industry which headed to England and Flanders.[57] Some of the public notaries who lived in this town also spoke more than one language; for instance, in 1726, Antonio de Oriosolo made a translation of the document which contained all the sugar, cocoa, canvas, paper, and wax carried by the ship "Carlos María" which headed to the French city of Nantes.[58]

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52 AHFB, JTB0564/002.

53 Jean Philippe Priotti, *Bilbao y sus mercaderes en el siglo XVI. Génesis de un crecimiento* (Bilbao: Diputación Foral de Bizkaia, 1984), 33.

54 Ofelia Rey Castelao, "Los extranjeros en la cornisa cantábrica durante la Edad Moderna," *Los extranjeros en la España Moderna: actas del I Coloquio Internacional*, ed. María Begoña Villar García and, Pilar Pezzi Cristóbal (Madrid: Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación, 2003), 23 58; here 26 27.

55 AHFB, Consulado 0058/006.

56 AHFB, JCR2937/018.

57 José Luis Orella Unzué, "Relaciones mercantiles vascas entre la Edad Media y el Renacimiento," *Lurralde: investigación y espacio* 39 (2016): 107 98; here 126.

58 AHFB, JTB0907/013.

Some Final Ideas

Public notaries were legal officers who had been (and are) deeply studied by the European and American historiography. This interest lies in the important role they played on the administration of the early modern age. Public notaries were the depositaries of the public faith and were in charge of writing and authenticating documents that had been drawn up in accordance to legal requirements. In addition, public notaries fulfilled a guiding function for individuals who were part of the contracts and documents, since the public notaries served as a bridge because they were the communication channel with the early modern people; they described, explained and even translated documents to that illiterate society.

This paper is predicated on Peter Burke's concept of "social history of language," that is, the use of language as a source for social history. In this case, the question pertains to how Basque public notaries used their language to communicate with the vast monolingual Basque population.

It is indisputable that the use of Basque language in that society was omnipresent; whether it was spoken by men or women, in urban or rural areas, whether in the sixteenth or eighteenth centuries. During those years, public notaries not only translated from Spanish to Basque and vice versa, but also communicated in both languages, since they had to explain the legal content to those who were unfamiliar with the Spanish and French idioms. This fact, as we have seen, occurred in a wide variety of situations, such as divorces, enclosed conventual ceremonies or trade. There is no doubt that those translations slowed down the trials or the signing of documents.

Finally, although it is not the aim of this paper, it must be said that, as we approach the nineteenth century, the use of the Basque language was in decline, which was greatly accentuated by the economic, social and political changes of that period. Those changes had such an impact that nowadays public notaries do no longer carry out translations tasks because Basque inhabitants speak Spanish or French without any problem. Furthermore, today Basque is the language that is not spoken by the entire Basque population, in obvious contrast to the previous situation as I have outlined it above.

Chiara Benati

Preventing Miscommunication: Early Modern German Surgeons as Specialized Translators

Abstract: Surgical texts all aim at clarity and accuracy since any misunderstanding could have severe consequences for both the patient's health and the practitioner's reputation. In early modern German surgical literature, the rendering of specialized terminology is particularly relevant in this respect. In this study, three case studies from the Low German (manuscript and printed) surgical tradition are presented and discussed, in order to highlight the strategies adopted by their authors to translate foreign language sources and convey a fully clear and unequivocal message.

Keywords: Surgical texts, Low German, vernacular into vernacular translation, specialized terminology

Whether original, compiled from pre-existing authoritative sources, or translated from another language, all surgical texts must be absolutely accurate and clear, since any misunderstanding can have severe consequences for both the patient's health and the practitioner's reputation. In the context of early modern German medical literature, which continues to be strongly indebted to the Latin tradition,[1] a source of misunderstandings is certainly represented by the lack of an established vernacular specialized terminology. For this reason, Latin (and Greek) terms still play a fundamental role in identifying key concepts. This phenomenon has been described by Uwe Pörksen on the basis of the language of Paracelsus's lectures, introducing the metaphor of the "half-timbered" language (German *Fachwerksprache*): the universally recognized and crystallized medical

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[1] On this, see Uwe Pörksen, "Paracelsus als wissenschaftlicher Schriftsteller: Ist die deutsche Sachprosa eine Lehnbildung der lateinischen Schriftkultur?" *Wissenschaftssprache und Sprachkritik: Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Uwe Pörksen. Forum für Fachsprachen Forschung, 22 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1994), 37 83; here 37; reprinted in Uwe Pörksen, *Zur Geschichte deutscher Wissenschaftssprachen: Aufsätze, Essays, Vorträge und die Abhandlung "Erkenntnis und Sprache in Goethes Naturwissenschaft,"* ed. Jürgen Schiewe. Lingua academica, 5 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2020), 233 74.

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vocabulary of classical origin represents a warranty against any misunderstanding possibly arising from the use of the still precarious and arbitrary German terminology.[2] As the wooden scaffold constitutes the bearing structure of half-timbered houses (German: *Fachwerkhäuser*), in fact, classical loanwords represent the terminological skeleton of vernacular medical and surgical literature.

In this study I will focus on the still quite rare – and consequently seldom studied[3] – phenomenon of translations from one vernacular into another, discussing three case studies from the Low German early modern surgical tradition, in order to highlight the strategies adopted by their authors to translate High German sources and convey a fully clear and unequivocal message. Despite the geographical contiguity of the two language areas, mutual understanding could, in fact, pose a problem for early modern speakers of High and Low German, as witnessed by contemporary rhetorical sources emphasizing the need of a translator, e.g., when a Bavarian and a Saxon wanted to communicate speaking their own language:

> Eyn schryuer welker land art de in dŭdescher nation geboren is scal sik to vor vth vlytighen dat he ock ander dudesch / dan als men in sinem lande singet / schryuen lesen vnd vorne men mach. Also is he Franck / Swob / Beyer / Rhynlender [...] schal ok sechsischer / mer kischer sprake eyns deels vorstant hebben Des ghelyken wedderumme is eyner eyn Saß merker [...] he schal sick des hochduzschen mit vlytigen. dan eynem berŏmeden schryuer kommet mannicherleye volkes tor hant / vnd asdan eyn yowelker wolde edder scolde sin gen alse em de snauel ghewassen were / so bedorfft men wol twisschen eynem Beyern vnde Sassen eynes tŏlken.[4]

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2 Pörksen, "Paracelsus als wissenschaftlicher Schriftsteller" (see note 1), 65.

3 Studies dealing with the practice of translation in the Middle Ages and early modern times take into consideration almost exclusively Latin vernacular translations. See, for example, Bernd Weitemeier, "Translation and the Role of the Vernacular Languages in Medieval Europe," *Übersetzung   Translation   Traduction: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Übersetzungsfor schung*, ed. Harald Kittel et al. Handbücher zur Sprach und Kommunikationswissenschaft, 26.2 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 1280 95; Roger Wright, "Translation and the Role of Latin in Medieval Europe," *Übersetzung   Translation   Traduction: Ein interna tionales Handbuch zur Übersetzungsforschung*, 1263 70. On this, see also Isabelle Pantin, "The Role of Translations in European Scientific Exchanges in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centu ries," *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Burke and R. Po chia Hsia (Cam bridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 163 79.

4 *Tytel boek* (Braunschweig: Hans Dorn, after 1508), fol. A2v. See also Robert Möller, *Regionale Schreibsprachen im überregionalen Schriftverkehr: Empfängerorientierung in den Briefen des Köl ner Rates im 15. Jahrhundert.* Rheinisches Archiv: Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für geschicht liche Landeskunde der Rheinlande der Universität Bonn, 139 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1998), 4, and Ursula Götz, *Die Anfänge der Grammatikschreibung des Deutschen*

[An author, wherever he was born in the German nation, must apply himself to writing, reading and understanding also the variants of German which are different from the one sung in his own land. For this reason, if he is Franconian, Swabian, Bavarian, Rhenish etc. he must also understand, at least partially, the Saxon language or the one of the Mark Brandenburg. Similarly, a scribe from Saxony or from the Mark Brandenburg etc. will have to learn High German. In fact, a famous author meets many people and if he wants or needs to say exactly what comes into his head as anyone else, he will need an interpreter, as it is the case between a Bavarian and a Saxon.]

Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Buch der Cirurgia* and its Low German Translation (Rostock, 1518)

The first case study taken into consideration is the Low German 1518 Rostock edition of Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Buch der Cirurgia*, the *Buch der Cirurgia, Hantwirckung der wundartzny von Hyeronimo Brunschwig* (first edition: Straßburg 1497). It is the first surgical handbook printed in Germany and can be described as a compilation of authoritative sources, assembled by its author – the travelling surgeon and (pseudo)chemist[5] Hieronymus Brunschwig – for a didactic purpose, as stated in its preface.[6]

The high frequency of Latin loanwords in Brunschwig's language, which has also been noticed by Habermann,[7] indicates that the surgeon adopted the strat-

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in Formularbüchern des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts: Fabian Frangk Schryfftspiegel Johann Elias Meichsner (Heidelberg: Winter Universitätsverlag, 1992), 189.

5 See also Ludwig Choulant, *Graphische Incunabeln für Naturgeschichte und Medicin* (Leipzig: Weigel, 1958), 75; and Friedrich Wieger, *Geschichte der Medizin und ihrer Lehranstalten in Strassburg* (Straßburg: Trübner, 1885), 13.

6 *Das Buch der Cirurgia des Hieronymus Brunschwig*, ed. Gustav Klein (Munich: Kuhn, 1911), 4: "diß aller cleinste buchlin dz ich Iheronimus brunschiwg burtig von strassburgk des geslecktz von saulern mit fliß und erst zů samen bracht hab von vil gelertten unnd gutten meistern und dz wort das die alten gesprochen unnd dar zů gelert hant" (I Hieronymus Brunschwig, born in Straßburg and belonging to the line of the Sauler   have compiled this small booklet with diligence on the basis of the most cultivated and best masters, of the old tradition and teaching). See also Chiara Benati, "Coping with a Foreign Language for Specific Purposes in the Early Sixteenth Century: The Low German Translation of Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Buch der Cirurgia*," *Languages for Specific Purposes in History*, ed. Nolwena Monnier (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2018), 74 92; here 74 75.

7 Mechthild Habermann, "Latinismen in deutschen Fachtexten der frühen Neuzeit," *Eurolatein: Das griechische und lateinische Erbe in den europäischen Sprachen*, ed. Horst Haider Munske and Alan Kirkness. Reihe Germanistische Linguistik, 169 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1996), 12 46; here 17.

egy described by Pörksen. Moreover, the analysis of the distribution of these loanwords has cast further light on how this strategy is employed in the handbook. Latin (and Greek) terms, in fact, are usually coupled with their vernacular equivalent(s) and these bilingual synonymic couples are used more frequently than necessary to make the expected readers of the German handbook, most likely surgeons-to-be without classical university education, familiar with them.[8]

Particularly interesting is, therefore, the analysis of the language of the Middle Low German translation of Brunschwig's surgical compendium, which was printed by Ludwig Dietz in Rostock in 1518 and which is transmitted in three copies preserved in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Jg 3484; Schwerin, Landesbibliothek von Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Rara HSt VII 754, and Copenhagen, Kongelige bibliotek, barcode 20002339. The Low German translation, which is entitled *Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye. yn latin geheten Cirurgia*,[9] contains no reference to the identity of its Low German translator. According to Lisch, the court physician Dr. Rembertus Giltzheim could have brought the High German surgical manual to Rostock.[10] Considering that in 1519 Giltzheim published with Dietz the *Liber collectionum Aphorismorum Hypocratis*, it seems reasonable that Giltzheim himself could have been in charge of the Low German rendering of Brunschwig's work.

Nevertheless, Giltzheim, or whoever translated the *Buch der Cirurgia*, had to face a particularly challenging task. Not only, in fact, did he have to deal with the lack of vernacular specialized terminology and with his expected readers' scarce familiarity with the classical ones, but he also had to render the vernacular terminology of the High German original into Low German, a language, which was genetically related, extremely similar to, but not necessarily mutually intelligible with Brunschwig's.[11] The systematic contrastive analysis of the semantic fields of

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8 On this, see Chiara Benati, "Bilingual Glosses in Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Buch der Cirurgia*. A Handbook as Source for Historical Surgical Terminology," *Yesterday's Words: Contemporary, Current and Future Lexicography*, ed. Marijke Mooijaart and Marijke van der Wal (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars' Press, 2008), 124 37, and Chiara Benati, "Coppie sinonimiche bilingui nel lessico del *Buch der Cirurgia* di Hieronymus Brunschwig," *Schola Salernitana Annali* 9 (2006): 301 29.

9 This title appears, together with a woodcut representing the so called "wound man," on the first page of the Schwerin copy, whereas the title page is missing in the Copenhagen and Berlin copies. See also Chiara Benati, Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye *und der niederdeutsche chirurgi sche Fachwortschatz*. Göppingen Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 771 (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 2012), 10.

10 Georg Christian Friedrich Lisch, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Mecklenburg bis zum Jahre 1540* (Schwerin: Stiller'schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1839), 154.

11 See also Benati, "Coping with a Foreign Language" (see note 6), 78.

anatomy, pathology, technique, and instruments in both the *Buch der Cirurgia* and its Low German translation has shown that the surgical terminology of the two works is very similar, but not identical. If, on the one hand, most of the specialized terms employed in the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye* are cognate with their High German counterparts and can be distinguished from them almost exclusively on the basis of the different phonological evolution of the two languages (e. g., the absence of the High German *Lautverschiebung* or the monophthongization of the High German diphthongs), on the other the comparative investigation of the two texts has revealed a series of significant terminological differences, all ultimately lying with the Low German translator's wish to avoid miscommunication.

The evaluation of these differences between the specialized terminology of the two texts can cast some light on the strategies adopted in the Low German translation of Brunschwig's surgical handbook in order to convey a message which is, at the same time, faithful to the original diction and fully understandable to the readers.

In particular, if the target language, i. e., Low German, knows a consolidated term to describe a given concept, this is used to replace the original High German diction. This strategy is not particularly common in the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye*, where it is usually applied to anatomical terms, such as MLG *bregen* "brain" (vs. HG *hirn*),[12] *bregenpanne* "braincase" (vs. HG *hirnschal*),[13] *ters* "penis" (vs. HG *zagel*).[14] The substitution of the original term is not always systematic. In some

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12 See, for example, Benati, Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye (see note 9), 26: "Wente by deme rŭgghen ghån vele kleyner dynghe vnde gheleedere de na der lenghe des rŭgghens nedder ghaen van deme breggen beth tho den beenen." vs. *Das Buch der Cirurgia* (see note 6), 19: "wann by dem rück*en* gond vil cleiner ding vnnd gedeer die noch der lenge des rückens nider gond von dem hirn biß zŭ de*n* beine*n*" (Because many small things and vessels go down along the back from the brain to the legs). See also Benati "Coping with a Foreign Lan guage" (see note 6), 80.

13 See, for example, Benati, Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye (see note 9), 25: "Sŭstu denne vth dem*e* rijß ychteswat quellen / so ys de rijß wol dorchghån dorch den tobrake*n* knaken d*er* bre gen pannen / de ys denne tobraken vn*d* to reten." vs. *Das Buch der Cirurgia* (see note 4), 18: "Sichstu dan vß dem riß etwz quellen / so ist der riß wol durch ga*n*gen durch das zerbrochenn bein vn*d* die hirnschal ist zerbrochenn vnd zerrissen." (If you see something flow from the wound, then the wound has gone through the broken bone and the braincase is broken and torn). See also Benati "Coping with a Foreign Language" (see note 6), 79   80.

14 See, for example, Benati, Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye (see note 9), 132: "Dath .xxiiij. cap ittel des drudden Tractates wert seggen vn*d* leren van der cur vnde heelinge der wunden des Terses / vn*d* der Hoden." vs. *Das Buch der Cirurgia* (see note 4), 162: "Das .XXIIII. Capitel diß drytten tractatz würt sagen vo*n* der cur vnnd heylung der wunden des zagels vnnd der

cases, in fact, the Low German native word is inserted in the text to make its High German equivalent unambiguous. This is what happens, for example, with the MLG noun *knake* "bone," which can be used alone to replace HG *bein* or the collective *gebein*, or in association with the phonologically adapted ("Low-Germanized") forms *been* and *gebeen*.[15]

If, on the other hand, no native term is available or if it is cognate with the High German one, the latter is borrowed and – if necessary – adapted to the Low German phonological and graphemic habits, see, for example, the LG *beenbrŏke* and HG *bein bruch* "fracture."[16] The same is also true for the Latin (and Greek) specialized terms present in Brunschwig's original. Every time these – High German or classical – loanwords are perceived as potentially ambiguous, they are clarified in some way. The clarification strategies adopted in these circumstances include the juxtaposition with a synonym, the paraphrasing and/or exemplification, the specification through the insertion of a dependent genitive, prepositional phrase or through the substitution of a simplex with a compound. In some cases, metalinguistic comments can also be added by the Low German translator.

The above-mentioned use of the Low German native term *knake* combined with HG *bein* or *gebein* constitutes an example of the juxtaposition with a synonym.[17] Further examples are represented by the Low German renderings of HG *schleff* "temple," *schulter bein* "shoulder bone" and *geschwulst* "swelling, tumescence":

> ist es aber bi de*n* <u>schleffen</u> bis vf die hirn schal so ist es ein grose blůt runß gar nach ein cleine wund.[18]

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hoden." (The twenty fourth chapter of this third treatise deals with the therapy of the wounds of the penis and the testicles).

15 See, for example, Benati, Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye (see note 9), 31: "vn*d* ys nicht dorch dat been efte knake*n* / dar ys eine kleyne wu*n*de" vs. *Das Buch der Cirurgia* (see note 4), 25: "vn*d* ist nit durch dz bein das ist ein cleine wund" (And if it is not through the bone, it is a small wound). See also Benati, "Coping with a Foreign Language" (see note 6), 79.

16 See, for example, Benati, Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye (see note 7), 58: "so volghe na alße yk dy leren wyl yn dem*e* capittel van den beenbrŏken an vorseringe des flesches." vs. *Das Buch der Cirurgia* (see note 4), 61: "So folg nach als ich dich leren will in dem capitel von den bein brüchenn on v*er*serung des fleisches" (And follow what I will teach you in the chapter about fractures without lesion of the flesh).

17 On this, see also Werner Besch and Thomas Klein, "Einleitung," *Der Schreiber als Dolmetsch: Sprachliche Umsetzungstechniken beim binnensprachlichen Texttransfer in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Werner Besch and Thomas Klein. *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 127, Sonderheft (2008): 1 7; here 3 4.

18 *Das Buch der Cirurgia* (see note 6), 24.

Is yd auer by deme <u>slape</u> (dat js by der <u>dünninge*n*</u>) wente vp de bregenpanne / so ys yd eyn groet blotmål gar na eyne kleyne wunde.[19]

[If it is near the temple up to the braincase, it is a great lesion and no small wound.]

Das sybende capitel des funfften dractatz seit do eym das <u>schulter bein</u> zerbrochen ist.[20]
Dat .vij. Capittel des vesten Tractates wert seggen van bröken des <u>schulder knoken effte schulderbeens</u>.[21]

[The seventh chapter of the fifth treatise deals with the fracture of the shoulder bone.]

So ist billichen das do wird ein <u>geschwulst</u>[22]
So ys byllick dat dar werde eyn <u>geswulst</u> / efte eyne <u>swellinge (swyllent)</u>[23]

[A swelling is likely to develop]

The same technique is adopted for the Greek noun *cirurgicus,* "surgeon," which is repeatedly combined with its vernacular counterpart *wundenartzste*, even when the High German original only uses the classical loanword.[24] In this respect, the Low German translator clearly follows the example of Brunschwig's original and avails himself of synonyms to make sure that specific terms are understood correctly.

When the term used in the High German original or its Low German adaptation cannot be clarified with a single synonym, it can be paraphrased or explained through the insertion of an example.[25] This technique is used, for example, to render HG *schin bein* "shinbone":

Das achtvndzwentzig capittel dis dritte*n* dractat wurt sagen von den wunden die do geschehen oder geschehen sint in den <u>schin beinen</u>.[26]

[The twenty eighth chapter of this treatise deals with the wounds, which happen or have happened in the shinbones.]

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19 Benati, Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye (see note 9), 30.
20 *Das Buch der Cirurgia* (see note 6), 199.
21 Benati, Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye (see note 9), 157.
22 *Das Buch der Cirurgia* (see note 6), 19.
23 Benati, Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye (see note 9), 26.
24 See, for example, Benati, Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye (see note 9), 22: "Dat erste capittel is van der ordenynge desser kunst Cyrurgia. Vnde de schicklicheyt des Cirurgicus (des wunden artzsten) wo syk de holden schal yn d*er* hantwerkynge der wundenartzstedye" vs. *Das Buch der Cirurgia* (see note 6), 13: "Hie vacht an das erst capitel das da vß wiset die ordnu*n*g der Cirurgia vnd die schicklicheit deß zyrurgicus wie sich der halten sol in der hantwirckunk der wu*n*d Art zeny" (Here begins the first chapter which shows the categorization of surgery and the skill of the surgeon, how he should behave when practicing surgery).
25 On this, see also Benati, "Coping with a Foreign Language" (see note 6), 83 85.
26 *Das Buch der Cirurgia* (see note 6), 170.

> Dath xxviij. capittel des drudde*n* Tractates secht va*n* den wu*n*den des minschen dede scheen yn de*n* <u>scheenbeene*n* / dat ys been vnd*er* dem knee</u>.[27]

[The twenty eighth chapter of this treatise deals with the human wounds happening in the shinbones, which are the bones under the knee.]

Once again, the translator clarifies the original term adopting the same strategy used by Brunschwig in the High German handbook. An analogous clarification can, in fact, be found there for the term *diehen* "thigh bones":

> Das .XXVI. Capittel dis dritten tractates seit von den wunden die do geschen oder gesche hen sindt in den <u>diehen das sint die grossen end obwendig der knü</u>.[28]

[The twenty sixth chapter of this third chapter deals with the wounds which happen or have happened in the thighs, which are the large extremities above the knee.]

In this case, the Low German translator reproduces the structure term+paraphrase present in the High German original, even though the semantics of this paraphrase does not coincide with Brunschwig's:

> Dat .xxvj. capittel des drudden Tractates secht van den wu*n*de*n* dede scheen in den <u>deen /</u> <u>dat sint de beene bouen de*n* kneen: de groten ende wente an de arßballen</u>.[29]

[The twenty sixth chapter of this third chapter deals with the wounds which happen in the thighs, which are the bones above the knees, the large extremities up to the glutei.]

When the potential risk of misunderstanding lies in the vagueness of the High German term, the Low German translator specifies its meaning either through the insertion of a dependent genitive or of a prepositional phrase,[30] or through the substitution of *simplicia* with compounds. The latter is, for example, the case of the HG verb *lassen* "to puncture a vein" and of its cognate noun *leß* "bloodletting," which are rendered as MLG *aderlaten*[31] and *aderlatinge*,[32] respectively.

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27 Benati, Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye (see note 9), 136.
28 *Das Buch der Cirurgia* (see note 6), 166.
29 Benati, Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye (see note 9), 135.
30 On this, see also Benati, "Coping with a Foreign Language" (see note 6), 85.
31 See, for example, Benati, Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye (see note 9), 109: "Wyl he syck denne nicht aderlaten / so werde em doch geset kȯppe" vs. *Das Buch der Cirurgia* (see note 6), 131: "Wolt er aber nit lassen so werden im doch kȯpff oder vintusenn gesetzet" (If he does not want to be punctured, then place cupping glasses onto him).
32 See, for example, Benati, Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye (see note 9), 165: "vn*d* de aderla tinge gescheen sint." vs. *Das Buch der Cirurgia* (see note 6), 210: "vn*d* die ader leß beschehe*n* sint." (And the bloodletting has taken place).

In one case, in front of a clear terminological divergence between High and Low German, the translator of the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye* does not simply replace the original term with its equivalent, but he also includes a metalinguistic consideration about this difference: cupping glasses, which in the Low German language area are known as *stůyekȯppe*, in High German are called *vyntause* or *schreppen*.[33]

Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney* and the Low German *Velt bock* (Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1663 4to)

A different form of reception and translation of a High German surgical manual in the Low German language area is constituted by the fragment of a Low German translation of Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney* (1517) transmitted in Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1663 4to, fol. 15r–86v (first half of the sixteenth century). Despite the typological, linguistic and chronological similarities between Brunschwig's and von Gersdorff's works – both are compilations of late antique and medieval authorities, both were printed in Straßburg over a timespan of twenty years[34] – their Low German versions differ significant-

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33 Benati, Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye (see note 9), 63: "Dar vmme ghebůth Lankfrancus / oek de anderen Cirurgici dar vp to setten eyn grote vyntausen / dat ys / stůyekȯppe / dat vth ghetaghen werde de veelheyt des blodes / wente stůyekȯppe heeten j*n de*me hoch důdeschen Vintausen / oek heetent schreppen." vs. *Das Buch der Cirurgia* (see note 4), 68: "Dar vm*b* gebütet lanckfrancus ouch die and*ern* cirurgicus / dar vff zů setze*n* ein grosse vintusen / d*a*z vß gezogen wird die ville del plůtz" (For this reason, Lanfrank and other surgeons prescribe to place a large cupping glass onto it in order to extract the excess of blood).
34 On Hans von Gersdorff and his *Feldtbuch*, see also Melanie Panse, *Hans von Gersdorffs 'Feldtbuch der Wundarznei': Produktion, Präsentation und Rezeption von Wissen.* Trierer Beiträge zu den historischen Kulturwissenschaften, 7 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2012), 27 35; Jan Frederik sen, "Johannes (Hans) von Gersdorff (Schielhans)," *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Ver fasserlexikon.* Vol. 4: *Hildegard von Hürnheim Koburger, Heinrich,* ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1983), 626 30; Chiara Benati, "The Field Surgery Manual Which Became a Medical Commonplace Book: Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney* (1517) Translated into Low German," *Bodily and Spiritual Hygiene in Medieval and Early Modern Literature: Explorations of Textual Presentations of Filth and Water*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Funda mentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 19 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 501 27; here 502 06.

ly.[35] While, in fact, the definition "translation" perfectly fits the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye*, it only partially describes the transformation undergone by von Gersdorff's surgical manual in the Copenhagen manuscript. Here the *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney* is not only translated into Low German, but also – and mainly – inserted into a larger context belonging to a different medical genre: the commonplace book.[36] Moreover, the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye* is a complete translation meant for sale and for a wide circulation in the community of healthcare practitioners, whereas the sixteenth-century parts of the Copenhagen manuscript constitute the private scrapbook of a person competent and active in the medical practice, wishing to keep records of the most interesting and useful indications found during his reading of specialized sources. Hence the fragmentary nature of his *Velt bock*, which only includes those parts of the High German field source manual that the anonymous compiler of GKS 1663 4[to] considered worthy of transcribing for later reference.[37]

Nevertheless, the two Low German translators are equally concerned with the risks and the consequences of miscommunication in medical field and adopt analogous strategies to deal with the rendering of specialized terminology. As in the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye*, all potentially ambiguous terms from von Gersdorff's field surgery manual are clarified in some way. The most common clarification strategy is constituted by the insertion of a contextual, interlinear, or marginal explanatory gloss including a synonym or a paraphrase of the original High German (or classical) term, which is usually maintained as such, or in a phonologically adapted form. This technique is usually adopted even when the Low German language has a consolidated alternative to the original diction. This is, for example, the case of anatomical terms like HG *bein* "bone," *hirn* "brain," *schlaf* "temple," *stirn* "forehead," which in the 1518 Rostock print are often replaced with their Low German equivalent.

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35 See also Chiara Benati, "The Translations of Brunschwig's *Cirurgia* and von Gersdorff's *Feldt buch der Wundarzney* into Low German: Reception and Transmission of Scientific Texts in 16th century Germany," *Literature, Science & Religion: Textual Transmission and Translation in Medi eval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Manel Bellmunt Serrano and Joan Mahiques Climent. Proble mata literaria, 88 (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2020), 23 42.

36 On this, see Benati, "The Field Surgery Manual" (see note 33), and Chiara Benati, *Die nieder deutsche Fassung des* Feldtbuch*s der Wundarzney* in Kopenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1663 4°: Edition und Kommentar. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 787 (Göppingen: Kümmerle Ver lag, 2017), 11 12, where a description of the manuscript and of its content is provided.

37 See also Benati, "The Field Surgery Manual" (see note 33), 526.

so syh dz du nit mit dem <u>beine</u> in das fell dura mater stechst. dan*n* es ist dǒdtlich.[38]
So see dy wol vore. dattu nycht myt deme <u>knake*n*</u> in dat fel Dura mater stekest, wente dat iß dotlik.[39]
[Be careful not to stick the bone in the membrane *dura mater* because it is fatal.]

Von den zeychen der verserung des <u>hirns</u>[40]
Van den teken der vorseringe deß <u>hirnß edder bregenß</u>[41]
[On the signs of brain lesions]

Zwo aderen an beyden enden des <u>schlafs</u> geschlagen ist gůt wider den schmertzen der oren[42]
Two aderen by den enden deß <u>slapeß edder dunninge</u> geslagen: iß gut wedder den smerten der oren[43]
[Puncturing the two arteries on both sides of the temple is indicated against earache]

Die ader mitten an der <u>stirnen</u> geschlagen ist gůt für all apostematen der augen[44]
De ader am <u>sterne edder vorhouede</u> geslagen iß gut vor alle apostemen der ogen[45]
[Letting the artery in the forehead is good for all swellings of the eyes]

Die adern der lefftzen geschlagen / ist gůt wider die apostematen des mundes vnd der <u>büller</u> / vnd auch des fleisches in dem die zån gewurtzelt seint[46]
[Letting the arteries of the lips is indicated against the swelling of the mouth and of the palate and also of the flesh, in which the teeth are rooted]

De aderen der lippen geslagen iß gut wedder de apostemen deß mundeß vnd der <u>buler</u> wee. Ok wedder deß flesscheß dar de tenen ingewortelt sint: <u>buler: dat is dat gagel vnd dat tenen fleisch.</u>[47]

[Letting the arteries of the lips is indicated against the swelling of the mouth and the pain of the *buler* and also of the flesh, in which the teeth are rooted. *Buler* are the palate and the gums.]

Not only anatomical nouns, but also terms referring to the symptoms of a specific condition or to the therapeutic process are clarified in this way:

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38 Hans von Gersdorff, *Feldtbuch der Wundarznei*, mit einem Vorwort zum Neudruck von Johannes Steudel (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967), fol. XXIIIIr.
39 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 77.
40 von Gersdorff, *Feldtbuch der Wundarznei* (see note 37), fol. XIXv.
41 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 70.
42 von Gersdorff, *Feldtbuch der Wundarznei* (see note 37), fol. XIVv.
43 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 19.
44 von Gersdorff, *Feldtbuch der Wundarznei* (see note 37), fol. XIVv.
45 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 19.
46 von Gersdorff, *Feldtbuch der Wundarznei* (see note 37), fol. XIVv.
47 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 19.

> Ein ader in der hōly der oren zů beyden siten geschlage*n* / ist gůt für dz zyttere*n* des haubts[48]
>
> Ene ader in den holen der oren to by siden geslagen iß gut vor dat zitteren edder beuen deß houedeß[49]
>
> [Letting the vessel in conch of the ear on both sides is indicated against the tremor of the head]
>
> Ein ader bey den naßlocheren geschlagen <u>purgiert</u> das haubt[50]
>
> Ene ader vnde by den nesze holer geslagen <u>reyniget</u> da houeth[51]
>
> [Puncturing an artery near the nostrils cleans the head]

The above-mentioned examples of terminological clarifications are integrated in the main text, which suggests they are simultaneous with its writing. Sometimes, however, a synonym is inserted – by the same hand – between the lines of the main text or on the margin, possibly at a later stage. The insertion of these interlinear or marginal glosses is most likely the result of a later reconsideration of previous translational choices. In some cases, this reconsideration simply involves an update of the spelling to better fit Low German phonology. See, for example:

> Nim <u>dürre</u> entzian wurtzel[52]
> Nym <u>turre</u> ^{drogen} Encian wortel[53]
> [Take dried gentian root]
>
> vnd die wunden von dem <u>schrepffen</u> sollen gereiniget werden[54]
> vnd de wu*n*den van den <u>scrapfen</u> ^{scrapen} scolt gereyniget werden[55]
> [And the wounds of the scarification must be cleaned]

Other, less common, clarification strategies employed in the *Velt bock* are the transformation of compounds into noun+genitive structures (e. g., HG *hirndobig-*

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48 von Gersdorff, *Feldtbuch der Wundarznei* (see note 37), fol. XIVv.

49 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 19.

50 von Gersdorff, *Feldtbuch der Wundarznei* (see note 37), fol. XIVv.

51 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 19.

52 von Gersdorff, *Feldtbuch der Wundarznei* (see note 37), fol. LXIIr.

53 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 30.

54 von Gersdorff, *Feldtbuch der Wundarznei* (see note 37), fol. LXIIIv.

55 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 33.

keit "numbness of the brain, lethargy" > *dauendicheit deß bregenß*)[56] and the substitution with a hyponym (e. g. HG *lauament* "cleanser" > *water* "water").[57]

Otto Brunfels's *Wunterzenîbüchelîn* (1528) and its Low German Version in Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1663 4to

The Copenhagen manuscript GKS 1663 4to provides another significant example of High-Low German translation: the Low German version of Otto Brunfels's *Wunterzenîbüchelîn* on fol. 63v–73v. This text, published for the first time by Christian Egenolff in Straßburg in 1528, constitutes the latest early modern translation of Lanfranc of Milan's (1250–ca. 1315) *Chirurgia parva* into High German. Brunfels's translation is completely independent from the previous ones. Nevertheless, its author seems to have run out of time toward the end of the work and partly copied out the vernacular version of Lanfranc's *antidotarium* which had been inserted in Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney.*[58]

Just as von Gersdorff's field surgery manual, Brunfels's work has not been entirely translated by the Low German compiler of GKS 1663 4[to], who selected

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56 See, for example, von Gersdorff, *Feldtbuch der Wundarznei* (see note 37), fol. XIVv: "Die ader mitten an der stirne*n* geschlagen ist gůt [...] wid*er* frenesim *.id est* hirnwůtung / oder hirndobig keit" vs. Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 33), 19: "De ader am sterne edder vor houede gelagen iß gut [...] wedder dat frenesiam Dat iß deß hirnß edder bregenß wedage edder dauendicheit deß bregenß" (Letting the artery in the forehead is good against frenzy or lethargy).

57 See, for example, von Gersdorff, *Feldtbuch der Wundarznei* (see note 35), fol. LXIv: "Ein gůt lauament domit man die fysteln weschen sol" vs. Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 28: "En water dar ma*n* de fisteln mede wascht" (A cleanser to wash fistulas with).

58 Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva* had already been translated into High German twice before the publication of Brunfels' booklet. The oldest of these translations (1446 ca. 1448) is preserved in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. Lat. 1117, fol. 226v 240r, whereas a slightly later one is transmitted in Kalocsa, Cathedral Library, Ms. 376, fol. 209v 234v (1472) and Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. B 32, fol. 193vb 251vb (1484). On this, see also Gundolf Keil and Rolf Müller, "Deutsche Lanfrank Übersetzungen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts: Zur Wer tung der Lanfrank Zitate in Brunschwigs 'Chirurgie'," *Medizingeschichte in unserer Zeit: Festgabe für Edith Heischkel Artelt und Walter Artelt zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Heinz Eulner, Gunter Mann, Gert Preiser, Rolf Winau, and Otto Winkelmann (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1971), 90 110; here 98, and Gundolf Keil, "Lanfrank von Mailand," *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon.* Vol. 5: *Kochberger, Johannes >Marien ABC<*, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1985), 560 72.

single chapters, passages and recipes according to his own professional interests and needs, without necessary following their order of appearance in his source. For this reason, this fragment of Low German translation of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva* begins with a long section on head wounds, how to diagnose and treat them, corresponding to the seventh chapter of the High German *Wunterzenîbüchelîn*. It then goes on with passages on simple wounds, cuts, nerve lesions, blood staunching, traumata causing damages to bones and vessels, abscesses, carbuncle and anthrax, the difference between wounds and ulcers, cancer, fistulas, ophthalmology and four recipes (a remedy to treat all kinds of wounds, a plaster, hypericum oil and a balm).[59] It is interesting to notice that none of these four recipes belongs to the portion of text which Brunfels copied from the collection of remedies listed in von Gersdorff's field surgery manual, possibly because the Low German translator is exclusively interested in those pieces of information which were not already included in the sources he has previously consulted, in this case in von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney*.

Moreover, on fol. 13r–14r, the Copenhagen manuscript contains the Low German adaptation of the glossary – *Außlegung der verlateinten vnd frembden wörter* ("Interpretation of Latinate and foreign words") – included in Brunfels's booklet.[60] As stated in the title, this short glossary consists of thirty-four lemmata, mainly verbs, in *a*-order. In GKS 1663 4to, this lemma list has been integrated with further fourteen Latinate verbs – all adapted to the Low German spelling and phonology – the headwords appearing in the plural form have been systematically replaced by the corresponding singular form and the definitions have been translated into Low German. The choice of transcribing this glossary rather than the three (*Vocabularius anatomie*, *Vocabularius infirmitatum*, *Vocabularius herbarum*) printed as an addendum to von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch* seems to suggest that the focus of the scrapbook is on the surgeon's actions and on the healing process, rather than on the acquisition of a detailed anatomical, pathological and pharmacopoeian nomenclature.[61] As far as pathological (and anatomical) terminology, however, one should remember that the Copenhagen manuscript contains another Latin-Low German glossary mainly dedicated to it, while the

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59 See also Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 183 84.

60 Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei des hoch berůmpten Lanfranci / auß fürbit des wol erfaren M. Gregorij Flüguß / Chyrurgen vnd Wundartzt zů Straßburg / durch Othonem Brunfels ver teutscht* (Straßburg: Christian Egenolphen, 1528), fol. Fiiiv.

61 See also Chiara Benati, "The Manuscript Version of Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney* in Copenhagen GKS 1663 4° and its Relation to the Printed Translation," *Text Anal yses and Interpretations: In Memory of Joachim Bumke*, ed. Sibylle Jefferis. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 776 (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 2013), 291 334; here 300 01.

complete absence, within the manuscript, of a reference text for medical herbs and plants is most likely to be explained by the assumption, based on some cross-references within the manuscript, that the original medical-surgical commonplace book included a herbal, which is now lost.[62]

Since the Low German fragment of the *Wunterzenîbüchelîn* is transmitted together with the *Velt bock* in the medical commonplace book of an anonymous Northern German surgeon, it constitutes the ideal basis for the investigation of how the terminological choices of a single individual are influenced by the sources he translates, their language and approach to specialized terminology. A comparison of the rendering of High German specialized surgical terms in both the *Velt bock* and the fragment of the *Wunterzenîbüchelîn* will, in fact, allow verifying if the strategies adopted to prevent miscommunication vary according to the source, e. g., if the insertion of bilingual synonymic glosses in the *Velt bock* somehow mirrors von Gersdorff's linguistic habit.

The analysis of the language of Brunfels's work has highlighted that it follows the pattern of the "half-timbered language" described by Pörksen[63] and relies on classical loanwords to express basic medical concepts. Nevertheless, the inclusion of the largest part of these foreign terms in the glossary at the end of the work (which is also advertised on the print's front page)[64] allows using them without necessarily translating them in the text. Similarly, in the Copenhagen manuscript the Low German translator tends to replace these loanwords with the equivalent provided in the glossary on fol. 13r–14r. This is usually the case of the Latinate verbs – and their cognate nouns and adjectives – referring to the various procedures a surgeon needs to perform or to the effects of the different remedies. See, for example:

> Mundificiern: reynigen[65]
> Mundificeren: reynigen[66]
> [*Mundificiern:* to cleanse]

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62 On this, see also Chiara Benati, "A Medical Dictionary for Personal Usage: The Latin Low German Glossary on fol. 179r 204r of Copenhagen, Royal Library, GKS 1663 4to," *Words Across History: Advances in Historical Lexicography and Lexicology*, ed. María Victoria Domínguez Rodrí guez, Alicia Rodríguez Álvarez, Gregorio Rodríguez Herrera, and Verónica C. Trujillo González (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Servicio de Publicaciones y Difusión Científica de la Universitad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 2016), 54 66; here 59.

63 See also Pörksen, "Paracelsus als wissenschaftlicher Schriftsteller" (see note 1), 65.

64 Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), front page.

65 Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Fiiiv.

66 Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1663 4to, fol. 14r.

Darnach leg ein <u>Mundificatiuum</u> druff vo*n* honig / mehl / vnd wasser / biß das es wol ger eynigt wirt[67]

Dar na: legge ene <u>reyininge</u> dar vp, van ho*n*nige mele vnde water: so lange dat ith wol ger eyninget wert[68]

[After that, place onto it a *mundificativum* made with honey, flour and water and keep it there until is it well cleansed.]

Incarniern: zů fleysch bringe*n*[69]

Incarneren: to flesche maken edder bringen[70]

[*Incarniern:* to cause flesh to grow]

vnnd ist etwa tieffe da / <u>incarniern</u>[71]

vnd iß dar ouerlanck dep to <u>flesch maken</u>[72]

[If it is deep, *incarniern.*]

This method is adopted consistently to render terms like HG *curiern* "to heal," *maturirn* "to maturate," *diet* "diet," which are translated as *helen*,[73] *ripe maken*[74] and *regyminte*[75] respectively, which suggests the Low German compiler of the Copenhagen manuscript feels confident in using the vernacular terms alone which, thanks to their presence in the glossary on fol. 13v–14v, can be traced back to their Latin equivalent and are, therefore, no longer so arbitrary and precarious. However, if we consider the rendering of HG *ventose* "cupping glass" the opposite reasoning seems to apply: thanks to the previously-established equivalence, it is safe to use the original term alone in the text.[76]

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67 Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Biiv.

68 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 101.

69 Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Fiiiv.

70 Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1663 4to, fol. 14r.

71 Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Biiir.

72 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 101.

73 See, for example, Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Biiir: "so sol tu sie curiern mit jrem widertei." See Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 101: "So scaltu se helen myt eren wedder parte" (You shall heal it with its opposite).

74 See for example Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Biiir: "sonder du solt es zůuor maturiern" vs. Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 101: "Sunder du scalt dat tho vorn ripe maken" (You should first maturate it instead).

75 See, for example, Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Aiiiv: "Setz jm ein Dietam mit essen vnd trincken" vs. Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 107: "make eme en regimynte myt eten vnde drincke*n*" (Put him on a diet as far as food and drink are con cerned).

76 Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Biiiv: "oder setz jm ein ventose" vs. Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 115: "edder sette eme ene ventoszen" (Or place a cupping glass).

Nevertheless, the inclusion of the glossary from Brunfels's booklet in the Copenhagen manuscript does not exclude the use of synonymic glosses in the Low German translation of the *Wunterzenîbüchelîn*. The juxtaposition with a synonym continues, in fact, to represent the most common clarification strategy for both loanwords and native HG terms:

Vngent: salbe[77]
Vngent offt Emplastrum: dat het plaster off Saluen[78]
[*Vngent:* balm]

in solichem <u>vngent</u> gefeuchtet[79]
vnd in sulken <u>vnguenten edder saluen</u> gevuchtet[80]
[and soaked in this balm]

Accidenß: zůfall[81]
Accidenß: en to val[82]
[*Accidens:* accident, complication]

Wo aber solich bǒß <u>Accidens</u> der wunden[83]
Were ouerst solcken <u>tho val edder an val</u> der wunden[84]
[If such a bad complication of the wound arises]

Pacient: siech / kranck[85]
Paciente: dat het de seke offt krancke de vor den arsten licht[86]
[*Patient:* patient / sick]

Ist der <u>pacient</u> starck vnnd iung[87]
Iß de <u>patiente edder de seke</u> starck vnd iu<*n*>gh[88]
[If the patient is strong and young]

So zum aller nåhsten berůrt das <u>bein</u>[89]
So tom alder negesten beror dat <u>beyn</u> ^{<u>knake</u>}[90]
[Next touch the bone]

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77 Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Fiiiv.
78 Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1663 4to, fol. 14v.
79 Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Bv.
80 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 100.
81 Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Fiiiv.
82 Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1663 4to, fol. 13v.
83 Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Biiir.
84 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 33), 101.
85 Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Fiiiv.
86 Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1663 4to, fol. 14r.
87 Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Biiiv.
88 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 115.
89 Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Aiiir.
90 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 106.

In the last example the original HG *bein* "bone" has been maintained in the Low German translation, but – at a later stage – its LG equivalent *knake* has been inserted as interlinear gloss. In other occurrences LG *knake* is used alone to translate HG *bein*.[91] Similarly, HG *hirnschal* "braincase" is often – but not always – replaced with the Ingaevonic compound *bregenpanne*,[92] as in both the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye* and the *Velt bock*.

Less common are other forms of intervention aimed at making sure that the message of the High German text is understandable beyond any doubt. These include the insertion of additional details to clarify the original diction and the substitution of anaphoric pronouns with the noun to which they refer:

> doch das <u>es</u> vor <u>außgetruckt</u> sei.[93]
> [but, before that, it should be wrung out]
>
> io doch scal <u>de dock</u> vor <u>vth gedruckt sin van deme meisten water</u>[94]
> [but, before that, the cloth should be wrung out from the largest part of the water.]
>
> so ist <u>sie</u> entzwey[95]
> [then it is broken]
>
> so iß <u>de hyrn scale</u> en twey[96]
> [then the braincase/skull is broken]
>
> nim du <u>jn</u> mit einer hand am anderen ort.[97]
> [take in the hand its other end]
>
> So ny*m* du <u>den snore</u> an den ander*en* ort edder ende[98]
> [then take in the hand the other end of the string]

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91 See for example Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 57), fol. Aiiiiv: "du habest dan*n* zuuir dem geletzen bein auch radt gethan" vs. Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 114: "Sunder du hebbest den to vorn de knake*n* vth geradet" (Unless you have already set the bone).
92 See for example Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Aiiiiv: "Es ein wunde sich begebe in dem kopff / vnnd die hirnschal" vs. Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 99: "Van den houet wunden. Vnde der bregen panne" (If there is a wound in the head and in the braincase).
93 Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Bv.
94 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 100.
95 Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Bv.
96 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 99.
97 Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartznei* (see note 59), fol. Bv.
98 Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 35), 99.

Conclusion

Medical and scientific texts are, according to Sabatini's classification, "highly binding and explicit," since they impose a rigid "interpretative constraint" (Italian *vincolo interpretativo*) on the reader who is decoding their message.[99] No room for personal interpretation and – possibly – misinterpretation can, in fact, be left if the patient's health and the practitioner's reputation depend on it. Nevertheless, for this interpretative constraint to be effective the text's message must be unambiguous and clear beyond any doubt, so that no misunderstanding can arise.

Since, in the context of early modern German medical and surgical literature, one of the most important sources of misunderstandings is represented by the lack of an established vernacular specialized terminology, the aim of this study was to show, on the basis of three significant examples of High-Low German translations of surgical texts, how early modern translators deal with this problem and, in a way, contribute to the development of a Low German medical and surgical language.

The analysis of the Low German translation of Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Buch der Cirurgia* printed in Rostock in 1518, as well as of the fragments of Low German translation of Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney* and Otto Brunfels's High German version of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia Parva* transmitted in Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1663 4[to] has shown that the translators' concern with the absolute accuracy of the target text is independent from the medium of transmission (manuscript vs. print), the expected circulation (private vs. for sale), and the approach to the source (integral translation vs. transformation into a commonplace book and translation). Despite the complete absence of metalinguistic and theoretical reflections,[100] in fact, both Low German

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99 Francesco Sabatini, "'Rigidità esplicitezza' vs 'elasticità implicitezza': possibili parametri massimi per una tipologia dei testi," *Linguistica Testuale Comparativa*, ed. Gunver Skytte and Francesco Sabatini (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1999), 141 72.

100 Bernhard Schnell, "Varianz oder Stabilität? Zu den Abschriften mittelalterlicher deutscher Medizinliteratur," *Der Schreiber als Dolmetsch: Sprachliche Umsetzungstechniken beim binnen sprachlichen Texttransfer in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Werner Besch and Thomas Klein. *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 127 (2008) *Sonderheft:* 27 47; here 30, underlines that the so called Jew of Salms is the only translator of medical works to have inserted some theo retical considerations in his works. At the end of his translations (transmitted in Zürich, Zentral bibliothek, Ms. C 4a, fol. 39vb), in fact, he addresses his readers in these terms: "Nv byeden ich alle dye yeme dye dyß buche lesen fyndent sye etwas dae ynn daz yn der sprache oder synne virkart ist daz wollen sye nyt wysen oder achten der kunst halber sunder der sprachen halb

translators are well conscious that early-sixteenth-century vernacular specialized terminology was still very precarious and arbitrary, so they adopted analogous strategies in order to prevent any form of miscommunication possibly arising from this linguistic precariousness and arbitrariness.

These strategies partly follow the pattern described by Pörksen with the metaphor of the "half-timbered language," in which the universally recognized and crystallized classical specialized vocabulary constitutes the terminological skeleton of vernacular medical literature. As in both Brunschwig's and von Gersdorff's surgical handbooks Latin loanwords are often coupled with their vernacular equivalent(s), in fact, their Low German translators – Dr. Rembertus Giltzheim (?) and the compiler of the Copenhagen manuscript – also combine a synonym with the original term(s). However, since they have to clarify not only classical, but also High German loanwords, they take this strategy to the extreme.[101] In this respect, the frequency of bilingual synonymic couplings is significantly higher in the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye* and the *Velt bock* than in their High German sources.

Given the similarities between the *Buch der Cirurgia* and the *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney*, one could think that the analogous behavior of their Low German translators with respect to specialized terminology is somehow influenced by its treatment in the High German sources. For this reason, the analysis of the fragment of the *Wunterzenîbüchelîn* transmitted on fol. 63v–73v of the Copenhagen manuscript is particularly significant to confirm this hypothesis or to prove it wrong. Otto Brunfels's High German version of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva*, though sustained by Latin loanwords, does not usually combine them with their vernacular equivalent(s). This can at least partially be ascribed to the choice of including a reference glossary of Latin loanwords at the end of the booklet. The presence, on fol. 13v–14v, of an enlarged version of this glossary could explain the absence of synonymic glosses referring to the terms comprised in it. Nevertheless, even though the compiler of the Copenhagen manuscript generally tends to replace the loanwords present in the High German source with the vernacular equivalents provided in the glossary, synonyms continue to be inserted in the Low German text to clarify potentially ambiguous terms.

Apart from the juxtaposition of a synonym, other lexical and syntactic clarification strategies adopted in both the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye* and the *Velt bock*, such as the substitution with a native – Ingaevonic – anatomical term, the

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dye ich nyt woil gereden kann" (Now I pray all those who will read this book and find something in it which is incorrect in the meaning or in the language, that they do not ascribe this to my professional competence, but to the [German] language which I cannot speak well).

101 On this, see also Benati, "Coping with a Foreign Language" (see note 6), 90.

insertion of an explanation, the use of compounds instead of *simplicia*, the substitution of anaphoric pronouns with the repetition of their referent, are also employed in the Low German version of the *Wunterzenîbüchelîn*. In this respect, the two translators seem to have had at their disposal a certain palette of techniques to modify the original diction and to convey a fully understandable message, independently from either their sources' terminological peculiarities, or their own linguistic idiosyncrasies.

Moreover, Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1663 4[to], which not only provides a sort of "map" of its compiler's reading universe,[102] but also witnesses a continuous and attentive revision of the previous work, highlights how ever-present the concern over the accuracy and unequivocalness of the rendering of the original message is: human lives could depend on it!

On the whole, the analysis of these three examples of High-Low German translations of surgical texts has allowed us to demonstrate that, despite its relatively scarce attestations, the study of translations from one vernacular into another deserves better scholarly attention since it can significantly contribute to our understanding of interlingual communication in medieval and early modern medicine and general science.

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102 See also Earle Havens, *Commonplace Books: A History of Manuscripts and Printed Books from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University Press of New England, 2001), 65.

David Tomíček

Reputation and Authority in the Physicians' Communication with Patients as Reflected in the Czech-Language Sources of the Early Modern Period

Abstract: Communication with patients and their families and other close ones ranks among the major means used by doctors to build their reputation and exert their professional authority. This study concentrates on selected aspects of physicians' communication found in Czech-language sources dating from the early modern period and also pays attention to the earlier tradition of medical literature, especially late-medieval Latin writings on physicians' behavior toward patients. These works reflect a new phenomenon entering the market of providers of medical services –university-educated doctors. Physicians with a university degree based their professional authority on their knowledge of theoretical medicine and its close connection with natural philosophy, emphasizing its importance for proper treatment. By bolstering the impression of their professional exclusivity, they emphasized their right to receive adequate payment for their service. Given the tenuous possibilities of contemporary medicine, however, doctors had to communicate very cautiously. Although they needed to boost the patients' belief in recovery for the sake of the successful treatment, they knew that an inadequately communicated prognosis could jeopardize their reputation. Therefore, concerning the addressees, they pragmatically modified their communication strategies so that, on the one hand, they achieved the patients' recovery by means of their authoritative learning, and, on the other hand, they protected their reputation through their practical medical success.

Keywords: Medical reputation, authority, physicians, Czech-language sources, early modern period

The following essay will discuss how communication helped physicians in the late Middle Ages and early modern times build their reputations and exert their professional authority. Reputation relates to the extent of knowledge and evaluation of a particular person, whereas granting authority means the willingness to respect the doctors' statements. Reputation undoubtedly represented a

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significant component of the doctors' authority. It is especially apparent in the figures of the wandering healers (quacks) acting in the old-Bohemian theater plays who introduce themselves on the stage as persons of extraordinary repute and distinction. A fourteenth-century fraudulent doctor in one of those plays, *Unguentarius* (*Mastičkář*), lets his servants shout at the market, "Behold, behold! Master Hippocrates himself is coming!," and he boasts of his fame gained in foreign countries, and promises miraculous effects of the ointments offered.[1] The healer Cocles from the satirical sixteenth-century play known as *Dialogues of Various Persons* (*Dialogi variarum personarum*) acts similarly. Here, the character appears on the stage saying: "I am a doctor from distant countries, from lands and nations unknown! Neither Socrates nor Machaon can compare to me in medicine. I've even recovered Death from its diseases!"[2] Cocles then brags about the miracles he has performed in Tyrol, Armenia, and Alexandria, and claims he had even cured a beldam, or hag, of blindness.[3]

These plays aimed at entertaining the audience, and their humor, therefore, leans on deliberate exaggeration. It seems, however, that both healers work with a reputation based on the excellent healing successes they have achieved in distant lands. Unlike wandering healers, who expected immediate financial gain from their performances, university-educated physicians sought a stable job paid for by the city council, a church, or secular nobility, or the monarch himself. They could hardly build their long-term reputation and authority on examples of unexpected recoveries, as they probably were only a little more successful in

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1 "Seď vem přišel mistr Ipokras / de gratia divina! / Nenieť horšieho v tento čas / in arte medic ina. / Komu která nemoc škodí / a chtěl by rád živ býti, / on jeho chce uzdraviti, / žeť musí duše zbýti." Quoted from Bohuslav Havránek and Josef Hrabák, *Výbor z české literatury od počátků po dobu Husovu* (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1957), 249. See also Roman Jakobson, "Medieval Mock Mystery (The Old Czech Unguentarius)," Studia philologica et littera ria in honorem L. Spitzer, ed. Anna Granville Hatcher and Karl Ludwig Selig (Bern: Francke Ver lag, 1958), 245 65.

2 "Já lékař z zemí dalekých, / z krajin, z národů neznámých ... Co se pak dotýče lékařství, / žádný mně nemůž' přemoci. / Machaon, Sokrates a jiní / v ničenž mně nejsou rovni, / Já samý Smrti jsem sloužil, / a její neduhy hojil." Quoted from Čeněk Zíbrt, "Tři neznámé kratoch vilné divadelní hry ze století XVI. Z rukopisu Strahovského," *Český Lid* 18.7 (1909): 306 25; here 322.

3 "V Alexandrii, slavném městě, / může uvěřit, kdo jen chce, / tam jedna stará bába byla, která nehrubě viděla, / však skrz můj kunst v malém čase, / když byla zraku dosáhše, / říkávala v nejjasnější / poledne, že jest půlnoci." Quoted from Zíbrt, "Tři neznámé kratochvilné divadelní hry ze století XVI. Z rukopisu Strahovského" (see note 2), 322. Cf. Albrecht Classen, "Die Figur des Arztes in den spätmittelalterlichen Fastnachtspielen," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 47.3 (2012): 429 42. See also the comments on this phenomenon by Filip Hrbek in his contribution to this volume.

treatment than experienced healers. They thus primarily based their professional authority on their academic education. As I will try to show below, even in the early modern period, natural philosophy and the idea of a physician-philosopher, the roots of which can be traced back to antiquity, played an extraordinary role in his self-presentation. The issue of the required salary was also related to the doctors' reputation and authority. I will focus on the controversies over their pay, the arguments they used in favor of the amount they expected to receive, and the reflection of the doctors' alleged greed in contemporary literature. In particular, I will pay attention to the strategies they used to communicate with patients and their families. I want to show how this communication differed concerning the various recipients and what communicative strategy doctors chose to strengthen their reputation and protect their professional authority. I will also pursue how doctors worked with the patients' confidence to achieve their medical recovery.

In order to understand the early-modern sources, my study will also pay attention to earlier medical texts, especially instructive treatises on a physician's expected behavior at the bedside, the medieval tradition of which arose from the intellectual climate at the medical faculties of the newly established universities.[4] The core of my analysis will nevertheless lie in the tradition of Czech-language medical literature, which developed in the early fifteenth century.

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4 As to medical deontology and the so called bedside manners in the Middle Ages, see Mary Catherine Welborn, "The Long Tradition: A Study in Fourteenth Century Medical Deontology," *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson,* ed. James Lea Cate and Eugene N. Anderson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938), 344 57; Loren MacKinney, "Medical Ethics and Etiquette in the Early Middle Ages: The Persistence of Hippo cratic Ideals," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 26.1 (1952): 1 31; E. A. Hammond, "Incomes of Medieval English Doctors," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 15.2 (1960): 154 69; Henry E. Sigerist, "Bedside Manners in the Middle Ages. The Treatise *De cautelis medicorum* Attributed to Arnald of Villanova," *Henry E. Sigerist on the History of Medicine,* ed. Felix Marti Ibañez (New York: MD Publications, 1960), 131 40; Luis García Ballester, "Medical Ethics in Transition in the Latin Medicine of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: New Per spectives on the Physician Patient Relationship and the Doctor's Fee," *Doctors and Ethics: The Earlier Historical Setting of Professional Ethics*, ed. Andrew Wear, Johanna Geyer Kordesch, and Roger French. Clio Medica, 24 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1993), 38 71; Darrel W. Amundsen, *Medicine, Society, and Faith in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* (Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 289 309; Michael R. McVaugh, "Bedside Manners in the Middle Ages," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 71.2 (1997): 201 23; Milada Říhová, Dana Stehlíková, and David Tomíček, *Lékaři na dvoře Karla IV. a Jana Lucembur ského* (Prague and Litomyšl: Paseka, 2010), 29 44; Zdeněk Žalud, "Velmi nám pomáhá, že naší mluvě nerozumějí. Sugestivní a manipulativní prvky v chování středověkého lékaře," *Kontakt* 4 (2012): 475 84.

The earliest Czech-language source relevant for the chosen subject is a translated surgery treatise by the Italian physician William of Saliceto (ca. 1210–ca. 1277). It survived in a manuscript from the latter half of the fifteenth century under the title *Saliceto's Healing of Wounds* (*Saličetova ranná lékařství*).[5]

In 1536, the university-educated physician Johannes Kopp of Raumenthal (1487–1558) published an extensive treatise in print on a health regimen – *A Basic and Perfect Regimen of Health* (*Gruntovní a dokonalý regiment zdraví*), conceived as six thematically connected discussions between a master and his disciple. While the master is a doctor, his partner in the dialogue is an inquisitive layman eager to learn about medicine and especially about a healthy lifestyle.[6]

The genre of dialogue treatises also includes *A Dispute and a Wager Between a Philosopher, a Physician, and a Rhetorician* (*Akcí a rozepře mezi filozofem, v lékařství doktorem a orátorem aneb prokurátorem*), written and published in print in 1609 by the humanistically educated lawyer Michael Pieček of Radostice (ca. 1575–1623). It is a dispute between three brothers, who lengthily praise their respective professions as the most beneficial for the common good.[7]

The range of medical and historical sources for this study concludes with a Bohemian treatise on plague protection from 1645, *Amuletum* (*Amulet*), by the pharmacist Johannes Weber (1612–1684), active in the Slovak town of Prešov (*Eperies*). Besides practical issues related to the plague, the author comments

5 *Saličetova ranná lékařství*, ed. Karel Jaromír Erben (Prague: Nákladem spolku českých lékařův, 1867). See also *The Surgery of William of Saliceto. Written in 1275*, trans. and ed. by Paul Pifteau, English trans. by Leonard D. Rosenman (Philadephia, PA: Xlibris Corp., 2002); Dana Stehlíková, *Od anděliky po zimostráz. Latinský Herbář Křišťana z Prachatic a počátky staročeských herbářů* (Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2017), 206 14.

6 Johannes Kopp of Raumenthal, *Gruntovní a dokonalý regiment zdraví* (Prague: Jan Had, 1536). See also Gustav Gellner, *Jan Černý a jiní lékaři čeští do konce doby Jagellovské* (Prague: Královská česká společnost nauk, 1935), 137 48; Bo J. Theutenberg, *Doktor Johannes Copp von Raumenthal* (Skara: Skara stiftshistoriska sallsk, 2013); David Tomíček, "The Concept of Good Life According to the Kings's Physician Johann Kopp von Raumenthal," *Gutes Leben und guter Tod von der Spätantike bis zur Gegenwart. Ein philosophisch ethischer Diskurs über die Jahrhunderte hinweg*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien, 4 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 309 16.

7 Michael Pieček of Radostice, *Akcí a rozepře mezi filosofem, v lékařství doktorem a orátorem aneb prokurátorem* (Prague: Pavel Sessius, 1609); see also Václav Pumprla, *Knihopisný slovník českých, slovenských a cizích autorů 16. 18. století* (Prague: Kabinet pro klasická studia. Filosofický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 2010), 860 62; Jan Pišna, "Dílo ʻAkcí a rozepřeʼ Michala Pěčky z Radostic jako pocta prokurátorům," *Melior est aquisitio scientiae negotiation argenti. Pocta Prof. Ignácovi Antonínovi Hrdinovi, O. Prem. k šedesátým narozeninám*, ed. Evermond Gejza Švihovský, Václav Valeš, and Jan Polesný (Prague: Královská kanonie Premonstrátů na Strahově, 2013), 215 23.

on the significance of the medical profession and medicine for the well-being of the community.[8]

The Physician as Philosopher

Pieček's philosopher stresses that a physician cannot get by without being familiar with the art of natural philosophy, i.e., not without knowledge of natural things, the properties of celestial bodies, and various herbs and flowers – because he subsequently applies all this in practice.[9] Here, he refers to Galen (129–ca. 200 C.E.) and his claim that the best physician is the best philosopher.[10] Galen developed this thesis in a brief treatise with the same name, entitled *The Best Doctor is also the Philosopher* (*Quod optimus medicus sit quoque philosophus*). He opines that a physician, after the example of Hippocrates, must study diverse scientific disciplines if he aspires to excel in his profession. Like an athlete readying himself to win the Olympics, a doctor must undergo demanding exercises to achieve his goal. As for philosophy, he emphasizes that a physician must know all of its parts: the logical, the physical, and the ethical.[11] Galen concluded that "if philosophy is necessary for the physician, it is clear that he who is the best physician is certainly also a philosopher."[12]

The significance of philosophy, that is, general education, to physicians is mentioned in the early medieval encyclopedic *Etymologies* (*Etymologiae*) by Isidore of Seville (ca. 560 – 636). The closing of the fourth book on medicine discusses why medicine had not become part of the liberal arts. The Bishop of Sev-

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8 Johannes Weber, *Amuletum, tj. Správa krátká a potřebná o moru* (Leutschau: Vavřinec Brewer, 1645). See also Anton Bartunek, *Život a dielo lekárníka Jana Webera (1612 1684)* (Martin: Osvě ta, 1984); Lucia Lichnerová, "Prínos prešovského lekára a lekárníka Jána Webera do tlačenej produkcie 17. storočia na Slovensku," *Studia Bibliograhica Posoniensia* 1 (2008): 129 40; David Tomíček, "Amuletum Jána Webera v kontextu česky psaných tištěných knížek o moru 16. a 17. století," *Historia Medicinae Slovaca* 6 (2021): 36 55.

9 "... ale také i umění physices naturalis, to jest poznání věcí přirozených, jak světel nebeských a jejich povah, tak také nejvíce bylin a rozličného kvítí zemského, výborně pověom byl, a na posledy skutek toho všeho in practica ukázal." Michael Pieček, *Akcí a rozepře* (see note 7), C_4r.

10 "Co Galenus o filozofii pověděl? Optimun quemque medicum, eundem et philosophum: že nejlepší lékař nejlepší je filozof." Michael Pieček, *Akcí a rozepře* (see note 7), D_7v D_8r.

11 Galen, *Selected Works*, ed. P. N. Singer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 30 34.

12 "Philosophia medicis necessaria est, haud dubium relinquitur, quin, si quis medicus est, idem omnino sit et philosophus." *Claudii Galeni Opera omnia*, vol. I, ed. Karl Gottlob Kühn (Leip zig: prostat in oficína libraria Car. Cnoblochii, 1821), 61. Cf. Elinor Lieber, "Galen: Physician as Philosopher Maimonides: Philosopher as Physican," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 53.2 (1979): 268 85; here 273.

ille opines that medical education must be as comprehensive as possible and must encompass the knowledge of all the seven liberal arts. Hence, "medicine is called a second philosophy, for each discipline claims the whole of man for itself. Just as soul by philosophy, so also the body is cured by medicine."[13] Subsequent authors of the early Middle Ages maintained the proximity of medicine and philosophy in works dealing with classifications of scientific disciplines. For example, the prominent philosopher and theologian of the Carolingian period, Abbot Rabanus Maurus (ca. 780 – 856), in his treatise *On the Universe* (*De universo*), ranks medicine and other disciplines among the seven parts of natural philosophy (*physica*).[14]

The transformation of Western medicine into a scientific discipline departing from philosophical knowledge took place in the high Middle Ages when fundamental treatises of the Greco-Arabic corpus were translated into Latin.[15] In addition to Arabic philosophical and medical treatises, the writings of Aristotle and especially Galen influenced medicine during that era the most. A corpus of newly available translations, *The New Galen*, provided a much more detailed insight into the hitherto little-known issues of medical theory in the late thirteenth

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13 "Hinc est quod medicina secunda philosophia dicitur. Utraque enim disciplina totum hom inem sibi vindicat. Nam sicut per illam anima, ita per hanc corpus curatur." Isidor ze Sevilly (Isidore of Seville), *Etymologiae   Etymologie IV*, ed. Klára Hušková and Hana Florianová. Kni hovna středověké tradice, 9 (Prague: Oikoymenh, 2003), 121; see also William D. Sharpe, *Isidore of Seville: The Medical Writings. An English Translation with an Introduction and Commentary*, Transactions of the American Phisophical Society, New Series, 54.2 (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1964), 64.

14 "Iidem autem philosophi triplici genere dividuntur. Nam aut physici sunt, aut ethici, aut log ici. Physici dicti, quia de naturis tractant: natura quippe graece physis vocatur. Ethici, quia de moribus tractant. Mos enim apud Graecos ethos appellatur. Logici autem, quia in naturis et in moribus rationem adjungunt: ratio enim graece logos dicitur. Dividitur autem Physica in septem partes, hoc est, Arithmeticam, Astronomiam, Astrologiam, Mechaniam, Medicinam, Geometriam et Musicam. Arithmetica est numerorum scientia." Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, ed. J. P. Migne. Patrologia Latina 110 (Paris: Garnier, 1863), 413. See also Brian Lawn, *The Rise and Decline of the Scholastic 'Quaestio Disputata'. With Special Emphasis on Its Use the Teaching of Medicine and Science*. Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 2 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1997), 19; Loren Carey MacKinney, *Early Medieval Medicine. With Special Reference to France and Chartres*. Johns Hopkins University Press Reprints (New York: Arno Press, 1979), 187 88.

15 Edward Grant, *The Foundations of Modern Science in the Middle Ages. Their Religious, Institu tional, and Intellectual Context*. Cambridge History of Science (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 156 58.

century. *The New Logic*, derived from Aristotle's writings, had a similarly strong impact on the rationality of medical learning.[16]

It was precisely this medicine, based on natural philosophy, which became one of the fields of university studies in the high Middle Ages.[17] And it were the distinguished masters active at medieval universities who deepened the centuries-old debate about the character of this field. The problem was that the result of medicine was not only theoretical knowledge as in pure science, but, above all, the action in the form of medical treatment. The field of medicine thus could have been easily be blamed for being a mere craft mastered via practice, such as tailoring or tanning, instead of being a scientific discipline. The question of the contradiction between the philosophical foundations of medicine and the craft character of its application was pursued by the Italian physician Gentile da Foligno (d. 1348). His comment on Avicenna's *Canon of Medicine* (*Canon medicinae*) states that, unlike other trades, medicine is also acquired via logical demonstration, that is, scientifically, and can therefore be considered a science, albeit not in the strict sense of the word.[18] Outside of universities, physicians faced a different task: to convince their clientele that the main factor making their healing methods more successful was the theoretical foundation obtained by exigent studies.[19]

The explicit emphasis placed on comprehensive education as a feature distinguishing a university-educated physician from uneducated empiricists can be found in some writings by late-medieval physicians. Guy de Chauliac (ca. 1300 – 1368) mentions the thin line between physicians and other manual occupations in his warning that if physicians did not know geometry, astronomy, and dialectics, leather workers, carpenters, and ferriers would leave their trades and become doctors. Henri de Mondeville (ca. 1260 – 1320) stresses the importance of the knowledge of natural philosophy along with grammar, logic, rhetoric, and ethics for the medical profession.[20] Albich of Uničov (d. 1425), a university-

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16 Roger French, *Medicine before Science: The Business of Medicine from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 101 02.

17 Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Philosophy and Medicine in Medieval and Renaissance Italy," id., *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, vol. 3 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e di letteratura, 1993), 431 42; here 434.

18 *Medieval Medicine A Reader*, ed. Faith Wallis. Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures, 15 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 207 08. See also Roger French, *Canonical Medicine: Gentile da Foligno and Scholasticism* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001), 68 70.

19 García Ballester, "Medical Ethics in Transition in the Latin Medicine of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries" (see note 4), 39.

20 Welborn, "The Long Tradition: A Study in Fourteenth Century Medical Deontology" (see note 4), 350.

trained Prague physician, among others, lectured on natural philosophy and ethics as necessary prerequisites for studying medicine.[21] Johannes Kopp of Raumenthal, too, developed this subject. In the dialogue in his work, the master explains what medical art is in the spirit of Hippocrates's ideas, i.e., what is the essence of university medicine. He opines that the spectrum of a physician's interest in a patient's health should not be limited merely to appropriate administering of medicine, but should also relate to "externalities," undoubtedly the so-called non-naturals ("res non naturales"). The physician should consider the "differences in the patient's natural disposition," the "requisites of earth and time," the patient's age, and, finally, the nature of the illness that troubles him. The prescribed dietetic regime should ideally be complex enough to include variations following from the variability of these factors.[22] The disciple, astonished, responds that whoever wants to assess thoroughly all these facts would have to be a geographer, astronomer, and natural philosopher in one.[23]

The two participants in the dialogue served Johannes Kopp to express his conviction that only such an educated person, according to Hippocrates, can call himself a doctor, and people should not entrust their health to anyone else. Interestingly, highlighting astronomy and geography corresponds to the first lines of Galen's treatise, "The Best Doctor is also a Philosopher" ("Quod optimus medicus sit quoque philosophus"), noting that studying astronomy and related geometry is essential for medicine.[24] The master's words about the "requisities of earth and time" refer to these disciplines. The environment of a specific place received consistent attention in the treatises on appropriate lifestyle, which especially saw corrupted air as a crucial cause of diseases.[25] According to con-

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21 Říhová, Stehlíková, and Tomíček, *Lékaři na dvoře Karla IV. a Jana Lucemburského* (see note 4), 38.

22 "To umění ukazuje, podle naučení Hippokrasova, ne aby toliko lékař same lékařství dával, jakž dávati má, než aby take zevnitřní věci řádně zpuosobyl a jak se nemocný i ti, kdož ho hle dají, zachovati mají, a když již na rozděl přirození je, tehdy aby potom rozvažoval příležitost země, času, lét i nemoci jeho a co by při každém zvlášťě činiti a v kterém neb jiné, by mu dobře neb zle učiniti neb užívati bylo." Johannes Kopp of Raumenthal, *Gruntovní a dokonalý reg iment zdraví* (see note 6), 4r v.

23 "Kdo by to vše slušně vážiti a sauditi chtěl, ten by geographus, totiž kterýž položení a zposob země ví, hvězdář a přirozený filozof býti musil." Johannes Kopp of Raumenthal, *Gruntovní a do konalý regiment zdraví* (see note 6), 4v.

24 "Is etenim non exiquam partem ad medicinam ait astronomiam conferre, ac omnino eam, quae ipsam necessario pracedit, geometriam." *Claudii Galeni Opera omnia*, vol. I (see note 12), 53.

25 For more details on this issue, see Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550 1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 154 209.

temporary medicine, a specific moment in time was decisive for many factors related to the position of celestial bodies and their influence on human health. The so-called humoral theory – the essence of physiology at that time – was based on the knowledge of natural philosophy. The master in Kopp's dialogue refers to it when mentioning "differences in the natural disposition of a patient," or, elsewhere, "secrets of natural art," which unlearned healers cannot understand. They thus differ from physicians who had been studying these issues since their youth and whose knowledge was reviewed during the exams by councils of physicians lecturing at universities.[26] The master talks in detail about the differences between a physician and a healer leaning on his practical experience alone in response to the disciple's objection that the former are few and their services are far too expensive.[27]

The Question Regarding the Physican's Payment

The payment for the service formed an inevitable and often sensitive part of the doctors' negotiation with their patients. Historical sources document this was a delicate topic, which a physician had to approach with consideration. On the one hand, the prospect of an immediate profit was tempting; on the other, there was the more persistent desire to earn as much esteem as possible, which undoubtedly was of great consequence to doctors. The Old-Czech translation of the surgical treatise by William of Saliceto insists that physicians should visit poor sick people in person since it is praiseworthy and strengthens their reputation, and they should not charge anything. The following sentence suggests that this approach was to be viewed as more salvific and nobler.[28] Nicolaus Bertrucius (d. 1347), active at the Bologna University, too, affirms in his *Instructions for Physicians* (*De informatione medici*) that if the ill person is poor, the doctor should

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26 "Tehdy ten hned chce lékařem býti a chlubí se a mní, že jest lékař tomu rovný aneb snad lepší než ten, krerýž přirozeného umění tejnosti z knih starýcha vysoce učených i všudy schválených lékařuov z mládí gruntovně a pilně vyhledával a kterýž také od přísežných doktoruov za zkušeného dokora uznán a sauzen bývá." Johannes Kopp of Raumenthal, *Gruntovní a dokonalý regiment zdraví* (see note 6), f. 3v.

27 "Ale učení a dobří lékaři sú v této zemi drazí a řídcí." Johannes Kopp of Raumenthal, *Gruntovní a dokonalý regiment zdraví* (see note 6), f. 3v.

28 "Zachovaj také lékař právo těch lidí, mezi nimižto přebývá, a chudé osobně navštěvuj, jakož slušie, neb tady pověsť jeho rozšíří v obci, a božská moc vlé veň milosť svú; a dielo jeho mezi těmi, od nichžto odplatu béře za práci, ušlechtilejší i spasitedlnější bude ukázáno." *Saličetova ranná lékařství* (see note 5), 4r.

treat him/her with mercy, following the example of the Saints Luke, Paul, and Cosmas and Damian.[29]

To show his mercy, the doctor did not have to be exclusively motivated by Christian love or, conversely, by the effort to establish a stable reputation. If he was paid by the authorities, such as the city, his duty was to provide elementary care to the sick free of charge. When he demanded high or disproportionate fees for his services, it could be a legitimate reason to terminate his contract.[30] Johannes Kopp of Raumenthal was a municipal doctor in the mining town of Jáchymov (Joachimsthal) in 1525 when sources refer to him as the "doctor of the poor."[31] Reflecting upon this experience, he writes about the possibilities of healing people who work hard "in the field, in the woods, and underground." In Kopp's skeptical view, their social and economic situation makes any medical advice toward a healthier lifestyle doomed to ruin. Even if they wanted to change their habits, they cannot, for they must work hard to earn food for themselves and their families.[32]

Kopp comments on the payment for medical services in the introductory part of his work, describing the differences between a good and bad doctor. In the debate, the disciple shyly argues that some people blame doctors with a graduate degree for treating people with negligence and little zeal. The master wonders why the disciple is surprised, because "an ungrateful payer makes a faint worker."[33] Here, Kopp undoubtedly touches upon the patients' poor payment morale, far too often mentioned in medical texts. Albich of Uničov, therefore, advises the doctors to be prudent and take half the pay while the patient is ill – he is very generous in that condition, but as soon as he recovers, he turns stub-

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29 "Nisi forsan laborans sit persona pauper et miserabilis cum qua misericorditer est agendum viam sanctorum luce euangeliste Pauli, Cosme et Damiani medicorum sublimium fideliter inse quendo." *Nusquam antea impressum Collectorium totius fere medicine Bertrucii Bononiensis* (Lyon: Jacques Myt, 1518), 4r. See also Říhová, Stehlíková, and Tomíček, *Lékaři na dvoře* (see note 4), s. 35.

30 Luis García Ballester, "Medical Ethics in Transition" (see note 4), 58.

31 Theuthenberg, *Doktor Johannes Copp von Raumenthal* (see note 6), 22.

32 "Však já to milý synu dobře vím, že všelijaké učení na těch lidech ztracené jest, neb by pak i někteří rádi to zachovávali, tehdy jejich možnost nevztahuje se tak daleko, aniž toho snésti nem ůže, než že musí dělati, aby jísti a píti dobýti, a tím ženu a dítky své živiti mohli." Johannes Kopp of Raumenthal, *Gruntovní a dokonalý regiment zdraví* (see note 6), 63v 64r.

33 "Tomu se ty nediv, neboť nevděčný plátce činí tesklivého dělníka." Johannes Kopp of Rau menthal, *Gruntovní a dokonalý regiment zdraví* (see note 6), 4r.

born.[34] Johannes Weber also writes in his tract on protection against the plague that patients often ask doctors to wait for the payment, make various excuses, and take no notice of all reminders. Some would rather spot a ghost than a doctor arriving to ask for his fee. To instruct such ungrateful payers, Weber allegedly had some verses written in his pharmacy about three physician's faces: "Three faces has the Doctor: when we are ill / He seems an angel; when he's cured the evil / A God we call him. When the little bill / Comes in long after, he's the very Devil." The author of this epigram is the German physician and humanist, Euricius Cordus (1486–1535)[35]; however, the motif of the three faces is of earlier date. Its amended version with a divine, devilish, and human face appears in the treatise penned by the Bologna physician Albertus de Zancariis (1280–1348). He states that a sick person views a physician as a God when begging for recovery, as the devil when he hides from him to avoid payment, and as a man when has already paid him as befits him, and he can therefore think of him as a master and a friend.[36]

But let us go back to Kopp's statement that "an ungrateful payer makes a faint worker." The author indirectly suggests that doctors would certainly try harder if the sick paid them properly. Michael Pieček comments on this issue via his rhetorician who conceives of the subject of money as a critique of the physicians' avarice which goes beyond ethical boundaries. The rhetorician accuses his brother physician of causing the death of his father: greedily, he de-

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34 "Notandum quilibet discretus medicus debet medietatem sallarii capere ab infirmo dolente, quia tun cest valde liberalis. Sed postquam eger convalescit, efficitur multum tenax." Milada Říhová, *Dvorní lékař posledních Lucemburků* (Prague: Karolinum, 1999), 53.

35 "Tres medicus facies habet: unam, / quando rogatur, / Angelicam: mox est, cum iuvat, / ipse Deus: / Post, ubi curato poscit sua praemia / morbo, / Creditur horrendus, terribilisque / Sathan." Johannes Weber, *Amuletum, tj. Správa krátká a potřebná o moru* (see note 8), 90 91. See also Florian Steger, *Das Erbe des Hippokrates: Medizinethische Konflikte und ihre Wurzeln* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2008), 12 13; for the English translation, see Florian Steger, "Yesterday's Ethics in Contemporary Medicine Is It Still of Concern?," *Prague Medical Report* 112.3 (2011): 159 67; here 161.

36 "Recitatur fabulose vel historice ab antiquis, quod medicus respectu patientis triplex vultus ostenditur: divinus, diabolicus et humanus. Divinus quidem dum infirmus vehementi languor vexatur, ipsum humiliter deprecatur de restituenda corporis sospite. Diabolicus vero, dum san atus infirmus medico non satisfecerit condecenter, ipsi non obvians, illum fugat velut diabolicis vestigiis consignatum. Sed humanus, dum curatus infirmus sananti satisfecerit, ut oportet, illum sibi reputans velut dominum et amicum." Manuel Morris, *Die Schrift des Albertus de Zancariis aus Bologna, De cautelis medicorum habendis, nach Leipziger und Pariser Handschriften* (Leipzig: Ferdinand Peter Nachf., 1914), 19 (also his Leipzig Ph.D. diss. from 1914).

manded an excessive amount for the treatment.[37] In the rhetorician's view, doctors generally fill their "bags and chests" the most when people around them die prematurely. Just as soldiers do not rejoice in a long peace, doctors are not happy when people enjoy good health.[38]

The Czech humanist Nicolaus Dačický of Heslov (1555–1626) reminds us about the doctors' greed with a verse about those who, by means of their enemas, ruin not only the patients' intestines but also their wallets.[39] The motif linking their cupidity with excrements is present in Byzantine medieval poetry as well. The poet Chrystopher of Mitilene (ca. 1000–after 1050) addresses a conceited practitioner with the words: "you procure your food from dung and urine."[40] The famous Renaissance poet Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374), in his *Invectives Against the Physician* (*Invectivae contra medicum*), reminds physicians: "I say that your color, smell, and taste come from the stuff you are exposed to – shit."[41] He implies that the sickly pallor in the doctors' faces has its origin in the unhealthy things, to which they, motivated by their greediness, pay their attention. As the poet writes, "You move in dark, livid, fetid and pallid places. You rummage around in sloshing chamber pots. You examine the urine of the sick.

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37 "A taks otce tvého vlastního, skrze něhožs život přijal, o život pro nenasycenau lakotu svau, žádaje víc než na té náleží, připravit musil." Michael Pieček, *Akcí neb rozepře* (see note 7), Q_7r.
38 "Vím jí, co o doktořích někdy, pověděno bylo, že žádný *doctor* zdraví svým rodičům, ani přá telům, ani sauseдům nepřeje, rovně jako vojáci neradi vidí, když v jedné zemi dlauho pokoj bývá, nýbrž tehdáž se radují, když na lidi mor přichází, když přátelé, rodičové jejich příbuzní z toho světa skrze smrt časnau se odbírají, a oni nejvíce tehdáž svý pytlíky a truhlice naplňují." Michael Pieček, *Akcí neb rozepře* (see note 7), Q_7r. See also Abrecht Classen, "Die Figur des Arztes in den spätmittelalterlichen Fastnachtspielen" (see note 3); cf. also his introduction to *Bodily and Spiritual Hygiene in Medieval and Early Modern Literature: Exploration of Textual Pre sentations of Filth and Water*, ed. A. Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Cul ture, 19 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 1 87.
39 "Doktory pak medicinae / také známe, o nichž víme, / žeť umějí sračky dáti / i měšec vypur govati." Mikuláš Dačický z Heslova, *Prostopravda. Paměti*, ed. Eduard Petrů and Emil Pražák. Živá díla minulosti, 9 (Prague: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění, 1955), 99.
40 *The Poems of Christopher of Mytilene and John Mauropous*, ed. Floris Bernard and Christo pher Livanos. Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, 50 (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard Uni versity Press, 2018), 173.
41 "Ab obiectis inquam stercoribus et colorem et odorem traxeris et saporem." Francesco Pet rarca, *Invectives*, ed. David Marsh. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 11 (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2008), 80. See also Andrea Carlino, "Petrarch and the Early Modern Critics of Medicine," *Journal of the Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 35.3 (2005): 559 82; Rita Realfonso Dell'Area, "Uno dei Primi Messaggi dell'Umanesimo: Le "Invec tivae Contra Medicum Quendam," *Italica* 29.2 (1952): 95 102.

You think about gold!"[42] Michael Pieček, too, uses the motif of excrements in his work. His doctor bitterly states that too many people perceive the skilled members of his profession as stinking. Pieček likens them to a dung beetle (Geotrupes stercorosus), which is said to hate all aromatic substances, even if they are most effective and expensive. Finally, the Czech author reminds the presumption of the slave Caryon from the comedy Wealth (Plutus) by Aristophanes (ca. 446–ca. 386 B.C.E.), who boldly calls physicians scatophagons, i.e., the "eaters of human feces."[43]

The motif of excrements is finally also used by the outstanding Bohemian scholar, John Amos Comenius (1592–1670), who in the allegory *Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart* (*Labyrint světa a ráj srdce*) describes the essence of medical work. The narrator, in the person of a Pilgrim wandering around the earthly world, concentrated in an allegorically conceived city, observes how doctors treat the sick – scrutinizing their excrements, sniffing them, and inspecting their consistency. Doctors call it an examination, but the Pilgrim feels disgusted. He sums up his impression by stating that the doctors' efforts earn them "some profit," but also loads of strenuous, inherently loathsome work, along with a lot of displeasure as well as a favor.[44] Nicolaus Bertrucius was yet another author who drew attention to the inconveniences associated with the distaste-evoking examinations of the patients' stool, mucus, and urine, reminding physicians not to settle for merely a low fee.[45] More than three centuries after his death, Johannes Weber quoted and translated Bertrucio's Latin

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42 "Is per loca altra, livida, fetida, pallida, undantes pelves rimaris, egrotantium urinas aspicis, aurum cogitas." Petrarca, *Invectives* (see note 41), 78 80.

43 "Aniž se nedostává lidí těch, jimžto dobrý a zkušený lékař smrdí … Jako zajisté hovnivál, ošklíví sobě vůni, jakkoliv nejdražší a nejsilnější mastí … Leč by byl kdo tak nevážným jeho utr hačem, jako onen lehkomyslný služebník Caryon tak řečený, o němž Arostophanes vypisuje, že doktora životního nazejval scatophagon, tj. lidských lejn (s odpuštěním) žroutem." Michael Pieček, *Akcí neb rozepře* (see note 7), J$_2$r v. See also Dirk van Kechove, "The Latin Translation of Aristophanes's Plutus by Hadrianus Chilius, 1533," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 23 (1974): 42 127; here 96.

44 "Vtom spatřím, an teď k nim všelijaké vnitř i zevnitř poraněné, hnijící a kyšící nosí a vodí; k nimž oni přistupujíc, do shnilin jim nahlédali, puchu od nich jdoucího čenichali, v nečistotách vrchem i spodkem odcházejícich se párali, až ošklivo; a tomu pravili průba … Sumou, viděl jsem, že ač milým těm hojičům, umění jejich zisku něco přinášelo, přinášelo však také (ač chtěli li po volání zadosti činiti), mnoho a velmi mnoho úsilné na díle i ošklivé práce; naposledy nelíbosti tak mnoho jako přízně." Jan Amos Komenský, *Labyrint světa a ráj srdce*, ed. Milan Rosenzweig. Mimočítanková četba (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství v Praze, 1955), 58 59.

45 "Neque sis contentus salario pusillo, magnam quippe scientiam grauem, solicitudinem tur pem, stercoribus sputi et urinem visitationem…" *Nusquam antea impressum Collectorium totius fere medicine Bertrucii Bononiensis* (see note 29), 4r.

words to support his sarcastic claim that doctors deserve reward if only for the stench they "have enough of to eat" when treating their patients.[46]

In Johannes Kopp's opinion, erudite physicians deserve a high salary as an expression of respect for their art of healing people. They are worthy of adequate pay more than those who merely seem to cure since the latter have not mastered this art and instead may harm patients' health.[47] This statement resonates with the conviction voiced in earlier texts whose authors believe that the low price of medical care should not degrade the seriousness of the physicians' work. The old-Czech translation of the surgical treatise by William of Saliceto stresses that a decent salary makes a physician precious and bolsters the patients' trust in his skills. Saliceto further reminds readers how crucial this trust is for the psychological humor of the patient and the treatment process as such. The ill person will look up to a well-paid doctor as the one who will heal him/her, even if he was, in fact, unable to cure the disease. A proper behavior thus can turn even a "dull physician" into a "venerable one," while improper approach "pushes him into the depths."[48] To cite also a non-Czech author, the English surgeon John of Arderne (1307–1392) in his *Treatises of Fistula in Ano* writes that if a patient cooperates and his condition allows it, the doctor should ask for higher or lower pay. However, he should avoid charging too little because that depreciates "the value of the market and the product."[49]

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46 "Bertrucius napsal ... Za veliké umění, za těžkou práci a starost, za mrzké přehlídání nečis toty, slin a vody, a potom za rozkošné zdraví navrácení a života zachování ... má zase veliká a hodná odplata a odměna učiněna a dána býti." Johannes Weber, *Amuletum* (see note 8), 96–97.
47 "Tak poněvadž dobrých a učených lékařů dílo ... slušně vice váženo býti má, nežli těch, kteříž na voko a bez gruntu a umění dělají a nás spíše zkazí, nežli vopravují." Johannes Kopp of Raumenthal, *Gruntovní a dokonalý regiment zdraví* (see note 6), 4r.
48 "A věz, že dobrá odplata činí lékaře vzácného, a posílena bývá viera nemocnému k němu; a byť pak byl mnohého neumění, všakť nemocný věří, že lépe nežli jiný móž jeho uléčiti; neb ty všecky věci, budú li slušně od lékaře zachovány, činieť ze mdlého lékaře velebného, ale těm pro tivné stiskují jeho do hlubiny." *Saličetova ranná lékařství* (see note 5), 4.
49 "And ȝif he se þe pacient persewe bisily the cure, þan after that þe state of þe pacient askeþ aske he boldly more or lesse; but eu*er* be he warre of scarce askyng*is*, ffor ou*er* searse askyngis setteþ at not both þe markette and the thing." *Treatises of Fistula in Ano, Hæmorrhoids, and Cly sters by John Ardene*, ed. D'Arcy Power. Early English Text Society. Original Series, 139 (London: Early English Text Society, 1910), 5–6. Cf. *Medieval Medicine – A Reader* (see note 18), 459.

Communicating About Illness and Treatment

Saliceto's Old-Czech treatise warns doctors against befriending people from non-medical ranks since such a comrade relationship is not socially beneficial for them and, among other things, hinders the recovery of the required payment. However, this is just one potential problem: the author mainly states that the unlearned laymen would inevitably defame the doctor.[50] Although it is not specified any further, every defamation targeting the physician's character deficiencies or personal weaknesses would probably imperil their reputation. An academic physician should, in his interest, act as belonging to the clergy, whether or not he was ordained a priest, and thus benefit from a specific charisma. Its source had been the belief that a physician was a person endowed with God-given grace.

Modern literature views this personal magnetism as one of the pillars of the so-called Aesculapian or healing authority.[51] This finds its best expression in Kopp's master, who is acting in the dialogue as a man in his eighties owing his excellent physical and mental condition to proper behavior – and God's grace.[52] The extraordinary charisma of the practitioners of the medical profession is also mentioned by Michael Pieček's physician reminding his brothers of the meaning of the proverb "man is a God to man" (homo homini deus): it is the skilled physician who protects human health by the divine power, and people hence consider him God.[53]

Another author rejecting physicians' overly intimate conduct toward ordinary people was Albertus de Zancariis; he, however, in same breath, claims that they should not act too curtly either. In the first case, they may ruin their reputation, and in the latter case, people may start shunning them due to their un-

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50 "Ten také lékař ať se nekochá v obcování s laiky, totiž s neučenými, neb ti vždycky utrhají umělým lékařóm. A přielišné čeledinstvo rodí potupu, a také pro přielišné čeledinstvo ne tak udatně bývá žádána odplata za práci lékařstvie." *Saličetova ranná lékařství*, ed. K. J. Erben (see note 5), 4.

51 Miriam Siegler and Humphry Osmond, "Aesculapian Authority," *The Hastings Center Studies* 1.2 (1973): 41 52; see also Beatrice J. Kalisch, "Of Half Gods and Mortals. Aesculapian Authority," *Nursing Outlook* 23.1 (1975): 22 28; Žalud, "Velmi nám pomáhá, že naší mluvě nerozumějí" (see note 4), 478.

52 "To vše přichází z Boží milosti a mého dobrého chování." Johannes Kopp of Raumenthal, *Gruntovní a dokonalý regiment zdraví* (see note 6), 1r.

53 "Pročež jestliže kde jinde místo své míti může ono přísloví: homo homini deus, jako tuto, kdežto zkušený doctor božskau mocí zdraví člověka obhajuje a jako za Boha mu býtá." Michael Pieček, *Akcí neb rozepře* (see note 7), J₁r v.

necessary strictness.[54] The anonymous guide in *On a Doctor Visiting a Patient* (*De adventu medici ad aegrotum*), written in Salerno in the early twelfth-century, recommends doctors to eschew arrogance and any signs of greed when talking to the ill. They should also heed proper behavior. They should humbly answer the greetings of those standing around the patient's bed and sit down as the last ones.[55] John Ardnee, then, describes minutely proper medical behavior. In his catalog of requirements, Ardnee aims to safeguard the physicians' professional acclaim and the desired exceptional aura around them. He discourages doctors from too intimate contact with ordinary people since it may result in their contempt. However, he claims they should neither be arrogant, boastful, or talkative. They should not laugh and joke excessively. They should avoid the company of all those who are rogue and dishonest and be sober-minded and moderate in all their doings. Ardnee goes into utmost detail, even urging doctors to have clean hands and groomed nails free of dirt and grime.[56]

As it follows from the above-mentioned, doctors indeed had to control their behavior when communicating with ordinary people to keep their reputation intact. Nicolaus Bertrucius adds the desirability of a joyful expression on a physician's face and mentions the need to wish patients good health upon his arrival.[57] The old-Czech translation of the surgical treatise by William of Saliceto discusses this subject in detail. Doctors are to address the ill with comforting words and to promise them recovery. It consoles their soul, and their optimistic, hopeful spirit is more significant for their improvement than the professional efforts and medication.[58] The Salernian treatise *On a Doctor Visiting a Patient* (*De adventu medici ad aegrotum*) from the twelfth-century century also encourages

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54 "Medicus vulgaribus non multum se familiarem ostendat nec etiam crudelem nimium vel severum, ne ipsa superflua familiaritate contempnant et severitate nimia devitent." Morris, *Die Schrift des Albertus de Zancariis aus Bologna* (see note 36), 12.

55 "Ingrediens ad infirmum nec superbientis vultum, nec cupidi praetendas affectum, assur gentes tibi partier et salutantes humuli vultu resalutans et gestu eis sedentibus sedeas." *Collectio Salernitana,* Tom. 2, ed. Salvatore de Renzi (Naples: dalla tipografia del Filiatre Sebzio, 1853), 74.

56 "Haue the leche also elene handes and wele shapen naileȝ & elensed fro all blaknes and filhe." *Treatises of Fistula in Ano, Hæmorrhoids, and Clysters by John Ardene* (see note 49), 6. Cf. *Medieval Medicine A Reader* (see note 18), 458 59.

57 "Cum medicus primo accesserit ad egrotum salutem ei nunci et vultu hilari." *Nusquam antea impressum Collectorium totius fere medicine Bertrucii Bononiensis* (see note 29), 2r.

58 "Třetie máť lékař lahodnými slovy a utěšenými nemocného léčiti, těšiti a posilovati, a jemu v každé příhodě zdravie slibovati, by pak pozufal nad jeho zdravie; neb z takové věci neb řeči do bute duše nemocného zpuosoby dobré a ušlechtilé, jížto přirozenie bývá posilněno pro ty nem oci a posileno, tak že z samého přirozenie vyjde dielo, kteréžto jest silnějšie, neži dielo lékařovo s jeho nádobami i léky." *Saličetova ranná lékařství* (see note 5), 3.

doctors to examine the patients' urine for a deliberately long time and then assure them that they will recover with God's help.[59] The two texts nevertheless agree that doctors treat the patient's family or friends differently. The old-Czech translation of the Saliceto's surgical treatise opines that the doctor should, at his discretion, talk to them about the causes and characteristics of the disease[60;] the Salerno text recommends the practicioner to tell the family that the patient is seriously ill right before he leaves the place.[61]

At the same time, the two manuals jointly do not conceal the advantages of reporting on the patient's prognosis worriedly. The Salerno text claims that if the sick person recovers contrary to his loved ones' expectations, it will bring the doctor more merit and fame. If he dies, the family will testify that he did not believe in the recovery from the start.[62] However, Saliceto notes that this cannot harm the doctor's reputation. First, the laymen cannot prove that he is actually unaware of the appropriate medical procedures. Second, and perhaps more importantly, the treatment thus cannot be associated with the patient's death as its cause.[63] This is not only crucial generally, in the sense of maintaining the physician's appearance as the creator of health instead of death, but also specifically, in the sense of a failed, unsuccessful therapy, which could threaten the professional's existence. It would then be safer for him to cease tending to the hopeless case and maybe even run away.[64]

But let us return to the issue of trust, which Bertrucius highlights as the decisive factor for the healing process. He recommends doctors explain the illness quickly and clearly after the medical examination. It will positively affect the physician's standing because the patient will extol about his wisdom. And it will sustain the patient's mental condition and confidence in the doctor. Bertrucius writes that it will boost his life force, which will suddenly or gradually rise to

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59 "In urina autem diu attendas colorem, substantiam, quantitatem et contentum, post aegroto cum Dei auxilio salute promittas." *Collectio Salernitana*, vol. 2 (see note 55), 75.

60 "Než s přáteli nemocného ať mluví o založení a vlastnostech nemoci, jakož se jemu zdáti bude..." *Saličetova ranná lékařství* (see note 5), 3.

61 "Cum autem ab eo recesseris domesticis ejus dicas ipsum multum laborare..." *Collectio Sale rnitana*, vol. 2 (see note 55), 75.

62 "... quia ab hoc, si liberabitur, majoris meriti eris et laudis, si vero moriatur, testabuntur et principio de ejus desperasse salute." *Collectio Salernitana*, vol. 2 (see note 55), 75.

63 "... aby z neumění dobrého napravenie mezi přátely nebyl přiveden ku pohoršení, a aby přietelé nemocného neměli o lékaři zlého domněnie, a aby nemohlo řečeno býti, by lékař byl příčina smrti tomu, ktož umře, ale žeť jest příčina zdravie tomu, ktož uzdraven bude." *Saličetova ranná lékařství* (see note 5), 3.

64 Milada Říhová, "Středověký lékař," *Člověk českého středověku*, ed. Martin Nodl and František Šmahel. Každodenní život, 14 (Prague: Argo, 2002), 309 36; here 333.

fight the disease and lead to complete recovery.[65] Communication was hence indeed crucial to doctors while gaining the patients' trust. It is therefore surprising how unimportant it was for the academically trained Johannes Kopp. His master advocates doctors who communicate with the ill only to the necessary minimum. The disciple in the dialogue bitterly complains about such an approach. He argues that non-graduate physicians are willing to spend time with patients, comfort them, tell stories and raise the hope as to their recovery of their health. The master uncompromisingly rejects this manner as mere cajolery. To him, their "sweet words" are neither based on the knowledge of the patient's condition nor of his illness but rahter works as harmful and toxic drugs that deprive him of health or even life.[66]

This passage from Kopp deserves closer attention. The master supports his opinion with a reference to the authority of the distinguished Roman physician, Cornelius Celsus (25 B.C.E.–50 C.E.), quoting his statement that "it is not by eloquence but by remedies that diseases are cured."[67] Celsus claims so in the preface to the first volume of his work *On medicine* (*De medicina*), referring to the Alexandrian medical school of empirics, who rejected theorizing approaches to medical issues and stressed the usefulness of knowledge learned through experience.[68] However, this is not the context of Kopp's critical stance on the "cajolery." The debate revolves around the differences between good and bad doctors, while the latter, despised by Kopp, are unschooled empiricists, i.e., healers of all kinds. They, therefore, are not the case of ineffective theorizing over medical issues but deceptive words promising recovery regardless of the actual medical condition, which they are often even unable to diagnose due to the absence of professional knowledge. Johannes Kopp mentions this often in his treatise and

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65 "... quare te admirans sapientem et excellentem predicabit et firmabitur in te fides sua et confortabitur virtus et surget contra morbum subito cum crisi vel gradatim cum melioration de die in diem et sanabitur perfecte." *Nusquam antea impressum Collectorium totius fere medi cine Bertrucii Bononiensis* (see note 29), 3r.

66 "Poněvadž ani tvé moci neb síle přirození ani také nemoci neznají, než dávají pod způsobem sladké řeči škodlivé a jedovaté lékařství, a tak svú nevědomostí připraví tě o zdraví neb o život." Johannes Kopp of Raumenthal, *Gruntovní a dokonalý regiment zdraví* (see note 6), 4r.

67 "Než jak Cornelius Celsus praví: Nemoci ne řečí ale lékařstvím hojiti a napravovati [se] mají." Johannes Kopp of Raumenthal, *Gruntovní a dokonalý regiment zdraví* (see note 6), 4r.

68 "Et in omnibus eiusmodi cogitationibus in utramque partem disseri posse; itaque ingenium et facundiam vincere, morbos autem non eloquentia sed remediis curari." Quoted from G. E. R. Lloyd, *In the Grip of Disease. Studies in the Greek Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 220. See also Vivian Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*. Sciences of Antiquity (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 128   39.

highlights it with various jibes, e. g., by using the old Bohemian proverb that un-
learned old women look at medical issues "like cows at the chessboard."[69]

The idea about the close link between mental condition and physical health
began to resonate noticeably in Western medicine in the late eleventh century
when the *Introduction to Galen's Art of Medicine* (*Isagoge ad Techne Galieni*)
was translated into Latin.[70] The text discusses the significance of emotions in
the chapter on the accidents of the soul (*De accidentibus animae*), and the mod-
ern interpretator observes that emotions influence the flow of natural heat from
the bowels to the skin surface. Delight and joy are sources of flow that is slow
and gentle.[71] Physicians presented these feelings as beneficial to health if expe-
rienced moderately – in contrast to, for example, sadness, anxiety, and fear.
They thus recommended pursuing various activities said to result in temperate
joy (gaudium temperatum), and one of them was listening to stories.[72] John Ard-
nee was undoubtedly aware of the stories' therapeutic significance. He writes
that it is worthwhile for physicians to know engaging and honest stories that
can make patients laugh, as well as other ways of having the potential to stim-
ulate merriment in the ill.[73]

Kopp's physician is disdainful of the sick and does not conceal his sense of
superiority over the representatives of other health professions. When the disci-
ple insists that physicians should pay more attention to their patients, the master
responds with a mocking question: does he perhaps want him to become their
valet or servant, handing them a chamber pot and caring for them like a barber?

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69 "Ano, rovně tak mnoho jako kráva na šachovnici." Johannes Kopp of Raumenthal, *Gruntovní
a dokonalý regiment zdraví* (see note 6), 72r. Cf. "Rozumie tomu jako kráva na šachovnici," Vá
clav Flajšhans, *Česká přísloví. Sbírka přísloví a pořekadel lidu českého v Čechách, na Moravě a v
Slezsku. Přísloví staročeská* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2013), 587.

70 Gregor Maurach, "Johannicius. Isagoge ad Techne Galieni," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 62.2 (1978):
148 74. See also Danielle Jacquart, "À l'aube de la renaissance médicale des XIe XIIe siècles.
L' 'Isagoge Johannitii' et son traducteur," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 144.2 (1986):
209 40; Ursula Weisser, "Noch einmal zur Isagoge des Johannicius. Die Herkunf des lateini
schen Lehrtextes," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 70.2 (1986): 229 35.

71 "Sunt quaedam accidentia animae quae faciunt intra corpus, sicu tea, quae commovent cal
orem ab interiori parte ad superficiem cutis ... aut leniter cum suavitate ut deliciae." Quoted from
Maurach, "Johannicius. Isagoge ad Techne Galieni" (see note 70), 160.

72 Glending Olson, *Literature as Recreation in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, and London:
Cornell University Press, 1982), 49 50.

73 "Also it spedeth þat a leche kunne talke of gode taleȝ and of honest that may make þe pa
tients to laugh, as wele as of the bible as of other tragedieȝ; & any othir þingis of which it is noȝt to
charge whileȝ þat þey make or induce a liȝt hert to þe pacient or þe sike man." *Treatises of Fis
tula in Ano, Hæmorrhoids, and Clysters by John Ardene* (see note 49), 8. Cf. *Medieval Medicine A
Reader* (see note 18), 460.

No learned doctor would ever do that![74] As for the usefulness of telling stories, Kopp relates it to the ideal qualities of a barber-surgeon. In his view, these often uneducated craftsmen, specialized in bloodletting, should know amusing stories from courtly literature to cheer up his clients and make them feel positive.[75]

Michael Pieček, too, addresses the importance of the patients' trust in physicians and their cheerful mind for healing. The rhetorician in his work tells the story of a doctor whose serious illness turned him melancholy and depressed, and he was getting ready to die. But then he saw his trained monkey putting his biretta – the symbol of university education – on its head. The comic act of the animal showed the doctor how ridiculous his art was. It immediately bucked up his spirits, and he got well.[76] Elsewhere, the rhetorician reminds his brother, physician, that doctors unwittingly reveal their helplessness in the face of illness when they keep arguing, unable to arrive at a clear conclusion. Their conjectures then pitiably result in the death of the patient.[77] Medieval doctors were aware of the delicate nature of such controversies at the patient's bedside. Henri de Mondeville, in his treatise on surgery, therefore advises the members of medical councils to leave the patient and resort to another room. Because each of the masters advocates his truth in the learned discussion, and laics may think they witness disagreement and quarrel.[78] Albertus de Zancariis notes that if a doctor cooperates with a non-learned person, he should not consult him on the case to block his false impression of having medical knowledge. However, if

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74 "Což chceš snad aby tvým komorníkem byl aneb což by tvoji služebníci činiti měli? Aby on to činil a tobě nočního hrnečku podával aneb aby barvířem tvým byl, tohoť jistě žádný znamenitý doktor a lékař neučiní." Johannes Kopp of Raumenthal, *Gruntovní a dokonalý regiment zdraví* (see note 6), 4r.

75 "Dále má srdce smělého [mít], aby sobě nezaufal a veselý, dobrých dvorských šperkův býti, aby tudy krevníka obveselil a dobromyslného učiniti mohl… ." Johannes Kopp of Raumenthal, *Gruntovní a dokonalý regiment zdraví* (see note 6), 158v. Cf. Ludmila Švestková, "Šperky," *Naše řeč* 69.1 (1986): 53‒54.

76 "Ale když spatřil opici, že se také i ona jeho birýtu chopila a postavivši se před ním, pěkně jej sobě na hlavu vstavila, jako by tím okázati chtěla, že i také ona doktorem býti může, tak se z toho obradoval, že se ihned od své nemoci odvrátil." Michael Pieček, *Akcí neb rozepře* (see note 7), R₁r.

77 "A když se o neduhu nemocného spolu nesrovnávají, nerozumějíc mu, tudíž člověka umoří." Michael Pieček, *Akcí neb rozepře* (see note 7), R₄r.

78 "… deinde factis a patiente dilingiter omnibus quaestionibus conferentibus ad intentum, ex eant omnes camera patientis et subintrent aliam, in qua non sint aliqui nisi ipsi, quoniam in omni collatione magistri disputant inter se, ut melius discutient veritatem, et quandoque gratia disputionis prorumpunt in verba, quare videtur extraneis assistentibus, quod esset discordia vel litigium inter Ipsos, et ita est aliquando." Quoted from McVaugh, "Bedside Manners in the Middle Ages" (see note 4), 215.

the fellow is familiar with medical science, everything can be consulted, albeit not in front of the patient.[79]

Pieček's physician nostalgically ruminates on the long-gone days when doctors could be authoritative toward the ill and give them specific instructions. Patients in these golden ages behaved as their subjects and obeyed their every word with gratitude. But now, doctors are expected to be almost submissive – the author openly calls it "delicate flattery" – and surrender to the demands for medicines and treatments. It does not benefit the patients but instead harms them.[80] Saliceto's Old-Czech surgical treatise provides similar recommendations and does not disregard the importance of the doctors' authoritative attitude. Above all, the patient should not talk back to the doctor because this makes him look incompetent. If he succumbs to this impression, doubt and fear may seize his soul, which endangers the result of the treatment.[81] Medieval medical writings are unanimous in this regard: the patient's trust is essential for successful treatment. One of the preconditions here is to respect the doctor. He must be viewed as someone whose orders the ill must not only obey but must do so willingly. Considering that the patient addressed the doctor, this circumstance seems crucial for communication between a graduated professional and a patient.

William of Saliceto, in his *Summary of Conservation and Curing* (*Summa conservationis et curationis*), states on this subject that if a doctor offers his services to the ill, he falls into their hands. However, the doctor's intention must be precisely the opposite: to let the patient fall into his hands by being claimed.[82] He

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79 "Si medicus tibi in cura consocius sit plebejus, cum illo non conferas, ne hoc sibi in signum aliqualis scientiae redundaret, cum totaliter sit privatus. Si vero medicinali scientia fuerit doc trinali, qui sociantur in cura, cum eis plane et benivole et in secreto circa infirmum conferas de gerendis." Morris, *Die Schrift des Albertus de Zancariis aus Bologna* (see note 36), 20.

80 "Galenus těžce žehře pravíc, že za starodávna byli lékaři na místě těch, kteří rozkazovali a patientes, totiž nemocní, na místě poddaných, rozkázaní jejich rádi poslauchali a zachovávali... Nyní pak nemocní sami sobě léky volí a rozkazují a lékař jako poddaný poslouchá a ke všemu přistupuje, a tak nesnaží se jich uzdraviti, alebrž tau lahodnau aulisností a přehlídáním jim všeho všudy, hledí jim více uškoditi nežli prospěti." Michael Pieček, *Akcí neb rozepře* (see note 7), K₁r.

81 "Takéť neslušie nemocnému odmlúvati proti lékaři, ani se v diele protiviti; neb tady činí lé kaře zlého domněnie, jako by nemohl, neb neuměl léčiti. Tak bázní přielišnú budú se jemu údové třiesti, a v každé věci bude pochybovati svú myslí, pro něžto dielo jeho bude nedokonalé, a léčenie jeho obrátí se v blud, a skrze tu cestu uléčitedlný neduh v neuléčitedlný se promění." *Saličetova ranná lékařství* (see note 5), 4.

82 "Per hanc enim tuam visitationem iam habes quod infirmus per fidem quam habebat de te non se commitit in manibus tuis sed potius tu te committis in manibus suis, et sic euis fides re volvitur contrarium tue intentionis." *Summa conservationis et curationis magistri Gulielmi Pla*

thus sets the desired framework for the much-needed trust between the two sides from the very beginning, and it gives him the chance to act with the appropriate professional authority. Above all, doctors thus did not have to pander to the patients and guarantee them recoveries like the wandering healers and quacks. John Amos Comenius mentions the latter in his dystopian novel *Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart* when revealing the reign of Death over the human race. Death mercilessly hits people with its countless arrows that kill or wound. His Pilgrim then watches hosts of individuals bustling among the wounded and selling plasters, ointments, and potions. People would buy their merchandise and mock Death. But it pays no attention, and its arrows keep shooting down the vendors as well.[83]

Comenius in the *Labyrinth* exposes the futility of these charlatans' efforts and the folly of people ready to pay for their potions – for it is impossible to deceive Death. In the real world, not too different from the dystopian one, quacks must have been successful in their business, as they represented a relatively widespread social phenomenon.

Conclusion

The communication strategies of physicians differed from those of the shrilling charlatans, as did their professional aims. The examined sources show that physicians based their professional authority not only on their knowledge of natural philosophy but also on their reputation. When communicating with the patients and the members of their household, they eschewed intimacy and preferred a measured demeanor. The latter corresponded with the behavior of the members of the clergy even in the early modern era. At the same time, there is a clear difference. The doctor communicates with the patient in a way meant to heal him or her first and foremost. In this process, he exerts his authority. His communication with the patient's family or friends must not endanger his reputation and professional authority. In this process, he protects his authority. University-based education provided him with a nimbus of being an individual familiar with the secrets of the human body and the methods of healing it.

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centini que Gulielmina dicitur. Noviter impressa diligenterque correcta (Venice: Scotus, 1502), 2ra. Cf. McVaugh, "Bedside Manners in the Middle Ages" (see note 4), 210.

83 "A spatřil jsem nemálo běhajících a prodávajících na ty rány flastry, masti a traňky. I kupovali to od nich všickni, výskajíce a Smrti trucujíce. Ale ona nedbala nic, házela a kácela předce, i samy ty prodavače." Jan Amos Komenský, *Labyrint světa a ráj srdce* (see note 44), 23.

However, this knowledge remained inaccessibly sealed in Latin books for the general public.

Johannes Kopp repeatedly mentioned this inaccessibility as valuable and insisted on the distinction between the sphere of medical education and the knowledge of amateurs. It was much more difficult for a doctor than for a wandering quack to avoid the consequences of his actions, and he had to keep his reputation constantly in mind. Although he sought the patients' trust, diagnosing their condition as serious required considerable intellectual commitment, the result of which could not be viewed as certain. On the other hand, he could thus precisely enumerate his commitment, being aware that he hence specified the price of health for the patients, and thus emphasized his own professional importance. A graduate physician did not act as a noisy miracle-seller but, instead, as a dignified and authoritive scholar mindful of his reputation and protecting the secrets of his science.

Filip Hrbek

The Physicians' Community in Pre-Thirty Years' War Bohemia

Abstract: The objective of this paper is to analyze, at first, a Czech-language plague (anti-plague) text written by the clerical author Jan of Bakov to show, on the one hand, how the community of early modern physicians was judged by the Church authors. Thanks to their preaching (orally) and printed sermons religious scholars were able to communicate their point of view to the majority of the population of early modern Bohemia, and so, therefore, their stance toward physicians was decisive. On the other hand, the physicians were trying to defend their own professional community, their social status, and medicine itself by any means necessary, even by pretense. This resulted into intellectual clashes, which will be illustrated, in the second part, by the case of the medical doctor Boulle. Thus, this paper aims at answering the question regarding the social role of physicians in early modern Czech society.

Keywords: Physicians' community, plague epidemics, plague (anti-plague) texts, Czech-language texts, Bohemia, clerical authors

Introduction

The medical profession or community has always been the subject of interest of other social or professional groups. There are two main reasons for that. First, doctors were (and still are) the ones who interfered with peoples' lives by taking care of their health. Secondly, any medical intervention that went deeper into the human body, even as a part of a treatment, was, in fact, a violation of a certain taboo in medieval and early modern society, and in some form it prevails even in our days (e.g., vaccine hesitaters [anti-vaxxers], be it COVID-19 vaccine, hexavalent vaccine, or influenza vaccine). And it was this breaking of the taboo that became a contributing factor to the superior and, at the same time to some extent, exclusive social status of members of the medical profession in the Middle Ages.

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The medical community, formed in this spirit, was, under certain circumstances, viewed more critically by other social and professional groups and individuals. These negative views sought to make the medical community (justifiably or unjustifiably) responsible for the unwanted state of public or personal health, for socially and medically pathological phenomena in society, or even for the death of an individual. Such views emerged in particular since the mid-fourteenth century due to the plague against which the medical profession at that time had no known effective preventive measures or treatments.

For all these reasons, many poetic and prosaic texts had been written regarding the subject of a doctor, or more precisely, an incompetent doctor who does not know how to treat a patient. In this regard, we can mention, for instance, the German poet Der Stricker and his stories about *Der Pfaffe Amis* (ca. 1220 – 1250), the Czech dramatical farce *Unguentarius* or *Mastičkář* from ca. 1330, the well-known Italian Renaissance poet Petrarch and his *Invective contra medicum* (1352/1353), the eighty-ninth story of Till Eulenspiegel about how he cured all hospital patients in one day (written probably by Hermann Bote of Brunswick, ca. 1510/1512), and many others; all of them have already been dealt with by many different scholars who examined them from a variety of interpretive angles.[1]

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1 See Albrecht Classen, "Introduction: Bathing, Health Care, Medicine, and Water in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age", *Bodily and Spiritual Hygiene in Medieval and Early Modern Literature: Explorations of Textual Presentations of Filth and Water*, ed. id. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 19 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 29 49. Klaus Bergdolt, *Arzt, Krankheit und Therapie bei Petrarca: Die Kritik an Medizin und Naturwissenschaft im italienischen Frühhumanismus*. Acta humaniora (Weinheim: VCH, 1992); Katherine Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence*, 2nd ed. (1985; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014); Nancy S. Struever, "Petrarch's Invective Contra Medicum: An Early Confrontation of Rhetoric and Medicine," *Modern Language Notes* 108.4 (1983): 659 79; Michael Resler, "Der Stricker," *German Writers and Works of the High Middle Ages: 1170 1280*, ed. James Hardin, and Will Hasty. Dictionary of Literary Biography, 138 (Detroit, Washington, DC and London: Bruccoli Clark Layman, 1994), 117 32; Elizabeth Andersen, "Die Norm des Komischen im Pfaffen Amis," *Text und Normativität im deutschen Mittelalter: XX. Anglo German Colloquium*, ed. Elke Brüggen, Franz Josef Holznagel, Sebastian Coxon, Almut Suerbaum, and Reinhold Katers (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 321 32; Herbert Blume, "Hermann Bote Autor des Eulenspiegel Buches? Zum Stand der Forschung," *Eulenspiegel Jahrbuch* 34 (1994), 11 32; Albrecht Classen, "Transgression and Laughter, the Scatological and the Epistemological: New Insights into the Pranks of Till Eulenspiegel," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 33 (2007), 41 60; Alison Williams, *Tricksters and Pranksters: Roguery in French and German Literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft, 49 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2000); Albrecht Classen, "Die Figur des Arztes in den spätmittelalterlichen Fastnachtspielen," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 47.3

Unlike previous studies,[2] my goal in this paper is to analyze the topic of the medical community and communication or miscommunication about it in completely different types of historical works than in fiction or poetry. The focus is on the Czech-language texts that were written in the early modern period in the

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(2012): 429 42; for 'Mastičkář', see, e. g., Bohuslav Havránek, Josef Hrabák, et. al., *Výbor z české literatury od počátků po dobu Husovu* (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1957), 247 61; Jarmila F. Veltruský, *A Sacred Farce from Medieval Bohemia: Mastičkář.* Michigan Studies in the Humanities, 6 (Ann Arbor, MI: Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, The University of Michigan, 1987). Regarding the figure of the doctor in Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, see, e. g., Kirk. L. Smith, "False Care and the Canterbury Cure: Chaucer Treats the New Galen," *Literature and Medicine* 27.1 (2008): 61 81.

2 The relation between doctor and patient has often been in the center of historical research, see, e. g., Roy Porter, *Dějiny medicíny: Od starověku po současnost*, trans. Jaroslav Hořejší. 2nd ed. Obzor, 82 (1997; Prague: Prostor, 2013), 31 7, 39 45, 48 54, 142 53, 189 203, 226 41, 256 72; Michael Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness and the Sick Body in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Leonhard Unglaub and Logan Kennedy (2003; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 21 76; Katharine Park, "Medicine and Society in Medieval Europe 500 1500" (59 90), and Roy Porter, "The Patient in England *c.* 1660 *c.* 1800" (91 118), both in *Medicine in Society: Historical Essays*, ed. Andrew Wear (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe.* 2nd ed. New Approaches to European History, 16 (1999; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 235 80; David Tomíček, *Víra, rozum a zkušenost v lidovém léčitelství pozdně středověkých Čech.* Acta Universitatis Purkynianae, 153 (Ústí nad Labem: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně v Ústí nad Labem, 2009), 61 97; from a more sociological point of view, see, e. g., Nicholas Jewson, "Medical Knowledge and the Patronage System in 18th Century England," *Sociology* 8.3 (1974): 369 85. When we consider the relationship between doctor and patient, we should not forget to mention literature regarding medical education mainly in early modern Europe; see the contributions to *Centres of Medical Excellence: Medical Travel and Education in Europe, 1500 1789*, ed. Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham, and Jon Arizzabalaga. 2nd ed. The History of Medicine in Context (2010; London and New York: Routledge, 2016); Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (see above in this note), 121 56. Very extensive not only with regard to education of physicians, but also to examination methods is the study by Rodger French, *Medicine Before Science: The Business of Medicine from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). For various ways to cure people in the Middle Ages, see *Health, Disease and Healing in Medieval Culture*, ed. Sheila Campbell, Bert Hall, and David Klausner (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992). For medicine, doctors, and patients in Czech lands in the Middle Ages and the early modern age, see, Petr Svobodný, and Ludmila Hlaváčková, *Dějiny lékařství v českých zemích* (Prague: Triton, 2004), especially 37 88; Milada Říhová, et al., *Kapitoly z dějin lékařství* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2005), 48 79. For individual diseases in the early modern era, see, e. g., Robert Jütte, *Krankheit und Gesundheit in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2013); Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness and the Sick Body in Early Modern Europe* (see above in this note), 79 160; Jeremy Schmidt, *Melancholy and the Care of the Soul: Religion, Moral Philosophy and Madness in Early Modern England.* 2nd ed. The History of Medicine in Context (2007; London and New York: Routledge, 2016).

Czech lands (Bohemia and Moravia).[3] These works cannot be described as fiction due to their nature or content. These are mainly plague texts (prints) by Church or secular authors who tried to provide readers with a view of the plague epidemic from a religious, medical, or scholarly point of view. Their intention was to provide a "guide" to life at a time of recurring plague waves.[4] Contemporary

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3 To find relevant texts, I used the Catalog of Old Czech and Slovak Prints (*Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků*), which even in its name suggests that it contains a complete list of Czech lan guage texts that have survived to this day. *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků od doby nejstarší až do konce 18. století*, I. Prvotisky (do r. 1500) (Prague: Komise pro knihopisný soupis česko slovenských tisků až do konce XVIII. století, 1925), II. Tisky z let 1501 1800, 1 9, ed. Zdeněk Vá clav Tobolka, and František Horák (Prague: Komise pro knihopisný soupis československých tisků až do konce XVIII. století 1939 1967). Below I will refer to it as "*Knihopis*," followed by the record number relating to the specific old text. This source is also available online at: http://www.knihopis.cz/knihopis eng.html (last accessed on May 30, 2022). In the field "Kniho pis Number," it is enough to enter a record number in the format of "K12345." The database is operated by the National Library of the Czech Republic, and, for each record, it is stated in which library, and under which signature the text is stored. For this study, I also used selected texts of regulations and official letters from over 100 year old editions of documents from the National Museum Archives in Prague, see *Příspěvky k dějinám moru v zemích českých z let 1531 1746 z archivu Musea Království českého*, ed. Václav Schulz. Historický archiv České akade mie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění v Praze, 20 (Prague: Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1902). The individual records are listed in the original language (Czech or German) and are arranged chronologically and provided with the serial number of the record. Therefore, in this study, when referring to individual re cords, I will indicate the record number (page number), such as No. 207 (203), where No. 207 refers to record number and (203) refers to page number.

4 For plague epidemics, see, e. g., Carlo M. Cipolla, *Fighting the Plague in Seventeenth Century Italy*. Curti Lectures, 1978 (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981); Carlo M. Cipolla, *Faith, Reason, and the Plague in Seventeenth Century Tuscany*, trans. Muriel Kittel (1977; Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979); Samuel Kline Cohn, Jr., *Cultures of Plague: Medical Thinking at the End of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Paul Slack, "Mortality Cri ses and the Epidemic Disease in England 1485 1610," *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Six teenth Century*, ed. Charles Webster. Cambridge Studies in the History of Medicine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 9 60; for epidemic patterns of plague and particular waves of plague in early modern Central Europe, see Edward A. Eckert, *The Structure of Plagues and Pestilences in Early Modern Europe: Central Europe, 1560 1640* (Basel: Karger, 1996); Clau dia Stein, *Negotiating the French Pox in Early Modern Germany*. 2nd ed. The History of Medicine in Context (2008; London and New York: Routledge, 2016); Bohdana Divišová, *Francouzská nemoc v radách lékařů 16. století: Vznik a vývoj konsiliární literatury na příkladech francouzských, italských a německých představitelů medicíny*. Knižnice Dějin a současnosti, 66 (Prague: NLN, 2018); Klaus Bergdolt, *Der Schwarze Tod in Europa: die große Pest und das Ende des Mittelalters* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1994); for the plague in Czech lands, see Karel Černý, *Mor 1480 1730: Epi demie v lékařských traktátech raného novověku* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2014). For the plague in German lands and its relation to printing culture and reformation, see Erik A. Heinrichs, *Plague,*

books by lay scholars and official correspondence will be important as well for our investigation. Primarily by analyzing the text of one Church author and contemporary correspondence, my goal is to answer the question of how the community of physicians or the physicians themselves were perceived in the Czech lands in the early modern period. At the same time, I would like to answer the question of whether medicine in the Czech Lands in the sixteenth century was already perceived as a recognized and established field or whether there were efforts to doubt the position of doctors and medicine from a point of view of clergy, or Church authors.

Church Author: Jan of Bakov

As a result of the early medieval transfer of education to the institutions of the Church or institutions associated with it (monasteries, their libraries, schools), Christian ethics were reflected in the medical ethics. From the early Middle Ages onwards, the Church viewed medical teaching quite favorably because Jesus Christ himself was a miraculous healer of the sick who commanded his followers to care for the sick: "Come (...) to inherit the kingdom (...) because I was sick, and you visited me."[5] Thus, the Church promoted the medical care of the sick as an act of compassion for others.[6] A significant change of this attitude came after the arrival of epidemics – the plague and syphilis – for both epidemics high medieval medicine and even early modern medicine was no longer sufficient. This was the case despite the draconian interventions and measures which the secular power sought to impose on the doctors' advice and which destroyed the social environments of urban and rural communities.[7] Thus, the dis-

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Print, and the Reformation: The German Reform of Healing, 1473 1573. 3rd ed., 1st ed. in paper back. The History of Medicine in Context (2017; London and New York: Routledge, 2019); Anne marie Kinzelbach, "Infection, Contagion, and Public Health in Late Medieval and Early Modern German Imperial Towns," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 61.3 (2006): 369 89; Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (see note2), 50 93.

5 Matthew 25:36.

6 See, e.g., St. Agnes of Bohemia (1211 1282), St. Elizabeth of Hungary (1207 1231), St. Cosmas and Damian (3rd century 287 or 303), or any other saints connected with care for the sick. See, for individual names of saints, e.g., Vera Schauber and Hanns Michael Schindler, *Heilige und Namenspatrone im Jahreslauf* (Augsburg: Pattloch, 1998), or *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, ed. David Hugh Farmer. 4th ed. (1978; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

7 An analysis of these measures can be found in Filip Hrbek, "Health and Community Rescue or Soul Salvation? Incarceration as an Anti Plague Measure in the Czech Lands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Incarceration and Slavery in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern*

pute between medicine and theology, which was inherent in these two disciplines in the Middle Ages, began to surface.

For a more detailed analysis, I decided to use a printed book by the clerical author Jan of Bakov. He was also known as Joannes Bakoviensis or Jan Bakovský, and he was born in 1551. Limited biographical sources do not allow us to determine whether he was a Catholic, Utraquist, or Protestant. However, according to recent research most probably he was not a Catholic.[8] In 1582, he was named parish priest in Bakov nad Jizerou (near Mladá Boleslav in the Central Bohemian region, i.e., northeast of Prague), where he also died, sometime between the years 1591–1600. The text written by Jan of Bakov is titled *The Educated Peasant Having a Dialogue with Physician about the Plague, Proving that from Plague Pains There is no Infection*, and as the title suggests, it was written in the form of a dialogue between a literate "peasant" and an academically schooled physician. The focus of this treatise was distinctly anti-establishment, and the peasant at the end convinces the physician of his truth. This text was first printed in 1582 in the Old Town of Prague.[9] With its 378 pages, it belongs among the most comprehensive early modern texts (prints) on the plague published in the Czech language. Jan of Bakov wrote his work from the position of a clergyman and a scholar who, in accordance with the specific environment of early modern Bohemia, was also a representative of the Czech-language school of humanism. Also, for this reason, the work is written in Czech and represents an interesting mixture of humanistic and theological argumentation.

At the very beginning of his text, Jan of Bakov claimed that he had written it because in times of plague, people resort to pagan customs which were propagated by doctors.[10] Right from the start, he leaves no one in doubt how he views doctors. According to him, people die from plagues because people have been abandoned by God, who stopped watching over them and thus stop-

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Age: A Cultural Historical Investigation of the Dark Side in the Pre Modern World, ed. Albrecht Classen. Studies in Medieval Literature (Lanham, Boulder, et al.: Lexington Books, 2021), 439 60.

8 My attention to the question of denomination of Jan of Bakov was caused by discussions with Karel Černý, head of the Institute for History of Medicine and Foreign Languages, First Faculty of Medicine, Charles University, Prague, to whom I am grateful for this. See also Filip Hrbek, "Czech Written Prints on Plague: 16th Century," *Plague Between Prague & Vienna: Medicine and Infection Diseases in Early Modern Central Europe*, ed. Karel Černý and Sonia Horn (Prague: Academia, 2018), 26 72.

9 Jan z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený rozmlouvání s doktorem lékařským o moru maje, že od moro vých bolestí žádného nakažení není, dovozuje* (Prague: Jiří Černý z Černého Mostu, 1582), A₁r and A₅r. *Knihopis* No. K03468.

10 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), A₃r A₃v.

ped watching over the health of the body. Because if God kept watching over people, no one would ever die. Therefore, it is possible to become infected only by God's will.[11]

He also deals with the position of medicine and the doctors themselves. In his opinion, theology is superior to everything, including medicine.[12] Because of what the doctors themselves did in the past, medicine should not even be reserved for doctors only. Doctors themselves, through their own free will, through books, in schools and during patients' treatment, had taught people everything they knew about medicine. For this reason, medicine can be practiced by all people, not just doctors. The only condition for these non-doctors is that they must not receive money for treatments.[13] Jan of Bakov further develops this idea with a long monologue by an enlightened peasant who mockingly asks a doctor if people were better off with the books of pagan doctors. Would God Himself alone be able to keep people healthy without those pagans? Has God ever commanded people to turn to pagan medicine? Isn't knowledge about diseases and the practice of medicine a natural thing when, for example, animals in a forest can heal themselves without any such knowledge? Doesn't the patient himself happen to know best where and what hurts? And did the religious ones and the saints themselves not know best how to heal?

He then concludes this scathing list of questions with the following accusations of doctors: "... now the doctors do not even want to see the urine,[14] and instead they ask the messenger which part of the body the patient is having problems with. I have previously reminded you [meaning the doctor in the debate] of farm animals and other animals that manage to heal themselves, even though they have not read any pagan books. And isn't it true that all of you doctors, yourselves are now trying to correct the teachings of Hippocrates in many ways even though each of you referred to Hippocrates as God in matters of diseases and healing?"[15]

Hippocrates himself then becomes the target of Jan of Bakov's interest when he writes that even at the time when Hippocrates was no longer alive and could

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11 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), B_2r B_2v.

12 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), B_2v B_3r.

13 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), B_4r B_6v.

14 The basic diagnostic method of medieval medicine, the so called uroscopy, consisted of a visual, olfactory, and gustatory test of urine. This method obviously ceased to be used by doctors since the first occurrence of the plague because doctors themselves quickly discovered that such a diagnosis (especially the tasting part) of plague infected patients led to them becoming infected themselves.

15 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), G_6v G_7r.

not teach anyone, patriarch Jacob, Abraham's grandson, was able to make a healing ointment which he sent as a gift to Joseph. So, without Hippocrates, Jacob saw no difference between the medicine of the spirit and the medicine of the body.[16] Thus, according to Jan of Bakov, there is no doubt that if Christians lived according to God's will, they would have knowledge of everything, even without pagan philosophy. An example for the reader is the biblical David, who also achieved his victory without any pagan help. Jan of Bakov then concludes that without philosophers, even before pagan books were written, God managed and governed His people well. So, according to Jan every bad thing in our world originates in philosophy, since pagan philosophers were those who questioned Gods' almightiness, and from their midst even the first doctors arose.[17]

In the following section of his text, Jan of Bakov turns his attention to the doctors themselves, their inconsistencies, and disputes. However, he does not see these discussions as scholarly debates, which are a way of scholar progress, but perceives them as mere ordinary quarrels or slanders. He literally writes, "Look at your apprentices, biting each other and printing harmful texts against each other."[18] He goes on to say that Paracelsus and his disciples reject and condemn the teachings of Hippocrates and Galen. He also observes that Raymond Lull and Geber[19] wrote against one group of doctors, and Gualtherus Bruele and Thomas Erastus on the other hand argued against Lull and Geber. "Leonhart Fuchs then corrects the ancient Apollonius, and he is then corrected by Valerius Cordus. Frankish doctors write against Italian, Italians against Frankish. At first, Avicenna was called the prince of physicians, but more recently Johannes Baptista Montanus was considered to be the leading physician. Now it's Jean Francois Fernel."[20]

According to Jan of Bakov, inconsistencies also prevail in the methods of treatment. Some authors advise that the body should be cleansed first gently

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16 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), G7v.

17 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), G8r. Compare this proclamation with the stance assumed by the physician Jan Kopp of Raumenthal (see further in this study), who in accord ance with Galen advocated for the general education of physicians, even in the field of natural science and philosophy. See the contribution to this volume by David Tomíček, who analyzes this matter in great details.

18 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), L1v.

19 This is the Latinized name of Abū Mūsā Jābir ibn Ḥayyān who died between 806 816. His works dealt with chemistry, alchemy, and magic. Some of his texts were edited and reprinted in 1545 in Bern as a part of bigger work, *Alchemiae Gebri Arabis philosophi solertissimi libri, cum reliquis, ut versa pagella indicabit*, by Ioannis Petrei Norinbergensis.

20 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), L1v L2v.

and then more vigorously. Other doctors consider them to be just a "sect." Some teach that dinner should be lighter than lunch, but others oppose it using Hippocratic books and recommendations. Some authors advise to eat fruit, others advise to avoid it, others advise to eat birds fed only by the right things – but how can one know what a bird has eaten during its lifetime? Others want people with fever to be treated with things of cold nature only. Others, however, want these people to be treated with things of a cold and, at the same time, a warm nature, others want fever to be treated with things of a hot nature only. Fernel says that treatments of a hot nature are better for children which Auger Ferrier denies. The latter then sums it up by saying that "if he had to read and correct the mistakes of today's doctors, there would have to be a special, and large, book for that."[21] Jan of Bakov then concludes this part by saying that if people were to follow the opinions of all doctors, they would not be able to eat almost anything. At the same time, he states that the masters of any other teaching or craft, who are in one guild, do not slander each other and do not ridicule opinions of other masters of their craft as doctors do.[22]

In the penultimate part, the character of an educated peasant criticizes doctors for being unjust in the anti-plague measures which they want people to follow and to whom their medical teachings are harmful. According to him, the doctors are unjust to God the Father because they forbid mass. To the God the Son because they prevent people from visiting and taking care of the sick. To the Holy Spirit when they prevent Him from punishing the world for its sins. To angels when they prevent them from protecting those who want to help the sick. To the Church of God when they prevent it from following the commandments of God. To church servants whom they prevent from performing the work of clergy and forcing them to leave entrusted believers of theirs by recommending them to run from plague. To the Saints when they prevent people from following their examples. To infants when they force them to die in bodies of mothers who themselves are tormented in sealed houses. These women are troubled by a terrible fear that doctors have planted in their minds, and also by the fact that no one is allowed to come to them, therefore they are so worried that they have an abortion. To expecting mothers that they cannot spiritually prepare for childbirth by visiting a church or the clergyman. To couples when they untie their bond which was supposed to be until death, and then allow someone to escape the plague and someone not. To friends because they cannot visit the sick and they find out news about them only when they die. To traders and

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21 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), L$_2$v.
22 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), L$_3$r.

craftsmen when doctors prevent them from trading, selling, producing, and making a living, forcing them to fall into debt and lose everything. To servants because they cannot be in the rooms with their masters so they must remain outside in cold and froze to death. To journeymen because they cannot sleep in the inns during their travels since doctors advised inns to close, therefore the apprentices have to sleep in the fields even in winter where they become ill and die. To relatives because they cannot visit each other and make testaments. To parents because they force them to leave their children. And even to the dying since they die alone and are not able to be buried so their bodies are then chewed up by dogs and cats.[23] In the end, for all these reasons, Jan of Bakov accuses the doctors of creating a plague and being the plague themselves. According to Jan of Bakov, they are not doctors but only mere philosophers who oppose God and all fellow people.[24]

Through his dialogue between two characters, Jan of Bakov also criticized the fact that even in countries neighboring Bohemia, priests warned the inhabitants about the plague and urged them to leave their homes.[25] Jan of Bakov further pointed out that such a practice would mean contradicting the word of God and that the priests probably tried to become equal to the behavior of doctors and "pagan philosophers."[26] The author also rejected the delusion of contagion, which, according to him, had spread from Italy in the past generation, even against the will of the Pope. Likewise, according to Jan of Bakov, the bad habit of not visiting the sick had become common.[27]

The whole text then concludes with a confession by the doctor who admits that both the possibility of infection through polluted air, staying in a room with the infected, and touching are all doctors' delusions, which arose only because doctors are better paid for new plague theories.[28] "(...) many, especially the rich, do not want to pay anything for the truth since those who teach new things get the most money. When nothing else happened to us, we had to join this made-up teaching which is so deceptive that even the pagans were ashamed of them."[29] It is said that those who attribute the plague to God do well because the same was proclaimed by Galen or Avicenna.

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23 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), U₅v W₁r.
24 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), W₁r W₁v.
25 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), C₂v C₃r.
26 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), C₃r C₅r.
27 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), C₈r D₁r.
28 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), Y₁r Y₆v.
29 Z Bakova, *Sedlák povicvičený* (see note 9), Y₁r Y₁v, and Z₄r.

In addition to Jan of Bakov, I managed to identify two other authors in the aforementioned period who are equally opposed to the idea of contagion and the possibility of an escape from the plague. They are Jan Campanus (1572–1622), at first Utraquist and then a Catholic clergyman,[30] and Vít Jakeš (1571–1648), who was a Lutheran clergyman.[31] This shows us that interest in this matter reached across denominations.

Medical Authors

Contemporary doctors tried to defend themselves against the criticism by Church authors aimed at doctors and medicine in their own texts. But the situation was not easy for them because they could not be too aggressive in their statements so as not to draw unwanted attention to themselves. Jan Kopp from Raumenthal (1487–1562)[32] is worth mentioning as a major source among the doctors who left pertinent statements. In the beginning of his text from 1542,[33] he writes that after he had published his previous text in the Czech language, he was criticized for giving medical secrets to ordinary people, so now he promises to himself, that he would publish no more texts in the vernacular.[34] However, he then

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30 Jan Campanus, *O ráně morové paterá správa upřímná k životu věčnému každému křesťanu věřícímu prospěšná, kteráž vyučuje, jak se každý v času rány morové jeden k druhému i sám k sobě chovati, bližního svého i sebe opatrovati, jemu i sobě, jak k zdraví časnému, tak i k životu věčnému napomáhati má. Kterak, kde a k komu v takový čas rány morové ujížděti neb utíkati. A pod čím ukrývaje se, vedle upřímné rady Boží bezpečně přebývati a zůstávati moci bude* (Prague: Jan Vašek Stříbrský, 1617), A₁r. *Knihopis* No. K01413. For details regarding his denomination see, Petr Hlaváček, Jaroslava Hausenblasová, Zdeněk Mužík, and Ota Pavlíček, *Kacířská univerzita: Osobnosti pražské utrakvistické univerzity 1417 1622* (Prague: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, 2013), especially 132 34.

31 Vít Jakeš, *Zpráva o Moru. Spis sebraný a shromážděný ze Slova Božího, v němž se obsahuje a ukazuje co? Kolikerý jest? Od koho? Z jakých příčin? A na jaký konec přepuštěn bývá mor? Též ja kých způsobů užívají bezbožní. Pobožní pak jak se chovati, a co činiti mají v čas rány morové* (Prague: Matěj Pardubský, 1613), A₁r, A₂r. *Knihopis* No. K03440.

32 For further comments, see the contribution to this volume by David Tomíček; see also his study "The Concept of Good Life According to the King's Physician Johann Kopp von Raumen thal," *Gutes Leben und guter Tod von der Spätantike bis zur Gegenwart: Ein philosophisch ethisch er Diskurs über die Jahrhunderte hinweg*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien, 4 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 309 16.

33 Jan Kopp z Raumenthalu, *Knížka o nakažení morním sepsaná skrze Jana Koppha Raumentálu, doktora etc.* (Prague: Bartoloměj Netolický z Netolic, 1542). *Knihopis* No. K04314.

34 Z Raumenthalu, *Knížka o nakažení* (see note 33), A₂r A₃v. Compare with opinion by Jan of Bakov, who claims, that only doctors themselves could be blame for this since only doctors

allegedly changed his mind because of the plague, Kopp of Raumenthal imme-
diately tried at the beginning of his text to defend medicine itself. Therefore, he
went against those who say that medicine is useless during plague times because
only God decides who becomes ill and who is cured.[35] According to him, doctors
can heal because God himself endowed certain plants with healing powers and
at the same times left these plants to humans as means of healing.[36]

Kopp also claims that doctors should be respected by people and should
treat people. He then refers to passages from the Book of Sirach as evidence
of his claims.[37] Jan Vočehovský (ca. 1500–1600), another doctor, who, like
Kopp, supports medicine, adds that God gave people reason to lead them in
their lives, and at the same time God created medicine from the earth to repair
damaged health.[38] The doctor's notes on this subject are then concluded in the
official printed regulation by the provincial doctors from 1613 which calls on sick
persons not to forget doctors and not to despise them because doctors were also
created by God. The patient should follow the doctors' advice and teachings.[39]

Lay Authors

Lay scholars without medical education were able to be a little more open in
their views on the defense of medicine. For example, Jan Kocín of Kocinét
(1543–1610)[40] advocated for doctors and medicine the following way. According
to him, people can defend themselves or flee from the plague.[41] According to
him, it is the same situation as when God determines the length of each person's
life but people can protect themselves against a specific cause of death – for ex-

themselves on their own free will wrote all medical teachings and knowledge into published
books. For that reason, all people can now freely practice medical profession.

35 Z Raumenthalu, *Knížka o nakažení* (see note 33), A$_4$r A$_5$r.

36 Z Raumenthalu, *Knížka o nakažení* (see note 33), A$_6$v.

37 Z Raumenthalu, *Knížka o nakažení* (see note 33), A$_5$v A$_7$r.

38 Jan Vočehovský, *Krátký spis o morové nemoci, která nyní v Markrabství Moravském a okolních
zemích panuje* (Prostějov: Jan Günther, 1552). *Knihopis* No. K16589, B$_3$r B$_3$v.

39 *Nařízení a správa kratičká, avšak užitečná a potřebná, kterak by se času tohoto morního ne
bezpečného lidé zdraví a nemocní opatrovati a také jak by se ti, kteréž Pán Bůh touž ranou moro
vou navštíviti ráčil, hojiti měli* (Prague: Jonata Bohutský z Hranic, 1613), *Knihopis* No. K06034, F$_3$
r F$_3$v.

40 Jan Kocín z Kocinétu, *Rozmlouvání o moru, v kterémž se tyto dvě otázky vysvětlují: Jestli Mor
neduh nakažující a také li a pokud člověk pobožný před nakažením morním ujíti může* (Prague:
Daniel Adam z Veleslavína, 1582). Knihopis No. K04160.

41 Z Kocinétu, *Rozmlouvání o moru* (see note 40), B$_5$r B$_6$r.

ample with armor in battle which they wear so that no one can hurt them. If this were not the case, people would not have to eat or drink and yet they would live up to a God-given age. According to Jan Kocín, whoever uses medicinal herbs to protect against the plague does not oppose God because otherwise God would not have created these plants. Thus, resisting the plague is not contrary to God, even though the plague was created by God.[42]

He then gives another example. Although God created the sun which can burn people, and He also created snakes that can poison people, He does not forbid people from protecting themselves from the midday sun, nor does He forbid them from avoiding poisonous snakes or treating their bites.[43] However, no hope should be placed upon medicine, since hope can only be placed in God. The lower causes of disease are sought by doctors and the higher ones are determined by the Scriptures and theology.[44]

Pretense in the Communication of Medieval and Early Modern Physicians

But was there, in addition to partially justified allegations of the introduction of drastic epidemiological measures, any other objective reason why the doctors' community and individual physicians were the target of criticism from the clergy? Possibly another reason can be found in texts written by doctors themselves for other doctors as advice for their (beginning or fading) medical practice. Such texts were written throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern period in many countries. One of the older examples is *Cautelae* (i.e., "protective recommendations") written by Arnaldus de Villanova (also: Arnaldus de Villa Nova; ca. 1240–1311).[45] Arnaldus's texts were popular among physicians throughout

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42 Z Kocinétu, *Rozmlouvání o moru* (see note 40), B₆r B₇r.

43 Z Kocinétu, *Rozmlouvání o moru* (see note 40), C₈r D₁v.

44 Z Kocinétu, *Rozmlouvání o moru* (see note 40), B₈v.

45 Zdeněk Žalud, "Velmi nám pomáhá, že naší mluvě nerozumějí: Sugestivní a manipulativní prvky v chování středověkého lékaře," *Kontakt* 4 (2012), 475 484. In his study the translation to Czech is also present. The original text is *Hec sunt opera Arnaldi de villa Nova que in hoc vol umine continentur*, ed. Thomas Murchius (Lugduni [Lyon]: B. D. Gabiano impressum per Francis cum Fradin, 1504); online at: https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/99100951933506421 (last ac cessed on Nov. 12, 2021).

the Middle Ages, even in Prague during the reign of the Luxembourg dynasty and in centuries after that. [46]

Medical *cautelae* aimed at protecting or defending against the biggest threat to a doctor's position, which for him was a bad reputation. Even a single dissatisfied patient can spread bad words about a doctor. These texts themselves reflect the fact that the doctors' community in the Middle Ages and early modern period was far from being composed only of experienced and respected doctors who would only treat patients and not have to worry about anything else. This community also included a lot of physicians who graduated from university, but their abilities did not reach such a level as to ensure them generally accepted popularity, respect and reputation. Popularity, respect, and reputation determined a doctor's earnings and what his livelihood would look like.[47] Many fresh graduates of medieval and early modern universities did not have enough experience to thrive from the treatment of their first patients and thus only

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46 Milada Říhová, "Středověký lékař," *Člověk českého středověku*, ed. Martin Nodl. Každodenní život, 14 (Prague: Argo, 2002), 309 36; here 314; Milada Říhová et al.*, Lékaři na dvoře Karla IV. a Jana Lucemburského* (Prague and Litomyšl: Paseka, 2010). There are also three anonymous manuscripts in the National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague, cod. I F 35, from the year 1431 entitled *Cautele medicorum contra deceptores*, *Alie cautele pro medico 19* and *Exhortacio medici et pro medico*, which mostly drew upon the deontological treatise *De cautelis medicorum* attributed to Arnaldus de Villanova. See Hana Floriánová "Cautelae medicorum   starosti a po vinnosti středověkého lékaře" *Justus et Bonus: Ad honorem Jiří Beneš: křesťanská kultura a vzdě lanost v českých zemích od středověku po Komenského*, ed. Ondřej Podavak (Prague: Filosofia, 2020), 149 73. Collections of Arnaldus de Villanova's texts were printed in Lyon in 1504, 1505, 1532, and 1686, in Basel in 1585, and in Frankfurt a. M. in 1683, which continued and also sparked new interest in this author. But regardless of Arnaldus's popularity, several original texts dealing with the topic of the proper doctor patient relationship and proper communication by doctors toward patients were written by medical and even by non medical authors in early modern Bohemia. Omnipresent in these texts is also the problematic of doctors' greed and trust. These texts of Czech provenience are analyzed extensively by David Tomíček in his contri bution to this volume. For my investigation, I use as a basic reference text on this topic only Ar naldus de Villanova's treatise in order to cover the issue addressed here.

47 See e. g., David Tomíček, "'Já mnoho lékařů znám, kteříž pouzí laikové sú'   typologie em piriků na stránkách vybraných lékařských tisků 16. století," *Historia, Medicina, Cultura*, ed. Karel Černý, and Petr Svobodný (Prague: Karolinum, 2006), 55 70. This situation can be well com pared to the situation of graduate doctors as recently as in the nineteenth or early twentieth cen tury. These doctors could overflow with abilities but without capital, a good address, and a good reputation, but all these abilities were useless to them because they did not have enough pa tients. This issue has been developed in popular literature, for example, in Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes* in the story "The Adventure of the Resident Patient," first pub lished in August 1893, when a young and promising graduate becomes the subject of the "invest ment" of a rich and, as it turns out, dishonest gentleman.

"earned" a limited popularity.[48] The principle of marketing was the same as today; one negative response outweighs ten positive ones. And that is why texts were created to protect doctors' reputations.

In his first *cautelae*, Arnaldus de Villanova warned against examining random patients' urine.[49] There was a great possibility of error as the doctor did not know anything about the patient. The second warning stated that the doctor should look sharply at who was carrying the urine since it would be possible to tell from messengers' reaction whether he was trying to fool the doctor or not. If even this didn't help, the author gave instructions in the third part on how to get information from an unexpected patient about him/herself.[50] Answering the questions in the next three articles should at least reveal the patient's sex or age or how long the disease had been present.[51] Then the seventh article said that if the one who brought the urine did not want to say anything about himself or the patient, the doctor should say that it was a liver or a stomach problem because people knew nothing about them, and even if they had a headache the doctor should insist that the problem is in the stomach or liver. According to Arnaldus, this was the way the doctor maintained an advantage over the patient in discussions.[52]

In Arnaldus's opinion, it was important for doctors in the situation of meeting an unknown patient to possess a charismatic authority. A doctor should stylize himself into a very busy, even a rude person which in fact can still work until today. The doctor was supposed to be in a hurry, to spit out, to blow his nose, and when the person who brought the urine was still obtrusive, he should cas-

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48 Obviously, this problem also affected other healers who were not doctors with a university degree. David Tomíček has dealt profoundly with this topic, see his monograph *Víra, rozum a zkušenost v lidovém léčitelství pozdně středověkých Čech*. Acta Universitatis Purkynianae, 153 (Ústí nad Labem: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně v Ústí nad Labem, 2009).

49 Žalud, "Velmi nám pomáhá" (see note 45), 481; *Hec sunt opera Arnaldi de villa Nova* (see note 46), fol. 256v. It was probably a common practice when the patient wanted to save up for a full visit at home. Likewise, it may have been an unfair practice of medical competition when in sim ilar cases one doctor tried to embarrass the other.

50 Žalud, "Velmi nám pomáhá" (see note 45), 481; *Hec sunt opera Arnaldi de villa Nova* (see note 46), fol. 256v 257r.

51 Žalud, "Velmi nám pomáhá" (see note 45), 482; *Hec sunt opera Arnaldi de villa Nova* (see note 46), fol. 257r.

52 Žalud, "Velmi nám pomáhá" (see note 46), 482; *Hec sunt opera Arnaldi de villa Nova* (see note 46), fol. 257r.

ually ask, "Does this concern you?" and from the answer he would know whose urine the person was actually carrying.[53]

In other articles, Arnaldus gradually advised how to recognize that it was urine and not wine or a liquid from figs or nettles, how to get out of naming diseases and how to proceed to carry out a more accurate uroscopy.[54] In an interesting fifteenth recommendation, Arnaldus advises that if a patient appears to be dying, a doctor should send a messenger to him in the morning after the last check-up, for example, to bring urine. In this way, a doctor would find out in advance how sick the patient is, without risking coming to a patient who had died overnight.[55] The doctor was expected to be able to predict the patient's death based on his abilities. What to do if, unfortunately, a doctor comes to check on a patient who already died, we learn in point seventeen.[56] In that case, a doctor must be confident and say that he knew about death of the patient, of course, but that he only needs to know the exact hour of death for his records. In the last two parts, we learn how to distinguish older urine from newer samples, and in point sixteen, the doctor must constantly change his treatments to make it look like he is doing something new and effective.[57]

We can, therefore, conclude that the *Cautelae* by Arnaldus de Villanova present doctors as less altruistic, empathetic, and trustworthy than what corresponded to the original high ideals of ancient medical ethics.[58] Arnaldus's text is full of suggestions, lies, disrespect, and manipulation, and it can be judged that it probably reflects mutual tricks and taunting between doctors who had to compete for patients and for every positive response to their medical practice. In the centuries following Arnaldus, the expanding literacy together with the 'boom' of printing culture led to the knowledge of protective texts of this type reaching outside ranks of doctors, and even clergymen from small towns could be among the new readers of texts like Arnaldus's *Cautelae*.[59] And as

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53 Žalud, "Velmi nám pomáhá" (see note 45), 482 3; *Hec sunt opera Arnaldi de villa Nova* (see note 46), fol. 257r.

54 Žalud, "Velmi nám pomáhá" (see note 45), 483; *Hec sunt opera Arnaldi de villa Nova* (see note 46), fol. 257r.

55 Žalud, "Velmi nám pomáhá" (see note 45), 483; *Hec sunt opera Arnaldi de villa Nova* (see note 46), fol. 257r.

56 Žalud, "Velmi nám pomáhá" (see note 45), 483; *Hec sunt opera Arnaldi de villa Nova* (see note 46), fol. 257r.

57 Žalud, "Velmi nám pomáhá" (see note 45), 483; *Hec sunt opera Arnaldi de villa Nova* (see note 46), fol. 257r.

58 Žalud, "Velmi nám pomáhá" (see note 45), 484.

59 This could be illustrated by the examples of some medieval medical texts to which even Jan of Bakov referred to, see above in this study.

more people saw the ineffectiveness of anti-plague and anti-syphilis medicine, there is no surprise that the medical community could be in early modern period viewed negatively and the tension between doctors and clergymen arose.

A Probe into the Perception of the Medical Community of the Early Modern Period: The Case of Doctor Boulle

The case from the city of Moravská Třebová from 1715 to 1716[60] illustrates the consequences of the distrust toward the Czech medical community. At the turn of 1714 and 1715, the local municipality informed higher authorities, in accordance with the valid anti-plague regulations, about the signs of the spread of the plague which had begun to appear in this town and, at the same time, asked for an experienced doctor. On August 21st, 1715, the Imperial Moravian Health Commission sent the doctor-surgeon Johann David Boulle to the city of Moravská Třebová to examine all suspicious deaths and to determine whether it was plague or not. If it was plague, his task was to help the local authorities to slow down or to stop the plague epidemic.[61] Upon his arrival, Boulle began investigating the deaths and putting in place protective measures against the spread of plague.[62] In addition, he most likely applied a procedure to clean the corrupted air. He tried to rid the air of the seeds of disease by spreading various manufactured and natural substances into the air. However, this new (and thus, in the eyes of the inhabitants, "unverified") procedure was noticed by the local inhabitants and so on September 11th, 1715, they complained to the municipality authorities that "a foreign doctor has not cured anyone yet and only scatters annoying powder in the streets."[63] Therefore, the inhabitants demanded Boulle to be sent away and that his place be taken by the "proven domestic barber Antonín Fournier."[64] It is worth noting that the locals preferred a mere barber to a doctor only because the barber belonged to the community while Boulle was a "foreign-intruder-doctor" who was applying unproven procedures which, in the eyes of the local residents, made the situation worse instead of improving it.

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60 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), numbers of records No. 202 69 (pages 200 48).

61 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 207 (203).

62 For an idea of what the measures were like, see Hrbek, "Health and Community Rescue or Soul Salvation?" (see note 7).

63 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 209 (204).

64 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 209 (204).

The next day, witnesses were questioned regarding accusations of Johann David Boulle for spreading "annoying white powder" in the streets.[65] Based on these allegations, after another five days, the Moravská Třebová city council acknowledged the allegations as proven correct and sent an inquiry to the governor of the estate, asking for advice on how to deal with Boulle.[66] From surviving information it is possible to conclude that the accused was subsequently imprisoned, because on the last day of September 1715, a doctor from a prison asked for his sick wife to be taken care of.[67] At this time, the situation with the plague epidemic in the city had already worsened so much that the whole city was under lockdown due to the spread of plague.[68]

At the beginning of October, Prince Anton Florian, the prince of Lichtenstein,[69] the owner of the Moravská Třebová estate, also became more involved in the case. He ordered his governor to get the powder, of which Boulle was accused of spreading, and test it on a dog.[70] The prince was concerned that a doctor sent directly by the imperial commission had been imprisoned on his estate so he wanted to make sure that he would not have any difficulties at the Vienna court. At the same time, a thorough investigation of the entire case was conducted by Dr. Quarini.[71] He had all the witnesses re-interrogated,[72] despite the fact that the test of Dr. Boulle's white powder on the dog turned out well; the dog came to no harm and enjoyed good health.[73] Even the November witness confrontation where Boulle was trying to dispel any doubts did not help the imprisoned doctor.[74]

Thus, simply on the basis of non-medical persons' testimonies, it was confirmed in December that Boulle's powder spreading was considered to be the

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65 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 210 (207).

66 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 211 (212).

67 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 212 (214).

68 This lockdown lasted until February 1716.

69 Prince Anton Florian, prince of Lichtenstein (1656 1721), was the former educator of Arch duke Charles, who eventually became Emperor Charles VI. Anton Florian was member of Privy Council, State Council, Order of the Golden Fleece, and finally even member of the Reichsfür stenrat. He was considered one of important political figures at the Vienna court. See, e. g., Har ald Wagner, *Die regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein* (Neustadt an der Aisch: Degener, 1995); Herbert Haupt, "Liechtenstein, Anton Florian von," *Historisches Lexikon des Fürstentums Liech tenstein online*, online at: https://historisches lexikon.li/Liechtenstein, Anton Florian von (last accessed on Nov. 6, 2021).

70 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 217 (215).

71 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 224 (217).

72 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 226 31 (217 21).

73 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 232 (221).

74 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 234 (223) and No. 236 (224 28).

cause of plague in Moravská Třebová. These testimonies also convinced the prince of the estate, the prince of Lichtenstein, who himself did not believe in a happy ending for Boulle. Nevertheless, because of the political caution mentioned above, Prince Anton Florian demanded proof that the powder which Boulle was accused of spreading was also found among the possessions of the accused one.[75] In the end, the distrust of the foreign doctor was so big that even the fact that no powder was found among his belongings did not help to stop the accusations.[76] On the contrary, the city council tried to prevent the imprisoned doctor from sending correspondence, which was repealed only on the order of the governor of the estate.[77]

At the beginning of January 1716, the disease continued to spread in the city despite the imprisonment of Boulle who was considered one of the sources of the disease. However, a new witness appeared against him, which pleased both the city council and the prince.[78] Since mid-January, however, the epidemic situation in the city had been improving and at the end of the month, the doctor, who was imprisoned for more than three months, wrote a comprehensive complaint about the methods of the Moravská Třebová municipality.[79] Since there was no occurrence of new plague cases, the Moravská Třebová lockdown, which had lasted for four months, was lifted on February 2nd 1716.[80] At the same time, Boulle's complaint got closer to the imperial court, and thus, on February 10th, the Moravská Třebová municipality had to announce Boulle's release.[81] However, before he was released, the city council managed to have his belongings and clothes burned, justifying it as preventing a possible recurrence of plague. It was also decided to clean (meaning to disinfect) the house in which Boulle had been imprisoned.[82]

At the beginning of March, the distressed doctor was still not free because before his release, the city council asked the prince for leniency regarding conduct in the Boulle case and also asked for protection from a possible punishment from the emperor.[83] There is no proof of such protection and on top of that on March 21st 1716, six months after the doctor's imprisonment, the prince had to

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75 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 238 (230).
76 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 241 (232).
77 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 244 (233).
78 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 249 (235).
79 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 252 (238 39).
80 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 253 (239).
81 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 258 (241).
82 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 259 (242).
83 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 263 (244 46).

reprimand the Moravská Třebová council to obey the emperor's order and release Boulle from prison.[84] After his release, Moravská Třebová was ordered to evaluate Boulle's belongings which the council had burned so that the estate could financially compensate him.[85] The last report in this case comes from April 1716 when a discharged doctor with a justified feeling of injustice verbally threatened the city of Moravská Třebová.[86]

There were two reasons for the reversal in the case of imprisoned Boulle. The first reason was a complaint that reached the Vienna court. It was unthinkable for the Vienna court that a member of the physicians' community dispatched by the imperial physicians' committee could be imprisoned for merely observing the plague instructions as ordered by the monarchy and in accordance with the then medical knowledge. The other reason, of no lesser importance, leading to a reversal in the case and release of the physician from the jail was the fact that the epidemic situation in Moravská Třebová city improved. The number of the deceased was decreasing, the lockdown was lifted, and there was then no reason for finding the culprit any longer. The culprit, or scapegoat in fact, was initially being looked not only because of the need to explain the epidemic but mainly because the city council wanted to show they fought effectively with the epidemic. Simultaneously by finding a scapegoat the city council could distance itself from the harsh epidemic measures introduced by Boulle, which were resented by the city inhabitants, clergy, and even by the city council itself.

Conclusion

Intellectual tensions between secular physicians and Church authors in times of plague epidemics are interesting for us mainly for two reasons. At first, they show us the different approaches by non-medical persons (mainly local intellectuals, i. e., clergymen) and physicians on how to deal with plague epidemics, where the first one points to the importance of the social functioning of the community, whereas physicians are in favor of pure epidemic measures disregarding their social impact. This is most obvious in the question of if a healthy person has the right to flee before a plague or not. Secondly, as the intellectual conflict between these two groups (and authors) emerged, Church authors such as Jan of Bakov started to question the sole existence of the physicians' profession, stand-

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84 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 265 (246).
85 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 266 (246 47).
86 *Příspěvky k dějinám* (see note 3), No. 268 (247 48).

ing outside of the authority of the clergymen, and even the image of the physicians' community in society as a whole.

At the heart of this intellectual dispute was the idea that a person's healing was primarily God's will, and that a person must patiently endure diseases without unnecessary human intervention. And on the other hand, the attitude of doctors, who claimed that God created medicinal herbs and other means and that one must take care of his God-given life. This stance led doctors to try to be active in the healing process, to apply their skills, and thus assert their own relevance and usefulness. This dispute then materialized in everyday situations, in particular in those connected with plague and, at the time, in the urgent question of whether the plague was contagious or not. For if it was contagious and the disease spread by itself, it would mean that God is not almighty. And at the same time, if it is contagious, people should run from it and leave behind all those who are sick, weak and in need of the help of their neighbor, which is completely contrary to Christian morality and ethics. The magnitude of the intellectual dispute that developed around this issue does not need to be described further.

To sum it up, opinions regarding the medical community in early modern Bohemia were influenced primarily by two factors. The first was the pressure that doctors were under due to the inefficiency of their treatments, especially for plague and syphilis,[87] which was in the Czech milieu directed at them mainly by the clergy.[88] For Church leaders, the draconian epidemic measures recommended by the physicians endangered the functioning of interpersonal ties, the urban community, and their own ecclesiastical mission. Likewise, the secular powers resisted these measures because for them they meant a true commercial, social, and political catastrophe.

The second factor was the pragmatically motivated and selfish approach of the medical community to build and protect their own reputation and health; they were not afraid of using misleading advertisements or tricks. Because of course, it was only a good doctor's reputation which provided him with his own practice, his own livelihood, and higher income during the times before health insurance. At the same time, however, awareness of various "measures to protect one's reputation," supported by Arnaldus de Villanova texts, spread among the non-medical intelligence (i. e., the clergy and laymen) which led the physicians' community as a whole to find themselves under pressure,

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87 See, e. g., Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness and the Sick Body in Early Modern Europe* (see note 3), 115 22, especially 117.

88 See text by Jan of Bakov (above in this study); Černý, *Mor* (see note 5); Hrbek, "Czech Written Prints on Plague: 16th Century" (see note 9); id., "Health and Community Rescue or Soul Salvation?" (see note 7).

being blamed for dishonesty and deemed as untrustworthy persons. This is illustrated on the case of doctor Boulle.

Nevertheless, doctors' efforts to gain their own practice, their own livelihoods, and higher incomes, even with the help of a good reputation or misleading advertising, must not be evaluated negatively. Their own practice, a good life and sufficient income, were often what allowed physicians, in addition to their own treatment of patients, for example, to do their own research or to develop new theories or teachings, which in the early modern period made it possible to create a path from medieval medicine to modern science. For the further existence of medicine as a sole "art," new discoveries in the structure and physiology of the human body were essential. Such progress enabled physicians to cure people successfully and subsequently to evade punishment or anger from disappointed patients, their relatives, lay power, and clergymen as it is illustrated by the case of Dr. Boulle. But for the reconciliation between clergymen and physicians, the most important impulse remained the disappearance of the plague in Europe in the second and third decades of the eighteenth century. Only after that time did the social status of physicians' community in early modern society in the Czech lands started to improve slightly and events like the accusation and imprisonment of physician Johann David Boulle for spreading "plague powder" in the streets of Moravská Třebová and causing plague in the years 1715 and 1716, slowly became just one of many forgotten chapters in the history of medicine.

Linda Burke

A Bond of True Love: Performing Courtship and Betrothal in Gower's *Cinkante balades* and Spenser's *Amoretti*, in Light of Christine de Pizan's *Cent balades*

For Shuli Burke
filia dilecta amica

Abstract: This article presents the first comparative study of two lyric sequences, Gower's Anglo-French *Cinkante balades* (1399 or slightly later) and Spenser's *Amoretti* (English, 1595), both based on the poet's own recent happy experience of courtship, betrothal, and marriage. Beginning with background information on Christine de Pizan's *Cent balades* and the Song of Songs, the article provides a multipart comparison of the two sequences in turn, as they engage the reader with a dramatic fiction of a man and a woman progressing over time, through verbal interplay, to a joyful commitment by both partners, a "lien/bond" of love that is equally shared between them. The importance of the woman's voice is noted in both sequences. By their strategic use of dialogue, even as dramatic fiction, both poets display their interest in communication between persons in contrast to the more conventional lyric voice turned inward on aspects of the self. The study closes by noting the common themes on the dignity of marriage that united the late medieval Catholic Gower and the English Protestant Spenser.

Keywords: John Gower, *Cinkante balades*, Edmund Spenser, *Amoretti*, Christine de Pizan, *Cent balades*, Vulgate Song of Songs, the woman's voice, the marriage bond, late medieval marriage, early modern marriage

Introduction

This article presents the first comparative study of two lyric sequences by English poets, each collection unified by theme and plan: the *Cinkante balades/Fifty Bal-*

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lads[1] (Anglo-French; 1399 or slightly later) of John Gower (ca. 1330–1408), and the *Amoretti*[2] (English; 1594, published 1595) of Edmund Spenser (ca. 1552–1599).

Both sequences showcase the conventional theme of love, but with the extremely unusual choice to dramatize the poet's recent, real-life courtship of a lady conventionally portrayed as initially reluctant, leading to the joy of her ultimate acceptance and their marriage. (The typical speaker of a lyric sequence, like the Petrarch-persona of the *Canzoniere*,[3] is obsessed with a woman he is forced to love from a distance, perhaps because she is married to someone else.[4]) Also unusual for the famously solipsistic male-authored lyric sequence[5] is the lady's voice in dialogue with her suitor, including her words of acceptance as she finally agrees to his insistent pleading for her lifetime commitment.

Spenser has been credited with "unique[ness]" in his "fusion of the roles of poet and bridegroom"[6] in the *Amoretti* and its companion poem the *Epithala-*

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1 The most recent edition of the *Cinkante*, and the one cited in this article unless otherwise in dicated, is Peter Nicholson, ed. and trans., *John Gower's* Cinkante Balades (Cullowhee, NC: West ern Carolina University, 2021), online at: https://johngower.org/john gower cinkante balades/ (last accessed on March 5, 2022). A previous edition of the *Cinkante*, consulted by Nicholson, is John Gower, *The French Balades*, ed. and trans. R. F. Yeager (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2011). The number "fifty" is imprecise. There are two ballads numbered 4, desig nated by Nicholson as 4^1 and 4^2, and a concluding ballad 51, for a total of fifty two in the se quence proper. Nicholson numbers the ballads with Arabic numerals, as do I in this paper. Ye ager's edition, pp. 56 60, includes two dedication ballads in French addressed to King Henry IV, for a total of fifty four. I refer to the latter two ballads as Dedication *Balade* 1 and 2. Yeager's edition, 5 48, also includes Gower's other ballad sequence, the *Traitié selonc les auctours pour essampler les amantz marietz*, which also affirms married love, but with examples from "history" of spouses whose infidelity led them to a bad end.
2 Unless otherwise indicated, all citations to Spenser's poetry refer to *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser,* ed. William A. Oram et al. (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1989).
3 All citations to the *Canzoniere*, also known as the *Rime Sparse*, are taken from *Petrarch: The* Canzoniere, *or* Rerum vulgarium fragmenta, ed., trans., and annotated by Mark Musa (Blooming ton, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996).
4 Early modern commentators on the *Canzoniere* believed that the real life Laura was chaste and married to someone else: Anne Lake Prescott, "The Thirsty Deer and the Lord of Life: Some Contexts for *Amoretti* 67 70," *Spenser Studies* 6 (1986): 33 76; here 34 and 67 n. 1.
5 According to William A. Oram, the notorious solipsism of the Petrarchan lyric sequence is more a matter of genre than gender: "Lady Mary Wroth's brilliant sequence is as thoroughly locked into her mind as her uncle Philip [Sidney]'s": "What Happens in the *Amoretti*," *Spenser Review* 50.2.3 (Spring Summer 2020): 1 22; here 5; online at: http://www.english.cam.ac.uk/ spenseronline/review/item/50.2.3 (last accessed on March 5, 2022).
6 Melissa E. Sanchez, "'Modesty or Comeliness': The Predicament of Reform Theology in Spens er's *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion*," *Renascence* 65.1 (Fall 2012): 5 24; here 16. For Spenser's mar

mion. In fact, Gower as a new bridegroom had already accomplished this "fusion" in his *Cinkante balades.* In its narrowest interpretation, this article seeks to document the *Cinkante balades* as an up-to-now undiscovered source for the eighty-nine sonnets of Spenser's *Amoretti.*[7] However, as Anne Lake Prescott has observed in a related context, if the two poets "independently arrived" at such an important topic and method, "that is intriguing too."[8]

Referring to the general title of the present collection, a "translation" can mean "a carrying across" as well as a rendering from one language into another. The vision of love and marriage outlined here, both "as a personal and a public issue,"[9] was carried across nearly two hundred years of cultural change, language boundaries, and the Catholic-Protestant divide, to form a spiritual community of these two likeminded poets and their readers. My argument will focus on the entire *Amoretti*, with its fictional unity and clear time sequence, but in discussing the *Cinkante*, almost entirely on the marriage poems of the sequence (1–5, 44–51 with general envoy), as this material comprises the storyline adopted by Spenser to fill his entire lyric sequence.

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riage theme as one upping Petrarch, who could never win the beloved of his *Canzoniere*, see Anne Lake Prescott, "Sources," *A Critical Companion to Spenser Studies*, ed. Bart Van Es (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006): 98 115; here 108.

7 For a recent review of Gower's influence on early modern authors including Spenser, see Rob ert R. Edwards, "John Gower's Reception, 1400 1700," *The Routledge Research Companion to John Gower*, ed. Ana Sáez Hidalgo, Brian Gastle, and R. F. Yeager (New York and Oxford: Rout ledge, 2017), 197 209. The *Cinkante* is not mentioned as a possible influence on later authors, but Edwards does write, "A further connection that might repay study is the theme of married love shared by Gower's *Traitié* and Spenser's *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion*," 205. Also see R. F. Yeager, "Gower, John," *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A. C. Hamilton et al. (Toronto and Buffalo, NY: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 337 38.

8 Prescott "The Thirsty Deer" (see note 4), 37. Her topic is the likelihood of another French lyric sequence, Marguerite de Navarre's *Chansons Spirituelles*, as a source for the *Amoretti*.

9 Albrecht Classen, "Introduction: An Essay on Language, Culture, and Identity: Medieval and Early Modern Perspectives on and Approaches to Communication, Translation, and Communi ty," in this volume, 9.

Christine de Pizan's *Cent balades* as Prototype for Gower's *Cinkante balades*

The much-praised "originality" of Gower's *Cinkante*[10] is unassailable on many grounds – for example, as the first lyric sequence by an English poet,[11] for the dramatic qualities of its fictions,[12] and as a moving collection of lyrics on love in a distinctly personal voice, including the voice of a woman.[13] Most probably, however, the *Cinkante* is not "original" in the sense of lacking a "precise model,"[14] which would be a rarity for any work of art. For example, the poet's real-life happy marriage as a lyric theme, so notable in the *Cinkante*, is highly unusual but not unprecedented, as we will see below.

As I have argued in a recent comparative study, Gower's *Cinkante* is indeed original and even transformative, but as a response to its most direct source and prototype, the earliest ballad sequence by Christine de Pizan, her *Cent balades*, most likely carried over to England in late 1398, renewing the vogue for ballad sequences at just the historic moment that motivated Gower to produce his own collection.

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10 On the originality of the *Cinkante*, what it is and what it is not, see Linda Burke, "The Personal as Political: John Gower's *Cinkante balades* as English Response to the *Cent balades* of Christine de Pizan," *Genèses et filiations dans l'œuvre de Christine de Pizan,* ed. Dominique Demartini and Claire Le Ninan (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2021), 171 84; here 171 72 and 172 nn. 3, 4, and 5.

11 R. F. Yeager, "John Gower's French," *A Companion to Gower*, ed. Sian Echard (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), 137 51; here 146. To be precise, it probably shares the honor of "the first" with Gower's other French lyric sequence, the *Traitié selonc les auctours pour essampler les amantz marietz*, edited and translated in R. F. Yeager, *John Gower: The French Balades* (see note 1), 5 48.

12 Peter Nicholson, Introduction, *John Gower's* Cinkante balades, ed. and trans. Nicholson (see note 1), 1 37; here 12 18.

13 On the author persona of the *Cinkante*, see R. F. Yeager, Introduction to the *Cinkante Balades*, ed. and trans. Yeager, *John Gower: The French Balades* (see note 1), 49 55, esp. 50. For a review of the woman's voice in the sequence, both her precedents in earlier lyric and the distinctive quality of the voice, see Peter Nicholson, "Gower's Ballades for Women," *Studies in the Age of Gower: A Festschrift in Honour of R. F. Yeager*, ed. Susannah Mary Chewning (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2020), 79 98.

14 See Peter Nicholson, "The French Works: The Ballades," *The Routledge Research Companion to John Gower*, ed. Ana Saez Hidalgo, Brian Gastle, and R. F. Yeager (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 312 20; here 312. On the alleged "uniqueness" of the *Cinkante*, modified by the discovery of Christine's *Cent* as prototype, see Burke, "The Personal as Political" (see note 10), 172 and 172 nn. 3, 4, 5.

As he tells us across his vast trilingual *œuvre*, Gower was thoroughly disillu-
sioned with the deposed King Richard II, and overjoyed at the accession of Henry
IV.[15] He dedicated his *Cinkante balades* to the newly-crowned King Henry, as he
states in one of the two French ballads introducing the sequence, "Por desporter
vo noble court roia[l]/To entertain your noble royal court,"[16] perhaps in order to
rival Christine's achievement in this vein, as Henry was known to admire Chris-
tine.[17] On the surviving evidence, there is no reason to date the *Cinkante* – as a
collection – any earlier than Henry's coronation on 13 October 1399, or any later
than May, 18, 1400, the terminus suggested by Sebastian Sobecki for the sole sur-
viving manuscript containing the lyrics,[18] or in late 1400 or early 1401, as pro-
posed by David Watt.[19]

Scholars of both the *Cent* and Gower's *Cinkante* have independently noted a
unifying plan unlike that of any sequence before Christine's, with the two se-
quences having structural parallels so close as to be unlikely due to chance
alone. In overview, both sequences consist of three parts: an opening frame ser-
ies voicing the author's personal experience of happy marriage; a longer middle
series spoken by a shifting cast of fictional lovers, both men and women; on the
treacherous vicissitudes of earthly love; and a closing frame series returning the
sequence to the praise of virtuous love between persons and for God. Of interest
to my present argument are the marriage poems in the *Cent* and the *Cinkante*.

In the opening series of Christine's *Cent*, she laments her former happy life
with her husband, whom she calls her "ami," and gives voice to her endless, un-
mitigated grief at five years (IX.9) and almost ten years (XX.3) after his death.
Like the sequence in general, the opening series is performative in concept,

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15 For recent overviews of Gower's opposition to Richard and support of Henry, see Nigel Saul,
"John Gower: Prophet or Turncoat?," *John Gower: Trilingual Poet: Language, Translation, and
Tradition*, ed. Elisabeth Dutton, John Hines, and R. F. Yeager (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell &
Brewer, 2010), 85 97, and Matthew Giancarlo, "Gower's Courts," *The Routledge Research Com
panion to John Gower*, ed. Ana Saez Hidalgo, Brian Gastle, and R. F. Yeager (London and New
York: Routledge, 2017), 150 57; here 152 54.
16 Dedication Ballad 2, line 27, included in *John Gower: The French Balades*, ed. R. F. Yeager (see
note 1), 58 59, with notes on 132 and 148.
17 On Henry's attempt to attract Christine to his court, shortly after his coronation, see Linda
Burke, "The Personal as Political" (see note 10), 175 77.
18 "*Ecce patet tensus:* The Trentham Manuscript, *In Praise of Peace*, and John Gower's Auto
graph Hand," *Speculum* 90 (2015): 925 59; here 935, 949 51.
19 "'Mescreantz,' Schism, and the Plight of Constantinople: Evidence for Dating and Reading
London, British Library, Additional MS 59495," *John Gower in Manuscripts and Early Printed
Books*, ed. Martha Driver, Derek Pearsall, and R. F. Yeager (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2020),
131 52; here 132.

with most of the ballads aimed at connection with an audience either implied, or directly addressed in lyrics with an envoi (an optional concluding quatrain directing the lyric to some person or persons). In *Balade* I, for example, the author-persona describes how she has been asked to compose "aucuns beaulx diz/some beautiful poems" (I.20), presumably celebrating love. Following a series of modesty topoi on her inability to write well at all, or on any topic outside of the hopeless "douleur/grief" that she feels (I.11), Christine turns in her envoi to address the "princes" who asked her to compose, agreeing to produce what she can (I.24–28). In the middle series of *balades*, following *Balade* XII, most of the lyrics are composed in the voices of men and women who are now enmeshed in the toils of earthly love, and are not to be confused with the author (see *Balade* L).

Beginning at *Balade* XC, Christine transitions to her final frame series, where she expands on the opening theme of personal bereavement and the grievous loves of the middle section, to the equally doleful condition of her world at large, as her king Charles VI is rendered helpless by a dire "maladie" (XCV). The only joy to be trusted is after death, if we follow the Christian faith and repent our sins (XCIX). In this her first surviving literary work, Christine invented a voice of female authority that she would further develop in her works to come.[20] Modern criticism has noted the high artistic achievement of the *Cent*, especially the lyrics describing her widowhood, widely recognized as "original in their subject matter" (married love)[21] and their powerful impression of individual experience.[22] The comment of Earl Jeffrey Richards is typical: Christine "combined lyrical forms with new and unusual themes such as bereavement and widowhood," achieving a rare "subjectivity" and "break with convention."[23]

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20 On the originality of Christine's authoritative female voice as constructed in the *Cent*, see Barbara K. Altman, "L'art de l'autoportrait littéraire dans les *Cent balades* de Christine de Pizan," *Une Femme de lettres au Moyen Âge: Études autour de Christine de Pizan*, ed. Liliane Dulac and Bernard Ribémont (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), 327 36; here 331 32.

21 On the unconventionality of her marriage and widowhood topic, see William D. Paden, "Christine de Pizan and the Transformation of Late Medieval Lyric Genres," *Christine de Pizan and Medieval French Lyric*, ed. Earl Jeffrey Richards (Gainesville, Tallahassee, et al., FL: University Press of Florida, 1998), 29 50; here 33, 39.

22 As noted by Jane H. M. Taylor, "Mimesis Meets Artifice: Two Lyrics by Christine de Pizan," *Christine de Pizan 2000: Studies on Christine de Pizan in Honour of Angus J. Kennedy*, ed. John Campbell and Nadia Margolis. Faux titre, 196 (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 2000), 115 22, 319 20; here 115.

23 Earl Jeffrey Richards, "Christine de Pizan and the Freedom of Medieval French Lyric: Authority, Experience, and Women in the Republic of Letters," *Christine de Pizan and Medieval French*

Gower Responds to Christine

Mutatis mutandis, the same accolades apply to Gower's *Cinkante*. This collection shares almost exactly the same blueprint, scaled down by half, with critics noting the unconventionality of the plan.[24] Readers already familiar with the widowhood series in Christine's sequence may have wondered if Gower would introduce his *Cinkante* with a love story rendered from personal experience, and by all evidence he did so. *Balades* 1–5 (six ballads as the number 4 is repeated)[25] give voice to a man proposing lawful marriage to a woman, named as his "amie," and in *Balade* 5, rejoicing at her acceptance, just as Gower had married Agnes Groundolf in 1398, a marriage he elsewhere describes as loving.[26] The form of the marriage poems is even more pervasively dramatic than Christine's *Cent*, as all the lyrics in the marriage series have an envoi addressing the lady as recipient of the message, sometimes from afar.

Following *Balade* 5, Gower was careful to signpost the boundary where his evidently personal voice on married love gives way to a series of morally questionable ballads that comprise the central and longest portion of the sequence and are spoken by fictional characters, both men and women. Two rubrics appear in the manuscript at this point:

> Les balades d'amont jesqes enci sont fait especialement pour ceaux qu'attendont lours amours par droite marriage
> [the ballads of the lover up to this point are made especially for those who wait on their loves in expectation of lawful marriage (translation mine).]

> Les balades d'ici jesques au fin du livre sont universeles a tout le monde, selonc les pro pretés et les condicions des Amantz, qui sont diversement travailez en la fortune d'amour. [The ballads from here until the end of the book are universal, for everyone, according to the properties and conditions of Lovers who are diversely tormented in the fortune of love (translation mine).[27]]

Lyric, ed. Earl Jeffrey Richards (Gainesville, Tallahassee, et al., FL: The University Press of Flor ida, 1998),1 24; here 10.

24 For a review of the critical comment on the unusual structure of the *Cinkante*, see Peter Nich olson, "The French Works: The Ballades" (see note 14), 314.

25 These are designated 4^1 and 4^2 in Nicholson's edition of the *Cinkante*. See note 1.

26 See the epitaph he composed for her, in John H. Fisher, *John Gower: Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer* (New York: New York University Press, 1964), 65, with more on the evidence for their love in Isabella Neale Yeager, "Did Gower Love his Wife? And What Has It to Do with the Poetry?," *Poetica: An International Journal of Literary Linguistic Studies* 73 (2010): 67 86.

27 For the text of the rubrics, see Peter Nicholson, *John Gower's Cinkante Balades* (see note 1), p. 70.

In the *Cinkante*, as we will see, the transition back to virtuous love is signaled by *Balade* 44, a lyric in a female voice of authority accepting the marriage proposal dramatized in the first six ballads of the sequence, followed by her "ami" proclaiming his equally chaste and honorable love for her (*Balade* 45). Thus, the poet supersedes the perilous loves he voiced in the middle poems by returning to sacred love, rounding off the courtship drama of the opening frame, and concluding with a capstone lyric of devotion to the Virgin Mary as the truest love of all (*Balade* 51).

In short, both Christine and Gower made the distinctive choice to introduce a longer lyric sequence with an opening frame on the topic of married love or its anticipation, a theme that was equally rare amid the lyric sequences of the early modern period. Readers may be reminded of the thematically distinct, opening frame series in Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, the seventeen so-called "procreation sonnets," in which a beautiful and eligible young man is urged by the poet-persona to marry and father offspring as a gift to his family and himself, and by implication, the realm.[28] It is possible that this group of sonnets (whether arranged in that manner by Shakespeare or his publisher)[29] was inspired by the opening series of the *Cent* or the *Cinkante* or both. At about the same time, Spenser decided to format his entire *Amoretti* as a drama of courtship and betrothal that he could have found modeled in the marriage poems of the *Cinkante balades*.

Either or both early modern poets could have discovered the *Cinkante* in manuscript form, although only one manuscript containing the text survives today. Both Spenser and Shakespeare are known to have respected Gower as an English literary founding father,[30] and both belonged to a literary circle that valued medieval manuscripts, including manuscripts of Gower.[31] Their

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28 See Robert Crosman, "Making Love out of Nothing at All: the Issue of Story in Shakespeare's Procreation Sonnets," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41.4 (Winter 1990): 470 88, on the enigma and un conventionality of the procreation sonnets including their marriage theme.

29 It is unclear whether Shakespeare had anything to do with the publication of his *Sonnets*, or the sequence they were ordered in. For a recent discussion, see Jane Kingsley Smith, *The Afterlife of Shakespeare's Sonnets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), esp. 12 13.

30 See Robert R. Edwards, "John Gower's Reception" (see note 7), *passim*, and also Bart Van Es, "Late Shakespeare and the Middle Ages," *Medieval Shakespeare: Pasts and Presents*, ed. Ruth Morse, Helen Cooper, and Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) 37 52; here 41 43.

31 On the likelihood that Spenser read Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme* in manuscript form, see John Livingston Lowes, "Spenser and the *Mirour de l'Omme*," *PMLA* 29 (1914): 388 452; here 451 n. 47. On manuscripts of the *Confessio Amantis* owned by associates of Shakespeare and Spenser, see Derek Pearsall and Lynne Mooney, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the English Manuscripts of John Gower's* Confessio Amantis (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2021) 57, 195, respectively.

peer group also attended to lyric sequences that were passed around in manu-
script form.[32]

Translation: From the Song of Songs to the Marriage Poems of Gower and Spenser

Within the ancestry of every western lyric sequence are the Psalter[33] and the
Song of Songs,[34] both of them lyric sequences of intense subjectivity, with the
woman's voice given equal honor (and more airtime) in the Song of Songs.[35]

This section does not attempt to summarize the history of exegesis on the
Canticle, which relative to its size, has received more commentary and more con-
flicting interpretations on every verse than any other book in the Bible.[36] Rather,
I will briefly list important features of the Song, especially in Jerome's Latin Vul-
gate, as they are relevant to my argument that follows.

First, from Origen's commentary on the Song and thereafter, the book was
understood to be an "epithalamion ... dramatis in modo,"[37] or "an epithalamium,
that is to say, a marriage song, which Solomon wrote in the form of a drama, and
sang under the figure of the Bride ... ."[38] As did most commentators through the
early modern period and many thereafter, Origen insisted that the Song must be
understood as an allegory of the individual soul or the church as the Bride in her
longing for Jesus as Bridegroom, and never as it seems to be on the literal level,
an expression of passionate love between a man and a woman.[39] However, and it
should come as no surprise, this prohibition failed to discourage the medieval or
early modern poet (in many cases) from adopting the tropes of the Song into

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32 On the manuscript circulation of lyric poems in early modern England, especially Shake
speare's sonnets, see Jane Kingsley Smith, *The Afterlife of Shakespeare's Sonnets* (Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 2019), 5 34.

33 On the omnipresence of the psalter in the western lyric sequence, see Roland Greene, "Sir
Philip Sidney's Psalms, the Sixteenth Century Psalter, and the Nature of Lyric," *Studies in English
Literature, 1500 1900* 30.1 (Winter 1990): 19 40.

34 See Peter Dronke, "The Song of Songs and the Medieval Love Lyric," *The Bible and Medieval
Culture*, ed. W. Lordaux and D. Verhelst (Leuven/Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1979): 236 62.

35 See notes 42 47 below.

36 *The Anchor Bible Song of Songs: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, ed.
and trans. Marvin H. Pope (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 89.

37 Quoted in Peter Dronke, "The Song of Songs" (see note 34), 242.

38 Origen, *The Song of Songs Commentary and Homilies*, trans. and annotated by R. P. Lawson
(Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1957), 21.

39 Origen, *The Song of Songs*, trans. Lawson (see note 38), 21 23.

poems of love, including the frankly erotic,[40] and/or to the expression of faithful courtship and married love between ordinary human beings.[41]

Second, the Song is a series of dialogues based on gender equality and mutuality with the woman's voice at least as eloquent and important as the man's,[42] so much so that the Song has even been interpreted as authored by a woman.[43] The bride speaks fifty-six verses to the bridegroom's thirty-six, by one count,[44] and she is the speaker of all three verses that contain the famous "formula of mutual belonging,"[45] often quoted as "I am my beloved's and my beloved is mine":

> dilectus meus mihi et ego illi (Vulgate, Canticum 2:16a)[46]
> my beloved to me, and I to him (Douay Rheims)[47]
>
> ego dilecto meo et dilectus meus mihi (Vulgate, Canticum 6:2a)
> I to my beloved and my beloved to me (Douay Rheims)

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40 Peter Dronke, "The Song of Songs" (see note 34), *passim*; E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 191 93.

41 As discussed in this article, both Gower and Spenser appropriated tropes from the Song to express their love for their wives. The Protestant Geneva Bible, used by Spenser, appears to endorse the "singular love of the [human] bridegrome toward the bride" as the basis for understanding "the moste swete and comfortable allegories and parables" of the Song: *The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament, Translated According to the Hebrew and Greke, and conferred With the best translations in diuers langages* (Geneva: Rouland & Ali, 1560), Argument (headnote) to A Most Excellent Song which was Salomons, 556/1224. Online at: https://archive.org/details/TheGenevaBible1560/mode/2up (last accessed on March 6, 2022). In a different vein, Chaucer's January grotesquely quotes the springtime ode of the Bridegroom to the Bride in attempting to lure his disgusted young wife: *The Merchant's Tale* ll. 2142 48: *The Riverside Chaucer,* 3rd ed., ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987).

42 See for example the now classic Phyllis Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1978), esp. 145.

43 *The Anchor Bible Song of Songs* (see note 36), 134, quoting psychiatrist Max N. Pusin, who bases his theory on the dreams reported by his female patients.

44 *The Anchor Bible Song of Songs* (see note 36), 29.

45 Phrase quoted from *The Anchor Bible Song of Songs* (see note 36), 405, commentary on Song 2:16.

46 All citations to the Vulgate are drawn from *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. Roger Gryson et al. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994).

47 All citations to the Douai Rheims translation are taken from *The Holy Bible Faithfully Translated into English out of the Authentical Latin, diligently conferred with the Hebrew, Greek, & other Editions in Diuers Languages,* ed. the English College of Dovvay (Douai: John Covsterier, 1635); online at: https://archive.org/details/1610A.d.DouayOldTestament1582A.d.RheimsNewTestament 176/mode/2up (last accessed on March 6, 2022).

ego dilecto meo et ad me conversio eius (Vulgate, Canticum 7:10)

I to my beloved, and his turning is toward me (Douay Rheims)

Far from being merely repetitive,[48] this re-echo of the formula in reverse order – from the bridegroom as subject of the sentence, to "ego/I" the bride in first place – is highly expressive, as it underscores the radical reciprocity of their love. It is also the bride who wisely declares love to be the supreme value, far surpassing material wealth or status:

si dederit homo omnem substantiam domus suae pro dilectione quasi nihil despicient eum (Vulgate, Canticum 8:7b)

[if a man shal giue al the substance of his house for loue, as nothing he shall despise it. (Douay Rheims)]

This affirmation ("the world for love") became a topos of discourse on love between human persons, as we will see illustrated below.

Third, the Vulgate Song of Songs is an important source for the Middle French terms "ami" and "amie" (literally, "friend") in referring to a man or woman beloved, including a fiancé(e) or a spouse. In the Vulgate Song, which closely follows the Hebrew,[49] "amica mea"[50] and "amicus meus"[51] are the Vulgate renderings into Latin for two of the epithets, similar in sound, that were used in addressing or referring to the beloved by the man and by the woman of the Song. Both Hebrew terms connote an emotional partnership as well as a purely physical passion: for the woman beloved, *amica mea*, the Hebrew has ra'yātî, "companion, darling." When the bride refers to her beloved as rē'î, "my friend," at Song 5:16, she playfully echoes the similar-sounding term of endearment previously used in addressing her,[52] as well as affirming the spiritual dimension of her love.[53] This biblical usage of amicus/amica helps to explain the lexical richness of the Middle French terms "ami" and "amie" that is not paral-

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48 A disparagement repeated by *The Anchor Bible Song of Songs* (see note 36), 557, note on Song 6:3a.

49 The close correspondence of Jerome's Vulgate to the Hebrew Song is noted by *The Anchor Bible Song of Songs* (see note 36), 20; I wish to thank my daughter in law Shulamith Burke for her assistance with the Hebrew Song, especially the terms of endearment.

50 The verses with "amica mea" in the Vulgate Song are as follows: 1:8, 14; 2:2, 10, 13; 4:1, 11; 5:2; 6:3. Verses in English Bibles may be numbered slightly differently.

51 Vulgate Song 5:16.

52 *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 3rd ed. The New Revised Standard Version, ed. Michael D. Coogan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), Hebrew Bible 965, note on Song of Songs 5:16.

53 *The Anchor Bible Song of Songs* (see note 36), 557, note on Song 6:3a.

leled in any variation on the English "friend." In English Bibles, these epithets are generally translated as "my love" or "my beloved," as do I in rendering the Middle French lyrics into English.

Also essential for understanding the marriage poetry of Gower and Spenser is the famous passage on marriage in Ephesians 5:21–33, with its commandment for mutual submission by all Christians (5:21), followed by the contradictory command that wives submit to their husbands as to the Lord (5:22). Husbands are enjoined to love their wives as Christ loved the church, and gave himself for her (5:25), a self-sacrificing love. The marriage relationship is glorified as "sacramentum hoc magnum" (Vulgate 5:32a) as it bodies forth the connection between Christ and his figurative bride, the church, with the bride described in the same terms as the maiden in the Song of Songs as "without a spot" and "without blemish" (Song 4:7, Ephesians 5:27).[54] All of these elements, of mutual love, the dignity of marriage, and the counter-mandate for female subjugation, would rub together just as uneasily in the marriage discourse of the late medieval Catholic and early modern eras.

To complicate the task of those who sought to extol the state of matrimony, further scriptural evidence contradicting the dignity of marriage is found in 1 Corinthians 7, where the apostle clearly designates faithful marriage as second-best compared to celibacy, as marriage is merely a safety valve for uncontrolled sexual desire (7:8–9). It was incumbent upon Protestants no less than Catholics to engage with the tensions inherent in the biblical legacy on marriage, if only by sometimes choosing to selectively ignore it.

Performing Courtship and Betrothal in Gower's *Cinkante balades*

Peter Nicholson was the first to note the uniquely interactive, thus "dramatic" quality of the *Cinkante balades*. While Gower did not invent the envoi, his practice was "distinctive" in employing it almost universally, in all but two lyrics throughout the *Cinkante*, in order to address the individual lyric to a beloved

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54 The spotless bride of Ephesians 5:27, a human bride but allegorized as the Church, was traditionally equated with the spotless bride of the Song 4:7: see the marginal comments in the 1635 Douay Bible (see note 47), 336, in the General Argument to the Canticles, which explicates the Song as an allegory of Christ (the bridegroom) and his church (the bride), with a citation to the bride in Ephesians 5.

woman or man. The effect is to "add drama to [a genre] that was formerly a monologue"[55]:

> ... many of Gower's ballades do not merely describe a relationship, they enact it ... Gower's most interesting achievement in the *Cinkante balades* ... is the [adaptation] of a lyric vocabulary that was essentially self absorbed to the purpose of the lover's communication with the lady.[56]

To date, however, the marriage lyrics in Gower's *Cinkante* (1–5, 44–51) have not been recognized as a continuous, unified drama of courtship speeches by the poet-persona, his joy at the lady's acceptance, and her words of consent to the union. In fact, we can trust the manuscript rubric quoted above, which separates 1–5 as marriage lyrics from the diversity of love situations in middle section of ballads to follow. The transition back to virtuous love in the closing sequence is clear from the content of *Balade* 44.

The poet-persona proposes to the lady in *Balade* 1, with the nature of the proposal only hinted at, engaging the reader's curiosity. The discourse – a poet-persona soliciting a lady's love – is utterly conventional for a lyric sequence, but in this poem, it is complicated by a pledge of lifelong commitment, the invocation of God, the speaker channeling Jesus, and the serious terminology of religion and the law. Any of these alone might come as no surprise, but in combination, they lead the reader to suspect that this proposal is something more serious than the usual amorous appeal:

> Si dieus voldroit fin mettre a ma plesance,
> Et terminer mes accomplissementz,
> Solonc la foi et la continuance
> Qe j'ai gardé sanz faire eschangementz,
> Lors en averai toutz mes esbatementz.
> ...
> Par cest escrit, madame, a vous me rens.
> Si remirer ne puiss vo bele face,
> Tenetz ma foi, tenetz mes serementz:
> Mon cuer remaint toutdiz en vostre grace. (1.17 21, 25 28)

> [If God should wish to put an end to my earthly life, and bring all my achievements to an end, according to my faith and my constancy, that I have maintained without changing, I would have had all the happiness [that I need.] By this writing, my lady, I yield myself to

55 Peter Nicholson, Introduction, in *John Gower's* Cinkante Balades, ed. Peter Nicholson (see note 1), 18.
56 Peter Nicholson, Introduction, in *John Gower's* Cinkante Balades, ed. Peter Nicholson (see note 1), 16.

you. If I cannot see your lovely face, have here my faith, have here my pledge: my heart remains always in your grace. (translation mine)]

This *balade* is adorned with multiple affirmations of the courtship as a sacred quest – as it is in harmony with God (1.17), faith (1.19), "serementz/oath" (1.27), all in hope of "grace" in the lady's reply (1.28). In this context, the poet-persona's offer to the lady, "a vous me rens/I yield myself to you" (25, translation mine), sounds forth as a promise of the Christlike, self-sacrificing love required of a husband for his wife, as defined in Ephesians 5:25 and noted above.

Still not mentioning marriage directly, *Balade* 2 sustains these associations with the sacred, weaving in the profound intention of the lover's suit by echoing the famous invitation of the bridegroom to his beloved in Song of Songs 2:10–14:

> L'ivern s'en vait et l'estee vient flori;
> De froid en chald le temps se muera;
> O'oisel, q'aincois avoit perdu soun ny,
> Le renovelle, u q'il s'esjoiera. (2.1 4)

[Winter goes away and summer comes with flowers; the weather changes from cold to warm; the bird, who had lost her nest, builds it anew, and rejoices in so doing. (translation mine)]

Here, the Gower-persona evokes the theme of rebirth in nature, and especially the return of a faithful bird, as he channels the famous springtime call of the bridegroom to the bride in the Song of Songs:

> surge propera amica mea formonsa [sic] mea et veni
> ...
> flores apparuerunt in terra tempus putationis advenit
> vox turturis audita est in terra nostra (Vulgate Canticum 2:10b, 12)

Arise, make hast my loue, my doue, my beautiful one, and come ... . The flowers have appeared in our land, the time of pruning is come: the voice of the turtle doue is heard in our land (Douay Rheims version).

In the refrain to *Balade* 2, the poet-persona adds to the tapestry of scriptural allusion, as he relates his amorous pursuit, still unfulfilled, to the hopeful words of the Psalmist:

> Qant dolour vait, les joies vienont pres (2.8, 16, 24, 28)
> When sorrow comes, soon after comes the joy. (translation mine)

This "collocation of joy and sorrow," while proverbial and common in poetry,[57] here most clearly resembles the faith of the Psalmist that God will not long hesitate to relieve the grief that he is feeling now:

> ad vesperum demorabitur fletus
> et ad matutinum laetitia (Vulgate Ps. 29:6)

> [In the evening weeping shall have place, and in the morning gladness. (Douay Rheims)]

In *Balade* 3, the lover continues the spiritual tone of his hopeful pursuit with the refrain "En attendant qe jeo me reconforte/ In waiting for her I take comfort" (3.7, 14, 21, 25, translation mine). His language recalls the Christian promise of the Holy Spirit as Paraclete or Comforter (John 14:16) as a presence to be hoped for. In the same vein, the poet-persona renews his promise of self-giving, Christ-like love at 3.16: "A toutz les jours sanz departir me ploie/For all my days I yield myself without forsaking" (translation mine) in further allusion to the scriptural mandate for the husband in Christian marriage.

It is only in *Balade* 4[1], however, that the suitor fully proclaims the intention of his wooing, in all its glory: "En droit amour ... As toutz jours mais, pour faire vo plesance/In lawful love ... For all my days, to give you happiness" (4[1].3–4, translation mine). The phrase "droit amour/lawful love" is a clear correspondence with the "droite marriage/lawful marriage" of the manuscript rubric quoted above. Each stanza rhymes on a sonorous term that clearly befits a betrothal or a marriage: "covenance/solemn promise ... fiaunce/vow ... alliance" (4[1].5, 12, 19). As noted by Peter Nicholson, all of the terminology quoted here – "droite amour," "covenance," "fiaunce," "alliance," is

> either unknown or very rare in earlier lyrics, and the last three, while all having a more general application, when found in the context of relations between a man and a woman are either commonly or normally used with reference to a betrothal or a marriage, a sense that is strengthened by lines 3 4, "unir / A toutz jours mais [to unite / for all my days, translation mine]," another expression equally unknown among Gower's lyrics [sic] predecessors, who had little occasion for celebrating married love.[58]

At line 4[1].8, the lover offers at last a clear proposal of marriage, even a binding marriage vow if the lady responds in kind: "jeo me doi bien a vous soul consentir/I ought well to consent to you alone" (translation mine). According to the the-

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57 Peter Nicholson, *John Gower's* Cinkante balades (see note 1), 51, note on line 8.
58 Peter Nicholson, *John Gower's* Cinkante balades (see note 1) 59, general note on *Balade* 4[1]; see also 60 61, notes on lines 3, 5, 12, and 19, where these terms appear.

ology of marriage in the world of Gower and Spenser, consent by the man and woman was the only *sine qua non* of a valid marriage.[59] The refrain of 4^1 is the first of several variations in the *Cinkante* on the "formula of mutual belonging" between the bride and bridegroom in the Song of Songs, quoted and discussed above: "Vostre amant sui, et vous serretz m'amie/Your love am I, and you will be my love" (4^1.7, 14, 21, 25, translation mine).

In the tradition of the Song of Songs, *Balade* 4^2 repeats "the formula of mutual belonging," but in reverse order from its first occurrence to underscore the theme of reciprocity in love: "Sanz departir tu m'as tout et jeo t'ai/Without forsaking, you have me entire, and I have you" (line 12). The entire stanza is quoted here in full, as it describes the "lien" or "bond" of marriage as a joyfully chosen self-surrender on both sides:

> Sanz departir jeo t'ai, m'amie, pris,
> Q'en tout le monde si bone jeo ne sai;
> Sanz departir tu m'as auci compris
> En tes liens, dont ton ami serrai;
> Sanz departir tu m'as tout et jeo t'ai
> En droit amour por ta pleasance faire;
> Sanz departir tu es ma joie maire. (4^2.8 14)

> [Without forsaking, I have taken you, my love,
> For I know no one so good in all the world;
> Without forsaking, you have also taken me
> Within your bonds, so I shall be your love;
> Without forsaking, you have me entire, and I have you,
> In lawful love to give you happiness,
> Without forsaking, you are my greatest joy. (Translation mine)]

Unnoted heretofore in commentary on the *Cinkante*, the term "lien(s)" in Middle French specifically refers to the bond of marriage[60] and is the equivalent to the

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59 D. L. d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 124 29, discussed in the context of Gower by Harry Peters, "John Gower   Love of Words and Words of Love," *Words of Love and Love of Words in the Middle Ages and the Renais sance,* ed. Albrecht Classen. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 347 (Tempe, AZ: Ari zona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 439 60; here 450.

60 See "lien," definition B.2a, "lien(s) de marriage." *Dictionnaire du moyen français* (DMF) 2020; online at: http://zeus.atilf.fr/scripts/dmfX.exe?LEM=lien;XMODE=STELLa;FERMER;;AFFICH AGE=0;MENU=menu dmf;;ISIS=isis dmf2020.txt;MENU=menu recherche dictionnaire;OUV RIR MENU=1;OO1=2;OO2=1;s=s150434c8;LANGUE=FR; (last accessed on April 15, 2022).

term "bond" also used of marriage in Middle English.[61] In 4^2.11, this binding tie is accepted as within the lady's power to bestow, a detail that chimes with the equality of the bride and bridegroom as pervasive in the Canticle, and implied by the mandate for mutual submission by all Christians in Ephesians 5:21.

In *Balade* 5, however, the "formula" recurs twice, but beginning with "Jeo/I" each time, and with a statement of his future authority as a husband:

> Q'elle est tout humble a faire mon voloir.
> Jeo sui tout soen et elle est toute moie;
> Jeo l'ai et elle auci me voet avoir.
> Pour tout le mond jeo ne la changeroie. (5.5 8)

> [For she is meek to do all my desire.
> I am all hers and she is all mine;
> I have her and she wills to have me also.
> I would not give her in exchange for all the world. (translation mine)]

In this passage, the mandate for wifely submission (Eph. 5:22) uneasily commingles with words of wisdom spoken by the bride in the Song of Songs: both the "formula" of equal and mutual love, and the topos on love as exceeding the value of "tout le mond/all the world," voiced in the refrain (Song 8:7b, discussed above.)

This last is echoed as well by the lady in *Balade* 44, as she accepts the lover's proposal of marriage as more precious to her than status or wealth: "Si je de Rome fuisse l'emperesse / Vostre ameisté refuserai jeo mie/Even if I were the empress of Rome / I would not refuse your love in the least" (44.5–6, translation mine). As did the lover's stanzas of proposal, her words of acceptance embrace the vocabulary of the sacred, and her refrain is a variation on the "formula of mutual belonging":

> Le coer de moi vers vous s'est adrescée
> De bien amer par droite naturesce.
> Tresdouls amis, tenetz moi foi expresse,
> Ceo point d'acord tendrai toute ma vie,
> Qu'au tiel ami jeo vuill bien estre amie. (44.17 21)

> [This heart of mine is turned to you
> In true love, by nature and by law.
> My sweetest love, have here my faith outright,

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61 See "bond," definition 3a, "of mariage, spousaille, wedlock," *Middle English Dictionary* (MED) https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle english dictionary/dictionary/MED5493 (last accessed on April 15, 2022).

> This covenant I will keep for all my life,
> By such a love I wish to be beloved. (translation mine)]

Balade 49, discussed below in more detail, is rightfully considered to be the poet's "supreme" statement on married love as a form of "bon amour/good love" (49.6, 8, 20, 22), a phrase that he uses synonymously with "vrai amour/ true love" (47.4).[62] The dramatic fiction of the sequence is sustained through the final commentary on marriage, as the poet continues to speak in the "je/ I"-persona of the bridegroom: " ... boun amour, et si j'ensi le quiere / Lors est amour d'onour la droite mere/... good love, and if I seek it thus / Then is love the rightful mother of honor" (translation mine, 49.20–21). Only in the closing lines of the *Cinkante*, a general envoi, will the poet resume the more universal persona of a loyal Englishman, as will be noted below.

Courtship and Betrothal in Spenser's *Amoretti*

The dramatic premise, the "interplay"[63] of Spenser's *Amoretti*, is introduced in the first lyric, which is really a fourteen-line envoi addressed to his beloved. Speaking to his own poem, the poet-persona imagines her reading process and the hoped-for favorable response to his appeal:

> And happy [ye] rymes, bath'd in the sacred brooke
> of Helicon, whence she derived is,
> when ye behold that Angels blessed looke,
> my soules long lacked foode, my heavens blis.
> Leaves, lines, and rymes, seeke her to please alone,
> whom if ye please, I care for other none. (I.9 14)

The sonnets are here described as handed to the lady in "leaves," one by one, in the course of an interchange where her responses are sometimes described, and sometimes directly quoted.[64] At the very inception of the sequence, the poet-per-

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62 Harry Peters, "John Gower: Love of Words" (see note 59), 456.

63 Oram calls their dialogue an "interplay," "What Happens" (see note 5), 7/22; see also Alexander Dunlop, "The Drama of *Amoretti*," *Spenser Studies* 1 (1980): 107 20, *passim*.

64 The sonnets where Spenser quotes Elizabeth directly are XVIII, XXIX, LVIII, and LXXV. Son net LVIII is noted in the headnote as "by her," which seems to indicate that she wrote it herself, at least in the fictional drama of the poem, and I believe in fact. Spenser also notes her reactions to his words, mostly notably how she burned his previous sonnet, an act he responds to in Son net XLVIII.

sona introduces the "sacred" quality of his courtship, his reverential love for the lady with her "Angels blessed looke" (I.11), his near-blasphemous equation of her "looke" with "heavens blis" (I.12), and his infantile hunger for her attention, "my soules long lacked foode" (I.12). Grateful for the comfort she provides to his "dark spright" (IX.2), Spenser echoes the Psalmist by comparing his lady's eyes to the light of God in which we see the light: "Then to the Maker selfe they likest be / whose light doth lighten all that here we see (IX.13–14; Ps. 36:9b). About one third of the sonnets are addressed to the lady, with many deploying the final couplet as an envoi; others are addressed to himself or to other things or persons, but all are directed to the eyes of the lady as co-participant in a courtship dialogue.

The exact nature and progress of the courtship, as well as the lady's character, her reactions to the lover, and a few samples of her speech, will be revealed in stages, as if enacted for an audience. As was conventional for the early modern lyric sequence, this one is based at least in part on the author's personal experience. It is not to be confused with a complete and literal autobiography; Spenser never mentions, for example, that he was a recent widower with two children at the time when he was wooing Elizabeth Boyle, the lady of the sonnets, a well-born Englishwoman who was about nineteen years old to Spenser's early forties. Both were living in Ireland, where the London-born Spenser was stationed in the service of the violent, imperial agenda of his nation and his queen.[65] The time scheme of the dramatic fiction is fact-based, naturalistic, and consistent: it begins *in medias res*, with a New Year's meditation in January 1594 on a courtship already underway (IIII), continues with a "spring in February" lyric conventionally featuring a "quyre of Byrds" (XIX.5),[66] meditates on Ash Wednesday 1594 (XXII), celebrates the traditional March 25 New Year (LXII), and proceeds to the famous Easter sonnet affirming the mutual love between himself and his now bride-to-be (LXVIII).

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65 See Anne Lake Prescott, "Spenser's Shorter Poems," *The Cambridge Companion to Spenser*, ed. Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 143 61; here 151 54, on Spenser's personal situation when he was courting Boyle, including his active participation in the English depredations in Ireland.

66 There is only one springtime in the *Amoretti*, and not, as speculated by Oram, two springs a year apart: "What Happens," (see note 5), 20/22, note 24. The avian choir singing love songs is a feature of poems in honor of Valentine's Day, considered the earliest day of spring: see Jack B. Oruch,"St. Valentine, Chaucer, and Spring in February" *Speculum* 56 (1981): 534 65. Gower's *Cin kante* has two lyrics for Valentine's Day, 34 and 35, both of which feature singing birds, happy in their loves, whom the poet persona longs to emulate.

The courtship must have started sometime in the spring of 1593, as in Sonnet LX, eight days before Easter,[67] Spenser refers to the "one year ... spent" (LX.6) since he fell in love. In sonnets representing the post-Easter spring of 1594, after LXVIII, the poet-persona appears to have spent most of his time in forced separation from his fiancée and subject to painful circumstances, including an envious detractor who attempted to sabotage the betrothal (LXXXVI). After the emotional high point of the Easter sonnet, most of the later lyrics in the sequence, not unlike the middle poems of the *Cent* and the *Cinkante*, express the uncertainty of earthly life and the frustrations of human love. However, this note of melancholy is quickly superseded; the *Amoretti* was included in the same 1595 volume with the joyful *Epithalamion*, which narrates hour by hour (whether in memory or anticipation) the poet's wedding day and night with his Elizabeth on 11 June 1594.

Spenser's enormous range of sources – Greek, Latin, the Bible and Apocrypha, Italian, French, English, "miscellaneous"[68] – has been admired as a "mosaic"[69] and a "warp and woof of intertextuality,"[70] when it is not despaired of as simply a "problem"[71] for the researcher. Focusing on a single stream of commonality, I will discuss selected sonnets from the *Amoretti* that roughly parallel their likely prototypes in the *Cinkante*, in order to illuminate a community of culture, including a common response to the marriage traditions of the Bible. The influence of the Song of Songs on the explicitly erotic lyrics of the *Amoretti* has been well documented and will not be my emphasis here.[72]

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67 The chronology of the *Amoretti* summarized here was first noted by Alexander Dunlop, "The Drama of *Amoretti*" (see note 63.)

68 The headings used in the "Index of Sources and Analogues" to the volume containing the *Amoretti*: *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition, The Minor Poems*, vol. 7 part 2, ed. Charles Grosvenor Osgood and Henry Gibbons Lotspeich (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1947), 724 34.

69 John Livingston Lowes, "Spenser and the *Mirour*," (see note 31), 411.

70 Anne Lake Prescott, "Sources" (see note 6), 98.

71 *The Works of Edmund Spenser, a Variorum Edition*, vol. 7, part 2 (see note 68), 434, a quotation from "Renwick" occasioned by Sonnet XLV.

72 The most explicit are LXXVI VII, where the poet fantasizes on his fiancée's breasts, which she will not yet allow him to browse upon: see the commentary on these sonnets in *The Works of Edmund Spenser, a Variorum Edition* (see note 68), vol. 7, part 2, 448 50; see also John N. King, *Spenser's Poetry and the Reformation Tradition* (Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press, 1990), 170.

Like Gower, Spenser begins with a series of lyrics (I–V) that regret the lady's apparent indifference to his plea. In his January poem,[73] noting that this New Year will quickly bring on the "lusty spring" (IIII.9), the poet-persona admonishes his beloved in the imperative mood, suggesting his impatience with her: "Then you faire flower, in whom fresh youth doth raine/prepare your selfe new love to entertain" (IIII.13–14). Only in Sonnet VI does the persona reveal the true intention of his quest, delayed until line 14:

> ...
> So hard it is to kindle new desire
> In gentle brest that shall endure forever:
> ...
> With chast affects, that naught but death can sever.
> Then thinke not long in taking little paine
> To knit the knot, that ever shal remain. (VI.9 10, 12 14)

As noted by the editor, Spenser engages the reader with wordplay on repeated negatives – "naught" and "not" – to conclude with a positive, "to knit the knot, that ever shal remain."[74] The variation on this universal image for a wedding is euphonious and clearly peaceful – "to knit the knot," rather than "to tie" it – and pictures two equal lives soon to be joined in an unbreakable commitment. Unlike his counterpart in the *Cinkante* (1.17–21), the Spenser-persona never offers to accept the joy of loving from afar as its own reward, but his marriage proposal, if more insistent, is just as virtuous as it is respectful of the lady's chastity.

In the course of his winter sonnets pleading to a resistant lady, Spenser employs a striking simile on her hardness of heart that is also found in the turbulent middle series of the *Cinkante balades*, and unnoticed up to now in connection with Gower:

> The rolling wheele that runneth often round,
> The hardest steele in tract of time doth teare:
> and drizzling drops that often doe redound,
> the firmest flint doth in continuance weare.
> Yet cannot I with many a dropping teare,
> and long intreaty soften her hard heart. (XVIII.1 6)

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73 The *Cinkante* also has two January New Year's poems, 32 and 33, each written in hope of a new receptiveness on the lady's part; for the many precedents in lyric verse, see Peter Nicholson, *John Gower's* Cinkante balades (see note 1), 191 98, Balades 32 and 33 with commentary.

74 *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems,* ed. William A. Oram et al. (see note 2), 604, editor's note on sonnet VI.

The image of the persona's endless prayers as drops of water able to wear away a stone, but failing to erode the lady's adamantine coldness to him,[75] is also found in *Balade* 18 of the *Cinkante:*

> Les goutes d'eaue qe cheont menu
> L'en voit sovent percer la dure piere,
> Mais cest essample n'est pas avenue
> Semblablement, qe jeo de ma priere
> La tendre oraille de ma dame chiere
> Percer porrai; (18.1 6)

> [The drops of water that fall one by one, you often see piercing the hard rock, but this ex ample hasn't happened in the same way [for me], that I would be able to pierce the tender ear of my dear lady (18.1 6, translation mine)]

Also in Sonnet XVIII, we hear the lady's voice reported verbatim for the first time, as she responds with wit and good humor foreshadowing her ultimate accept-ance, to the rather childish histrionics of the lover's appeals:

> and when I weep, she sayes "teares are but water":
> and when I sigh, she sayes "I know the art": ...
> (XVIII.10 11, quotation marks added)

To the uncertainty of the critics as to whether these words of the lady are directly quoted,[76] I believe that the answer is yes, based on the deep roots of the *Amoretti* in the Song of Songs, with its speeches by the woman, as well as the lyrics spo-ken by a woman-persona in the *Cinkante balades*, also steeped in the Song.

Like the *Cinkante*, the *Amoretti* proceeds to include a lyric spoken by the lady, in Elizabeth's case addressed to herself, but obviously shared with her be-loved, in acceptance of his marriage proposal (LVIII, including rubric). Whether fictional or real, the voice of Spenser's Elizabeth is clearly indicated in the intro-ductory rubric to the sonnet, supplied by the poet, who was involved with the publication of the volume. It reads: "By her that is most assured to herself." Even though a female interlocutor should be expected in a lyric sequence so clearly rooted in the Song of Songs, critics have attempted to reinterpret the clear English meaning of "By her" as something other than the lady's authorship

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75 The image (drops of water wearing away stone over time) is noted as proverbial by Nichol son, but the wording of the *Cinkante* is closer to Spenser's than the other examples given: see John Gower's *Cinkante balades*, ed. Peter Nicholson (see note 1), 131 1 2 n.

76 *The Works of Edmund Spenser, A Variorum Edition*, Vol. 7, part 2 (see note 68), 426, note on 10 11 by Editor.

of the sonnet to follow,[77] or at least its assignment to the lady-persona by Spenser himself. I lean to Elizabeth's authorship of the sonnet. We know that she was literate,[78] that Spenser expected her to read and appreciate his lyrics, that he credits her with witty repartee in verse,[79] and that female contemporaries of Spenser were accomplished sonneteers and other lyric poets.[80] Unlike the outpourings of the bride in the Song of Songs, Elizabeth's sonnet has no erotic reference to her lover's person, while the Spenser-persona does expatiate upon the physical charms of his bride-to-be.[81] Both parties may have considered this reticence on the lady's side to be proper. However, the woman's sonnet does allude to the joyful wedding sermon topos of marriage as a gift to humanity ordained by God in Paradise, as it is not good for man to be alone[82]:

> Weake is th'assurance that weake flesh reposeth
> In her owne power and scorneth *others ayde:*
> that soonest fals when as she most supposeth
> her selfe assurd, and is of nought affrayd.
> All flesh is frayle, and all her strength unstayd,
> like a vaine bubble blowen up with ayre:
> devouring tyme and changeful chance have prayd
> her glories pride that none may it repayre.
> Ne none so rich or wise, so strong or fayre,
> but fayleth trusting on his owne assurance:
> and he that standeth on the highest stayre
> fals lowest: for on earth nought hath endurance.
> Why then doe ye proud fayre, misdeeme so farre,
> that to your selfe ye most assured are. (LVIII; emphasis added)

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77 As discussed by the editor of *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems* (see note 2), 634 65, note on Sonnet LVIII.

78 William A. Oram, "What Happens" (see note 5), 5/22 and 19/22 17n.

79 See note 64.

80 Challenges to the all male literary canon have brought on a burgeoning of interest in early modern female sonneteers such as Aemilia Lanyer and Lady Mary Wroth: see Elizabeth Jane Bellamy, "Gender," *A Critical Companion to Spenser Studies*, ed. Bart Van Es (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006): 76 97; here 94 95. In the German tradition, there is the sixteenth century marriage poet and culinary author Anna Keller, discussed in Albrecht Classen, *Der Liebes und Ehediskurs vom hohen Mittelalter bis zum frühen 17. Jahrhundert.* Volksliedstudien, 5 (Münster, New York, Munich, and Berlin: Waxmann, 2005), 294 300.

81 *Passim* in the Petrarchan manner on her eyes and her hair, but also see note 72.

82 Genesis 2:18; on the creation of marriage in Paradise as a wedding sermon theme, see D. L. d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage* (see note 59), 68.

At no point in the lyric does the speaker refer to her own sexual weakness as a motive for accepting the proposal, the excuse for marriage offered by 1 Corinthians 7:8–9, cited above. Rather, she refers to her need for partner in life as an "others ayde" to her, corresponding to God's creation of Eve in Paradise as "adiudator/helper" to her spouse according to the familiar words of Vulgate Genesis 2:20. Elizabeth is accepting her suitor as an "amicus meus," and not a mere conduit for her surplus sexual desire.

At Sonnet LXV, the Spenser-persona expounds upon the "bond" that has now been freely accepted by both parties to the union. Quoted out of context, the image of the bird "within her cage" (LXV.8) appears to subordinate the woman, but when the sonnet is quoted entire, it clearly refers to an equal and paradoxically liberating "bondage" for both the bridegroom and the bride-to-be. By giving up her "liberty," he tells her, "two liberties ye gain/and make him bond that bondage earst did fly. / Sweet be the bands, the which true love doth tye" (LXV.2, 3–5). Within this cage, the referent of "There,"

> There pride dare not approach, nor discord spill
> the league twixt them, that loyal love hath bound:
> but simple truth and mutuall good will,
> seekes with sweet peace to salve each others wound.
> There faith doth fearlesse dwell in brasen towre,
> and spotless pleasure builds her sacred bowre. (LXV.9 14)

The final couplet evokes the tower (turris David) and the bedchamber (cubiculum) of the Song of Songs (3:4, 4:4), to suggest the innocence, safety, and intimacy that the betrothed lovers hope to enjoy in their marital home. Indeed, the "bands" of love are sweetly confining for both partners; at LXXIII.10, writing in forced absence from his lady, the Spenser-persona calls on her to "gently encage [my heart], that he may be your thrall." The mutuality between the lovers will not be seriously disturbed by an opposing discourse until the *Epithalamion*, where the bridegroom's perspective prevails throughout, and the bride is a shy and passive figure borne along by the events of the day.[83]

In Sonnet LXVI, addressed to the lady, Spenser provides an interesting variation on the topos voiced by the bride in the Song of Songs (8:7b), that the value of love surpasses all the wealth and status that a lineage may possess. He apol-

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[83] William Oram notes the solipsism and absence of "dialogue" from the *Epithalamion:* "What Happens" (see note 5), 16/22. Psalm 45, an epithalamion, also features a seemingly catatonic bride, and may be a prototype; see John N. King, *Spenser's Poetry and the Reformation* (see note 72), 173.

ogizes to her for her condescension in accepting a bridegroom of what he describes as a lower earthly estate:

> Yee whose high worths surpassing paragon,
> Could not on earth have found one fit for mate,
> Ne but in heaven matchable to none,
> Why did ye stoup unto so lowly state … . (LXVI.5 8)

He affirms that the exchange – of earthly status for love – is a good one for his bride, as she will shine all the brighter by the contrast with her humble bridegroom. The final couplet delivers Spenser's added boast on why his love confers a more important form of wealth on the beloved. His verse has the power, often noted in the *Amoretti*, of conferring immortality, imagined as an aura of illumination, on his love and himself: "Yet since your light hath once enlumined me / with my reflex yours shall encreased be" (LXVI.13–14). The note of egoism here is redeemed by Spenser's gratitude to Elizabeth for her love, also a recurring theme in the *Amoretti*, and here expressed as an image of "light" on his path.

In a subsequent sonnet, number LXXIIII, there is a further tribute to the discourse voiced by the woman in the Song of Songs, in the form of a tribute to mothers. The lyric opens as an address to the letters in the name Elizabeth, the name shared by the three most important women in his life, "the which three times thrise happy hath me made" (LXXIIII.3). The first Elizabeth is his mother, who gave him his "being … by kind" (5); the second is his "sovereign Queene most kind/that honour and large richesse to me lent" (7). The *rime riche* on "kind" links together the poet-persona's love and gratitude both to his mother and his queen as co-creators of the gentleman that he is today. Like the Song, the *Amoretti* holds no reference to a father, only to mothers.[84] All three Elizabeths are in some way maternal to the poet-persona, including his fiancée, as affirmed in Theresa Krier's analysis of "adult erotic desire" as a "surrender to the conditions of infancy" in psychoanalytic theory as well as in the Song and the *Amoretti*.[85] Indeed, the Spenser-persona's position as a lover is often infantile in its dependency and need. When forced to be apart from

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[84] The Song refers seven times to a mother, but never to a father, as discussed by Phyllis Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* (see note 42), 158.

[85] Theresa Krier, "Generations of Blazons: Psychoanalysis and the Song of Songs and the *Amoretti*," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 40.3 (Fall 1998): 293 327; here 295. For the adult Spenser's possible ambivalence toward the sovereign who keeps him waiting on her pleasure, see Catherine Bates, *The Rhetoric of Courtship in Elizabethan Language and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 147 72.

the lady, he compares himself to a wandering fawn just orphaned of its doe (LXXVIII.1–2).

The poet's encomium to his mother, in the midst of a lyric sequence addressed to his bride-to-be, recalls the Shulamite's repeated tributes to "matris meae/my mother" (3.4b, 8.2) as "genetricis meae/her who bore me" (3:4b), even as she contemplates the object of her passionate love. Although listed third, the Spenser-persona's fiancée is honored with a full quatrain compared with two lines apiece for the other ladies. Her love has "raysed" his "spirit out of dust" (LXXIIII.10) and inspired him to "speake her prayse," (11), which includes the inspiration to write his present poem. As an envoi to all three Elizabeths, the final couplet is ambiguous, no doubt by design: "Ye three Elizabeths for ever live / That three such graces did unto me give" (13–14). The phrase "for ever live" may be a traditional courtly imperative, addressed to them as wishing their longevity, or a statement affirming their endless life to come through the power of his poetry. Either or both is right for the context. All three ladies are presumed as auditors and possible responders to the tribute within a community of language and love. All are promised immortality through the poet's verse, a topos modestly omitted from the *Cinkante* of Gower.

The Holiness of Married Love in Gower and Spenser

The concept of marriage as a holy and a mutual bond, as an allegory of Christ and his church, is as old as Christianity, as attested in Ephesians 5:21–33. Of course, there were countercurrents in the Bible and in Christian tradition that relegated marriage to a lower status than celibacy and disparaged sexual expression as a weakness at best. Certainly, this latter tradition held some currency in the Middle Ages. Did the Reformation lead to a rediscovery of faithful married love as fully honorable, including its sexual expression, and of marriage as a partnership united by Christlike mutual love?

This present study supports the dignity of marriage as a concept that prevailed in the late Middle Ages, as popularized by wedding sermons and vernacular religious manuals,[86] and that did not radically change with the Protestant

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86 On the role of wedding sermons in popularizing an exalted concept of marriage, see D. L. d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage* (see note 59), 58 73, and Albrecht Classen, *Der Liebes und Ehedis kurs* (see note 80), 286 91. On the ubiquitous manuals of religious instruction and their parallel encomiums to marriage, see Linda Burke, "The "*Girl's Confession of Love:* A Bilingual Edition

Reformation.[87] Crucial statements on marriage in the *Cinkante* and the *Amoretti* support a common ideal of Christlike married love that spanned the late medieval and early modern periods. Sustaining the "je/I"-persona of the bridegroom, Gower in the *Cinkante* declares three loves as fully compatible for the Christian, including married love:

> Bon amour doit son dieu amer ainçois.
> Qui son dieu aime il aime verraiment.
> Si ad de trois amours le primer chois.
> Et apres dieu, il doit secondement
> Amer son proesme a soi semblablement.
> Car cil q'ensi voet guarder la maniere,
> Lors est amour d'onour la droite miere.
>
> Le tierce point dont amour ad la vois,
> Amour en son endroit ceo nous aprent:
> Soubtz matrimoine de les seintes lois,
> Par vie honeste et nonpas autrement.
> En ces trois pointz gist tout l'experiment
> De boun amour, *et si j'ensi le quiere*
> Lors est amour d'onour la droite miere.
>
> [True love ought to love God first. The one who loves God, loves truly. Thus he has the first of the three loves. And second, after God, he ought to love his neighbor just as himself. For if he wants to keep this way of living, then is love the true mother of honor.
>
> On the third point where love has a voice, for her part she teaches us this: under matrimony of the holy laws, in virtuous life and not otherwise. On these three points rests all the experience of true love, *and if I seek it thus*, then is love the true mother of honor. (49.8 20, translation mine, emphasis added)]

To love of God and neighbor, the two-part Great Commandment spoken by Jesus, Gower – in a first person voice of experience – adds a third: the law of holy matrimony, which he clearly considers a close companion to love of God and neighbor. As noted by Harry Peters, Gower has nothing whatsoever to say about the preeminence of celibacy or the subjugation of woman in his "supreme" statement on Christian marriage as he is personally seeking to realize it. For Peters, the poet's "almost scholastic invocation" at XLIX.23 – "je vous ai dit la forme et

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and Translation of the Early Fifteenth Century *La Confession de la belle fille*, Also Known as *La Confession d'amours*, with introduction and notes," *Mediaevistik* 30 (2017): 177 224; here 186 and 202 n. 68.

87 See Kathleen M. Davies, "The Sacred Condition of Equality: How Original Were the Puritan Doctrines of Marriage?" *Social History* 2.5 (May 1977): 563 80; see also John N. King, *Spenser's Poetry and the Reformation* (see note 72), 155 60.

la matiere/I have told you the form and the matter" – "is clearly a claim of moral authority on the part of Gower, a layman, who has the audacity to place married love on a par with the command to love God and neighbor."[88]

Exactly the same addition to the Great Commandment is adumbrated in Spenser's famous Easter sonnet, *Amoretti* LXVIII. In the first twelve lines of the poem, he addresses the risen Lord, speaking from a collective "we" that seems to represent all humanity, his "neighbors" in Christian terms, and perhaps his co-parishioners in particular. In the third quatrain, he prays for grace to follow both "loves" in the Great Commandment, for God and neighbor, in imitation of the love of Christ for us:

> And that thy love we weighing worthily,
> may likewise love thee for thyself again:
> and for thy sake that all lyke dear didst buy,
> with love may one another entertayne. (LXVIII.9 12)

In the final couplet, clearly feeling no conflict, he turns to his fiancée, narrowing the definition of "we" to himself and his love, and in effect, stating a third, completely harmonious commandment for Christian married love: "So let us love, deare love, lyke as we ought/love is the lesson that the Lord us taught" (LXVIII.13–14). Like Gower, he is silent on marriage as second-best to celibacy, and on the unloving mandate that Elizabeth submit to his will.

Meanwhile, the bridegroom-persona in Spenser's *Amoretti* is frankly desirous of physical intimacy with his betrothed, whose fruitlike "paps" he especially admires,[89] while there is no such explicit statement of sexual desire by his counterpart in the *Cinkante*. This omission may simply reflect the much smaller scope of the *Cinkante*, rather than any harsh judgmental attitude on sexual pleasure in marriage by Gower. The exemplary married couples in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* are approvingly described as enjoying their procreative sex life together; for example, Appollonius and his bride are are said to have gone "to bedde ... Where as thei ladde a lusti lif / And that was after somdel sene / For as they pleiden hem between / Thei gete a child between hem tuo ..."[90] From the evidence analyzed here, the late medieval ideal of marriage was carried over with little change to become the English Protestant ideal of a chaste and Christlike married love that did not exclude the joys of intimacy.

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88 Harry Peters, "John Gower: Love of Words" (see note 59), 456.

89 *Amoretti* LXXVI.9.

90 John Gower, *The Tale of Appollonius*, *Confessio Amantis* vol. 1, ed. Russell A. Peck (Kalama zoo, MI: Medieval Institute Press, 2000), VIII.969 73.

This love is the culmination of courtship, a state of mutual communication and consent, and is in harmony with love of neighbor, in the expansive Christian definition of the term. Both poets explicitly embrace their sovereign and their nation within the bond of mutual love that is celebrated in the sequence. Gower concludes his *Cinkante* with a general envoi to England that encapsulates the values of community celebrated by Gower and Spenser alike:

> O gentile Engleterre, a toi j'escrits,
> Pour remember ta joie q'est novelle,
> Qe te servient du noble Roi Henri,
> Par qui dieus ad redrescé ta querele:
> A dieu purceo prient et cil et celle,
> Q'il de sa grace au fort Roi coroné
> Doignt peas, honour, joie, et prosperité.

> [O noble England, I write to you, to remind you of your joy that is new, that comes to you from the noble King Henry, by whom God has resolved your time of troubles: let every man and woman pray to God, that by his grace he grant the new crowned King peace, honor, joy, and all prosperity. (LI.25 31, translation mine)]

As he chose to do in his "supreme" statement on marriage between bridegroom and bride, Gower affirms an equal and mutual love as the essence of the bond that is shared among himself, his nation, and his sovereign. As we have seen, the mandate for one-sided domination in marriage was at times considered safe to ignore, in favor of love, by the late medieval Catholic and early modern English Protestant alike.

John M. Hill

Noble Friendship in Relation to the Community: *Hamlet* and *The Merchant* of *Venice*

Abstract: Secret plotting characterizes action in Hamlet's and Horatio's courtier world, whereas public trial and looming slaughter greatly trouble the sociable community of Bassanio's and Antonio's merchant gentlemen in Shakespeare's works. The social and political vicissitudes differ and so the pressure on and efficacy of noble friendship will differ, even as the institution of marriage vows complicates Bassanio's situation. Yet in both plays, rather than something homoerotic, a genuine, noble friendship transcends the erotic and matters both as a small, defensive community of two in relation to lethal, political danger (*Hamlet*) and as an intense, potentially sacrificial mainstay in relation to a religiously mixed merchant community involving loans and harsh, unexpected jeopardy (*Merchant of Venice*). Such transcendence is something Shakespeare dramatizes nowhere else.

Keywords: *Hamlet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, Horatio, Antonio, Bassanio, Portia, friendship, noble friendship, psychology, love, marriage, community

Friendship Elsewhere in Shakespeare

Two plays by William Shakespeare involve noble friendship as an ideal on the one hand and as immaturely donned on the other: *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1612) presents idealized, undramatized love between friends of both sexes, such as the "knot of love" between Theseus and Pirithous. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (between 1589 and 1593) gives us Valentine and Proteus, childhood friends remaining so into their adolescence; yet theirs is not a noble friendship, although relevant features appear: such as the impulse to counsel one's friend out of doing something foolish. Serious divergence marks their relationship from nearly the beginning:

> He after honour hunts, I after love:
> He leaves his friends to dignify them more;

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> I leave myself, my friends and all, for love.
> Thou, Julia, thou hast metamorphosed me.[1]

Possibly in a later crucible of betrayal and confrontation the friendship will re-kindle, larger than it is in Act I, and become noble. In other plays, a positive, sociable friendship matters, notably for three acts in *Romeo and Juliet* (1594) although if Shakespeare wrote the lovers' quarrel in *Arden of Feversham*,[2] he would have had a model for honest but not noble friendship (Arden and Franklin). Franklin pities his friend's suffering occasioned by jealousy.

So, while friendship is a major theme in five plays, early, middle and late, as well as touched on in other comedies, and as a respectful if interested association between *Julius Caesar*'s Cassius and Brutus, friendship only becomes *dramatically* Ciceronian, rather than just an inert ideal, in *Hamlet* (1601) and *The Merchant of Venice* (1597) That drama justifies this study and by half vindicates Laurens Mills' largely forgotten observation in *One Soul in Bodies Twain* (1937). "Despite little friendship phrasing," Horatio's actions bespeak the tradition,[3] as especially does Hamlet's Act III estimation of Horatio. Here Shakespeare interests himself in the reality and dramatic necessity of Ciceronian friendship, however troubled the world is, and however edgy matters become in some sonnets.[4]

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1 *Two Gentlemen of Verona,* ed. William Carrol (London: Thompson Learning, 2004), I.i. 63 66. Of course, many, pre modern commentators discussed friendship between men of good charac ter. See, for example, Bruno Latini, Dante's teacher, who believed that true friendship can only exist between good men who love each other for their respective virtues. Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge cite Latini among many others in an edited volume of essays by different hands. Albrecht Classen's extensive introduction masterfully covers classical and medieval com mentary on both spiritual and secular friendship, as well as friendship depicted in a wide range of genres. See *Friendship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Explorations of a Fundamen tal Ethical Discourse.* Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 6 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), especially the Introduction: "Friendship   The Quest for a Human Ideal and Value from Antiquity to the Early Modern Time" 1 183; here 59.

2 See MacDonald P. Jackson, "Shakespeare and the Quarrel Scene in *Arden of Feversham*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 57 (2006): 249 93. I am grateful to Douglas Bruster for alerting me to this issue.

3 Laurens Joseph Mills, *One Soul in Bodies Twain: Friendship in Tudor Literature and Stuart Drama* (Bloomington, IN: The Principia Press, Inc., 1937), 282. Also Joseph Pequigney, "The Two Antonios and Same Sex Love in *Twelfth Night* and *The Merchant of Venice*," *English Literary Renaissance* 22 (1992): 201 22; here 214. Without developing the point, he thinks of Hamlet and Horatio as examples of Ciceronian love.

4 Tom MacFaul, *Male Friendship in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), finds ideal friendship undramatic, something that might only work in chamber drama. "Perfect friendship is hard to put into a plot; friendship has an illusion of per

Noble Friendship

"Precepts of friendship" spread widely among the educated classes in early modern England, two authors being essential: Aristotle (*Nichomachean Ethics*) and Cicero (*De Amicitia*).[5] For many, Cicero's essay insists that "true friendship [between good men] completes or perfects the individual. So close do true friends become that, in the most famous phrase of the entire tradition, 'of two he would almost make one'" (Carroll citing Ruth Hugley's edition of John Harrington's translation from the French). The true friend is intimately and *intensely* another self; between them, Montaigne in Florio's translation says,

> they have nothing to divide and share together. If ... one might give unto another, the re
> ceiver of the benefit should binde his fellow. For, each seeking more than any other
> thing, to doe each other good, he who yields both matter and occasion, is the man sheweth
> himselfe liberall, giving his friend that contentment, to effect towards him what he desireth
> most

(a relevant point for Antonio's "extreemest means" unlocked for Bassanio's "occasions" and in return Bassanio's intense response to Antonio's letter).[6]

Those conceptions have a horizon, not a vertical axis: similitude, not an aspiring desire of the other, and likeness between mature egos, not desire born of lack or from unsublimated homoeroticism (see the appendix for a psychological sketch). Narcissism is overcome in the finding of a virtuous friend whose deeper disposition crucially mirrors one's own. Such a friend is fine company and solace, a continuing moral education and, should death threaten or intervene, someone on whose behalf one continues to act. As Cicero poignantly insists, the cherished memory of one's true friend can sustain one in all seasons of tribulation and even dire loss.

While *amicitia* is dramatically inert in such phrases as one soul in two bodies, or else suspiciously idealistic, or else a *repression* of homoeroticism, in which case desire would remain potent, Shakespeare found much to admire in noble friendship and, more importantly, dramatic worlds in which to develop it in Hamlet's case and especially stress test it in Antonio's. He recognizes some-

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manence because it has no apparent teleology, and therefore has no obvious plot paradigm, but when put into a plot an end to the friendship has to be assumed" (p. 20). Relevant sonnets include 40, 42, 133, 134.

5 Carroll, *Two Gentlemen* (see note 1), 5.
6 *Montaigne's Essays*, trans. John Florio, ed. L. C. Harmer (London: Everyman's Library Dent 1965), 202.

thing of what Alan Bray, Bruce Smith, and Jeffrey Masten note, which is the overly intense, indeed the homoerotic in many male friendships.[7] He might even, as when writing *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, agree that provincial male friendship can be immature, a fantasy reflecting trouble in the development of heterosexual ties.[8] That said, he returns repeatedly to chaste friendships, including between girls, as though to plot the volatility of lesser friendships in relation to the stability of noble friendship, when achieved, and *then* to plot such friendship lively in its exchanges in relation to larger communities, those dark troubles of court in Elsinore and life-threatening, legal as well as marital jeopardy in Venice. We can see *Hamlet* and *The Merchant of Venice* more clearly if we follow Shakespeare's highlighting of friendship issues, which involve a crucial similitude of thought and deep concern for the noble friend's sorrows, joys and welfare, especially if life and reputation are endangered. Such concern also includes the need to champion the friend's honor while maintaining one's own.

Hamlet and Horatio

First one must find the noble friend, progressively taking him unto oneself, a process dramatized only in *Hamlet*. Then that friend, having been embraced, must honorably, unhesitatingly aid his great friend's endeavors, especially whenever that friend's honor or life is at stake. A crisis of a different sort, of honor, emotional consolation, skirted slaughter, and eventual entanglement with heterosexual vows, erupts in *The Merchant of Venice*, where well-established noble friendship faces extreme stress. In a sense, the two plays bookend Shakespeare's dramatic inhabiting of noble friendship. The prime pairs for such friendship pressured by dire vicissitudes are, then, Hamlet and Horatio, Bassanio and Antonio. We should tell Horatio's story first, then see why Hamlet takes him to his heart, closely "cop'd withal," and just how that happens through discernment and trust building (III.ii.55). Following that out will show how friendship func-

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7 Alan Bray, "Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England," *Queer ing the Renaissance*, ed. Jonathan Goldberg (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990), 40 61; Jeffrey Masten, "*The Two Gentlemen of Verona:* A Modern Perspective," The New Folger Library Shakespeare *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ed. Barbara Mowat and Paul Westine (New York: Pocket Books, 1999), 199 221; Bruce Smith, *Homosocial Desire in Shakespeare's England* (Chica go: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
8 See Marjorie Garber, *Shakespeare After All* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2004), 31 32; Janet Adelman, "Male Bonding in Shakespeare's Comedies," *Shakespeare's Rough Magic,* ed. Peter Erickson and Coppélia Kahn (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1985), 75.

tions to reveal the deeper virtue that both makes *amicitia* possible and will in turn move Hamlet to a greater perfection than he initially shows (evident in Act V's providential sparrow speech).

Horatio is a substantial scholar and eventually an advisor to Gertrude.[9] Although temperamentally not Hamlet, Horatio's Roman virtue is what Hamlet will hold close. Noble friends share a likeness of souls and sociably encounter each other as Hamlet and Horatio do in Acts IV and V, first in the graveyard scene and then in dual badinage at Osric's expense, where Horatio even adopts a Hamlet-like wit: "This lapwing runs away with the shell on his head" (V.ii.189). The relationship is active, involving counsel and identification as well as refuge. We see this in Horatio's early commentary on Hamlet's whirling words, even before noble friendship forms, and then in his steadying effects in Acts III and IV.

Deeper friendship begins with the ghostly recognition scene (I.v), where Hamlet calls Horatio and Marcellus "good friends," although they address him as their "lord." That asymmetry initially impedes close friendship – a lord's "friendship" differs from that of good friends and perhaps may never, because of high politics, become deep. Yet Laurie Shannon argues for Hamlet's ability to achieve "sovereign," that is true amity with Horatio, his soul having sealed Horatio for himself by first having achieved a singleness in himself (III. ii.65)[10] – however, we don't see that singleness until after the aborted voyage to England and his speech in V.ii about divinity.

While all readers note Horatio as Hamlet's friend, for some he is just an "adoring straight man," even "idolatrous," who brings us closer to a "bewildering Hamlet," thus helping us deal with Hamlet's otherwise intolerable ambiguity.[11] If not that, Horatio may just be a toady (a line of commentary going back to Dover Wilson, 1936). John Halverson and Robert Evans demur as they explore Horatio's depths and his eventual role as friend: "we have ... seen him shaken to his soul."[12] Halverson especially notices pronouns indicating separation and closeness, with Hamlet initially addressing Horatio as "you" and then in Act III as "thou" (putting him on his own level). Both Halverson and Evans note the formality of the first meeting. While just how this friendship grows be-

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9 All citations are to *The Arden Shakespeare* Hamlet, ed. Harold Jenkins (London: Methuen and Co., 1982).

10 Laurie Shannon, *Sovereign Amity: Figures of Friendship in Shakespearean Contexts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 32.

11 Harold Bloom, *Hamlet: Poem Unlimited* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2003).

12 John Halverson, "The Importance of Horatio," *Hamlet Studies* 16 (1994): 57–70; here 63; Robert C. Evans, "Friendship in Hamlet," *Comparative Drama* 33 (1999): 88–124; here 97–98, 110.

tween the Acts is unknown, still telltale interactions occur between the Watch, Horatio, and Hamlet in Act I.

Having failed to elicit speech from the ghost, Horatio turns to a willing Marcellus and Bernardo: "Do you consent we shall acquaint him with it / As needful in our loves, fitting our duty" (I.i.177–78)? Shakespeare here establishes, through three sets of likely eyes, something of truth in the ghost and the world from which it walks, along with Horatio's inherent probity and his knowledge of Julian spirits.

To see just how a deeper friendship develops, we should review several scenes from the perspectives of communicative pragmatics. Jürgen Habermas has analyzed how trust-building communication between speakers depends upon both internal and external verifications, a shared sense of reality, shared norms, and shared self-images.[13] Efficacious arguments must be persuasive; they and those who voice them must be trusted, although no claim to trust is beyond question.

Heart-sore, Hamlet is hailed by Horatio, whom Hamlet names, thus checking his personal memory and the horizon of acquaintance. Horatio acknowledges his name, then calls himself Hamlet's "poor servant ever." Rather than think of him as a servant, however, Hamlet calls Horatio "my good friend," adding "I'll change that name with you" (I.ii.163). Either he will be servant to Horatio, Horatio friend to him; or else he insists on "friend" in the place of "servant." In any case he reaches for something like trust based on past friendship before asking "what make you from Wittenberg, Horatio?" That is a question he repeats after acknowledging both Marcellus and Bernardo. Trying for light irony, Horatio notes a truant disposition – a claim Hamlet abruptly refuses. Don't do my ear "that violence" (an implicit link between their two sensibilities in that earlier Horatio had "fortified" his ear against crediting the ghost's facticity). I know you are no truant, Hamlet replies. Then, again, "what is your affair in Elsinore? / We'll teach you to drink deep ere you depart" (I.ii.174–75). With this third demand, Horatio, sensing something brewing, bandies no more.

"My lord, I came to see your father's funeral" (I.ii.176). To the point, Hamlet prays Horatio not mock him, ending with a possibly hard-toned "fellow-student." "I think it was to see my mother's wedding." This provokes some bitter

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13 See Jürgen Habermas, *Communication and the Evolution of Society* (based on essays published in 1976), trans. Thomas McCarthy (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1979), 28 29. For an extensive account of his theory's relevance to medieval literature, almost in contradiction to Habermas's own historical concept, see Albrecht Classen, *Verzweiflung und Hoffnung: Die Suche nach der kommunikativen Gemeinschaft in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Beihefte zur Mediaevistik, 1 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et. al.: Peter Lang, 2002).

humor, which quickly turns to pathos and an affective tilt toward Horatio, whom up to this point Hamlet has held at a wary distance: "Would I had met my dearest foe in heaven / Or ever I had seen that day, Horatio" (I.ii.182–83). Hamlet then grieves, "My father – methinks I see my father –" to which a startled Horatio responds, "Where, my lord?" Hamlet sensibly clears up the moment – "In my mind's eye, Horatio."

Hamlet's exposure of loss gives the economical Horatio an opportunity. "My lord, I think I saw him yesternight." Baffled, Hamlet wonders: Saw? Who? "My lord, the king your father." To Hamlet's response, Horatio, always the stable counselor, advises a suspension of astonishment and an attentive ear, otherwise trust in his news will be hard.

Complying, Hamlet wonders where and whether Horatio spoke to the apparition. Horatio says he did. His account argues for both his sobriety and the reality of the events. That invoked reality should be trusted in that Marcellus and Bernardo did not seek occult adventures; the apparition encountered them. And exactly as they had set forth its appearance and behavior, so the affair unfolded when Horatio joined them.

Hamlet, still doubtful about the apparition – whether it is a devilish spirit in his father's form or else his father's very spirit – will speak to it "though hell should gape / and bid me hold my peace" (I.iii.245–46). He then binds the three to a common silence about the matter. This is not easy friendship; yet it is more than mutual duty. "Love" suggests real regard and honoring. That Horatio is fit to be a "friend," the word Hamlet substituted for "servant" earlier, is becoming clear. Evans notes as much in his detailed reading of friendship motifs.[14]

Evans thinks, however, that this compact is ambiguous, making Hamlet vulnerable: these potential friends know something that "gives them power over him." Rather, Hamlet here is an openhanded but isolated prince of a large realm, one we lose sight of given the inward focus on his thoughts. Needing allies in a dangerous, extended community, his uncle's court, which has sway also over places in Norway, England, and Poland, Hamlet condescends as he expresses love for Horatio, Marcellus, and Bernardo.

For his part, Horatio is straightforward and trusted by others with weird information. He has staked his honor and his sense of duty on what he tells Hamlet. In return Hamlet soon admits Horatio and the two watchmen to his love. Notable friendship can grow from this league, this trust, especially after Hamlet

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14 Halverson, "Importance" (see note 12), 98; and Evans, "Friendship" (see note 12), 110.

also sees the ghost, speaks with it, and receives the horrible story of damnable murder.

The ghost charges Hamlet with a profoundly disturbing mission, a mission readers tend to overlook and one Hamlet does not immediately share with the others. His awesome, three-part burden is revenge upon his incestuous uncle; yet he *must* remain righteously pure, not corrupt in mind or soul; *and* he must leave Gertrude to the pricks of her own conscience. Nevertheless he considers his companions: while withholding the ghost's account, he would bind his companions further in martial secrecy. This mainly continues the earlier pact, except for a new dimension. Marcellus protests they have sworn already; Hamlet says they must swear again, on his sword, to which the ghost chimes in – swear. This is the first "squeak" either Horatio or Marcellus has had from the apparition, which now is beneath them somewhere. The following echoes and movements ratify a command from beyond, which in turn authenticates the ghostly reality all have seen. Now they must also ignore Hamlet when he puts on "an antic disposition" in court. They should give out no gestures or remarks so that in return "grace and mercy at your most need help you," with royal favor giving way to divine reward. They must look on as participatory friends, bound now both in duty and love, a further step toward deep friendship.

In III.ii. Horatio's reappearance does not further the "friending" Hamlet pledged earlier. Instead, a deep friendship has now formed, but only with Horatio. Noble friendship is a pair bond, not a group bond (although in *Merchant* matrimony adds another soul). Horatio even calls Hamlet "sweet lord." And Hamlet's view fills his famous exposition, while implicitly contrasting his view of Horatio with the "friendship" he had with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, who were not forthcoming in their accounts of why they were at Elsinore soon enough. Whatever fellowship, "consonancy of youth," or obligation stemming from "ever-preserved love" they once enjoyed with Hamlet does not continue onto a new plane of trust. They share neither mutual self-images nor a larger reality.

When Hamlet calls Horatio we are not sure why. He has already coached actors to "play something like the murder" of his father. Initially he alone will "tent" or probe his uncle "to the quick" (II.ii.593). However, he knows his mother and his uncle have noticed his behavior; in the course of his "To be, or not to be" soliloquy they overhear and he may know that too. Moreover, he has urged Ophelia to leave the court, to leave in fact the society of men, who "are arrant knaves all" (III.i.129). At this point he may want an especially trusted comrade, a second pair of clear eyes at the crucial moment.

In any case, he now reveals his sense of Horatio's unparalleled honesty in the world of court, something deeply needed. Horatio modestly protests, which sets off Hamlet's exposition about flatterers.

Dost thou hear?
Since my dear soul was mistress of her choice,
And could of men distinguish her election,
Sh'ath seal'd thee for herself; for thou hast been
As one, in suff"ring all, that suffers nothing,
A man that Fortune's buffets and rewards
Hast ta'en with equal thanks; and blest are those
Whose blood and judgment are so well commeddled
That they are not a pipe for Fortune's finger
To sound what stop she please (III.ii.63 71).

Shakespeare through Hamlet further deepens Horatio's character. Horatio is a stoic; we already know that his conversation and also his sociability are probative (judicious) beyond any Hamlet has encountered; moreover, Horatio is blest in his feeling and assessing faculties, which are so well-blended that he will never be a "pipe for Fortune's finger." Horatio who, quintessentially, is not "passion's slave," is someone Hamlet can wear in his "heart's core, ay, in ... [his] heart of heart" (III.ii.72–73). Several lines before Hamlet declared that his free and *discerning soul* has sealed Horatio for itself. So if not quite one soul in two bodies, we have something very close: two hearts (or minds and memories) in one, a soul mate discerned and chosen. But to reveal this is not entirely Shakespeare's or Hamlet's present point.

When Horatio promises he will pay "the theft" if the King escapes detection, he and Hamlet become companion discoverers, equal comrades of and in the heart. They now reflect the tradition of virtuous, Renaissance friendship, although a socially asymmetrical friendship. From Hoby to Peacham, English advice for the courtier or gentleman emphasizes paired virtue in the friendship and choice of friend from among nobles in the one case and from one's own class in the other. Peacham also lauds judicious speech – "In speaking rather lay down your words one by one than pour them forth together."[15] But Hamlet, otherwise alone and unable to speak freely at court, has confided everything to Horatio, which he will continue to do, writing to him later about the pirate incident and, in Act V, detailing his counterplot at Rosencrantz's and Guildenstern's expense, given Claudius' murderous intentions. In relation to Horatio, Shakespeare

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15 Henry Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman* (1622) ed. Virgil B. Heltzel (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1962), 203; here 55.

in effect follows Cicero's socially more generous ideas, who in *De Amicitia* has friendship possible between superior and social inferior on the grounds of an equality.[16] In their political circumstances, moreover, other aspects of a Ciceronian friendship appear: devotion to each other such that one conserves the other's public reputation and worries about his welfare and life (as Horatio does early, when spontaneously fearing the ghost might lead Hamlet to suicide, and then late when suggesting Hamlet decline the match with Laertes).

In the present scene the two observe Claudius closely. Seemingly agitated, Claudius demands light and quickly exits. An excited Hamlet versifies energetically before exclaiming: "O good Horatio, I'll take the ghost's word for a thousand pound. Didst perceive" (III.ii.280–81)? Very well my lord, Horatio replies. "Upon the talk of poisoning?" "I did very well note him." Horatio's concurrence is brief, spare but pointed and deferential to the warm Hamlet ("O good Horatio"). The mousetrap scene has done its work; Horatio's clear eyes, judicious speech and probative soul second Hamlet's observations. It is a truth-telling ghost after all, not a devilish apparition come to abuse the melancholy prince. But more than ancillary confirmation has occurred: intimate friendship has held close, true counsel in a perceptual test *requiring* noble friendship, which it passes superbly.

Hamlet next "copes" with Horatio through seamen bearing letters. What seems merely an interlude acquainting us with Hamlet's return also expands our sense of Horatio's qualities. Hamlet would reveal all to Horatio and share what he knows about his erstwhile university fellows. His claim that Horatio knows Hamlet's loyalty to and trust in him is definitive. For his part, Horatio acts quickly, sending the sailors on with various letters and bidding their speedy return. Horatio is as much a man of action as he is a counselor. Hamlet cannot have rested noble friendship in a better man, who, in turn, is more than "the apotheosis of particular friendship." That idea, despite the "apotheosis" invoked, is weakened by the qualifying "particular," which in turn for MacFaul includes affection and such instrumentalities as "political usefulness," along with the "use of friendship to rise in social status" (usefulness and conferring of status now being irrelevant to Hamlet and hardly sought by Horatio).[17]

More than true aid to the prince, Horatio is Hamlet's second self, albeit a less turbulent and imaginatively fantastical self. The two continue to engage each other fruitfully in the graveyard scene and in the palace. Hamlet rises to a

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16 *Cicero on Old Age, on Friendship, on Divination*, trans. W. A. Falconer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1923), 179.

17 MacFaul, *Male Friendship* (see note 4), 135 40.

kind of sober religion in Act V and Horatio takes on Hamlet's kind of wit when they deal with Osric. But the final testimony to noble friendship comes in the aftermath of the dual.

Dying, Hamlet proclaims that he would have Horatio clear his name and his cause, that is, his honor. He pleads with him:

> O God, Horatio, what a wounded name,
> Things standing thus unknown, shall I leave behind me.
> If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart,
> Absent thee from felicity awhile,
> And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain
> To tell my story. (V.ii.347 54).

Hamlet's is the formal "thou" for addressing nobility, such is his estimation of Horatio and now his hope: that the noble Horatio will, for all the love he has ever borne his great friend, the heart metaphor crucially appearing again, suffer still the harsh world while, in pained breath, healing Hamlet's name and shouldering his honor. This appeal works for the noble friend who tenderly, in utmost love, holds his dying prince, praying him to heaven: "Now cracks a noble heart. Good night, sweet prince, / And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest" (V.ii.364–65). With that wish and escort the moment gives way to drum beats and Fortinbras' entry, having returned victorious from Poland.

When the English ambassadors appear, wondering who will convey thanks for the execution of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, Horatio is put in Benvolio's position when Benvolio explained the deadly fracas involving Mercutio, Tybalt and Romeo. Benvolio there upheld Romeo's honor, reporting as openly as possible while tilting toward his cousin's interests. Horatio does something similar when he says Claudius "never gave commandment for their death [meaning Rosencrantz and Guldenstern]" (V.ii.379).

But how to say what Hamlet did and why, in what treacherous circumstance? In good, Roman fashion, Horatio would speak to

> th'yet unknowing world
> How these things came about. So shall you hear
> Of carnal, bloody, and unnatural acts,
> Of accidental judgments, casual slaughters,
> Of deaths put on by cunning and forc'd cause,
> And, in this upshot, purposes mistook
> Fall'n on th'inventors' heads. All this can I
> Truly deliver (V.ii.381 91).

Unable to save Hamlet's life, Horatio can save Hamlet's honor and bring him back in reputation to the larger community, the knowing world. He will retell all, in effect sketching the play's great "argument"; he will draw painful breath, render a just account against Claudius, explain "accidental judgments," and raise Hamlet above suspicion and calumny. A friend to trust early, well before the end he has become Hamlet's noble friend for all seasons.

Antonio and Bassanio

The issue of honor appears again in *The Merchant of Venice*, where an apparently soon to be slaughtered Antonio, Bassanio's noble friend, would have Bassanio tell Portia just what a friend Antonio was. There, however, while Antonio's melancholia partly over-weights the friendship, a symptom for some of deeply repressed, homoerotic desire or else, for my purposes, of a genuine friendship in part mourned early on even before Bassanio further explains his "secret pilgrimage" to some lady (I.i.120), intense friend must come to intense friend's aid. Noble friendship links the two plays thematically but gains in *Merchant* a psychological vortex missing in the developing match of hearts and deep discernment in *Hamlet. The Merchant of Venice*, for its part, does not rely on conversation to align the planes of trust. Noble friendship is a given put under great stress.

Antonio's bond of flesh and Shylock's demand for his right, along with Portia's nightmare of cuckoldry – those become tests of noble friendship. Already established, that friendship is not riven. Rather, Bassanio's love pursuit of Portia early in the play is one Antonio intensely supports even if an imperfection arises. Antonio is sad for loss of time with his friend and for his friend's adventure into marital joy, which perforce excludes him to some extent. That granted the play does not pit male friendship and heterosexual love head to head. Instead, friendship endorses love's quest with *all* available means and, eventually, guarantees love's faithfulness. Before seeing how that happens and in what terms, however, we should probe the friendship for the similitudes around which it forms, given an apparent, early difference between Antonio's intensity and Bassanio's. The latter initially seems less involved, perhaps cooler altogether. At least that is a frequent reader assessment. Some readers find Bassanio too materialistic if not an "insensitive creature, equally incapable of understanding or reciprocating Antonio's goodness."[18] Yet the play does not support such views in dramatizing

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18 MacFaul, *Male Friendship* (see note 4), 162.

shared, intense pain, which is far from masochistic, along with shared joy. Noble friends share both.

In their first conversation Antonio is emphatic. But as Bassanio praises Portia's beauty he both addresses Antonio warmly and reveals a rhapsodic nature similar in intensity, if not in rhetoric, to Antonio's. A loan between friends for a love suit is given gladly. No such loan is too big if the giver has it and the receiver needs it (between friends, as Montaigne says, there is no interested giving; what one has so has the other): Antonio says:

> I pray you, good Bassanio, let me know it [Bassanio's plan
> for clearing his great debts honorably]
> And if it stand as you yourself still do,
> Within the eye of honor, be assur'd
> My purse, my person, my extreemest means
> Lie all unlock'd to your occasions (I.i.135 39).[19]

Antonio's speech highlights his friend's character and enterprise, where not even need has to be established. "Then do but say to me what I should do / That in your knowledge may by me be done / And I am prest unto it" (I.i.158–60). For Antonio, to be asked is to give; his will is ever ready. Then Bassanio, in strong affection, states the situation with Portia:

> nothing undervalued
> To Cato's daughter, Brutus's Portia,
> Nor is the wide world ignorant of her worth,
> For the four winds blow in from every coast
> Renowned suitors, and her sunny locks
> Hang on her temples like a golden fleece,
> Which makes her seat of Belmont Colchos' strond,
> And many Jasons come in quest of her.
> O my Antonio, had I but the means
> To hold a rival place with one of them,
> I have a mind presages me such thrift
> That I should questionless be fortunate (I.i.165 76).

True friendship among the naturally beneficent, liberal, and constant individuals within their Christian world necessarily excludes Shylock and his tribe, as well as lesser friends, such as the somewhat crude and noisy Gratiano, the confused Lorenzo, and the somewhat dull Solanio – the latter thinking Antonio only

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19 All citations are to The Arden *Merchant of Venice*, ed. John Russell Brown (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.,1955).

loves the world because of Bassanio. They do not understand that for Antonio friendship involves a "blessed and stable connection of sundry wills, making of two persons one in having and suffering ... [for true friends] in them is but one mind and one possession, and that which more is, a man more rejoiceth at his friend's good fortune than his own ... ."[20] Despite quoting this section from Elyot, which suggests noble friends can be in different emotional states, Lindsey Kaplan also has trouble. The friendship between Antonio and Bassanio suggests desiring love on Antonio's part, something that bespeaks the erotic. His may be "a particular attachment," as though driven by need or desire and not entirely selfless, especially later when he, thinking he will soon die, commends himself to Bassanio's "honorable wife": say how I loved you, speak me fair in death; / And, when the tale is told, bid her be judge / Whether Bassanio had not once a love" (IV.i.270–72). But, like Hamlet, Antonio wants his honor (and deep commitment as a friend) recognized as well as understood. Granted as much, Kaplan and others, such as Alexander Leggat,[21] still see something untoward, "a competition here between him and Portia,"[22] one he apparently wins when Bassanio says he esteems his friend's life as much as his wife's. Later, Portia presumably gains the upper hand by "shaming" Antonio into insuring her husband will remain true. While an un-eroticized love like Antonio's is almost beyond our libidinal comprehension, one can still entertain it and in no simple competition with Bassanio's love of Portia. Additionally, noble friendship either co-exists with or else trumps heterosexual love because the latter is an interested love, much as is love within the family.[23]

On the love, marriage and friendship axis, Shakespeare poses an equivalence of lineaments, manners and spirit: he has Portia identify her husband and husband's friend as two whose "souls do bear an equal yoke of love" (III.iii.14); and as she is her husband's soul mate, thus is she the friend's also, his soul a semblance of her's. That Bassanio chooses the right casket means he loves Portia, as she him. When Salario informs Bassanio of Antonio's misfortunes, Portia asks whether it is Bassanio's "dear friend" who is in trouble? Bas-

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20 *The Merchant of Venice, Texts and Contexts*, ed. Lindsey Kaplan (Boston, MA: Bedford, St. Martin's, 2002), 343 44.
21 Alexander Leggat, "*The Merchant of Venice:* A Modern Perspective," The New Folger Library Shakespeare *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Westine (New York: Wash ington Square Press, 2002), 192, 217.
22 Kaplan, *Merchant* (see note 20), 16.
23 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. Martin Oswald (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs Merrill, 1962), book 8, especially 237 41.

sanio, showing how he is like Antonio, replies in superlatives matching Antonio's Act One extremes:

> The dearest friend to me, the kindest man,
> The best conditioned and unwearied spirit
> In doing courtesies, and one in whom
> The ancient Roman honour more appears
> Than any that draws breath in Italy" (III.ii.290 94).

That is high praise and deep friendship on Bassanio's part toward Antonio. It also aligns Antonio with Portia, both being identified as embodying Roman virtue (Cato's daughter). Portia, upon hearing the amount owed, would have it paid immediately, even trebled if necessary. But first marriage, and then away to your friend, she says. She would not have Bassanio lie by her side with "unquiet soul" given his dearest friend's distress. She bids him go and bring his true friend back. He promises to stay in no bed until he returns to her, to their marriage bed. At this point there is no turbulence between marriage and noble friendship, no threat in or to the marriage bed, which of course will change with Portia's Act V talk of cuckoldry over the giving of the wedding ring.

But to return to Antonio's letter. He says all he wants is a visit from Bassanio before his death, a death that would clear all debts between them as he hopes Bassanio's love will speed him. Indeed, they are such true friends that, much earlier, when Bassanio would argue for another loan, his arrow scenario offends Antonio: "you do me now more wrong / In making question of my uttermost / Than if you had made waste of all I have (l. 157).[24] "Extremest means," "uttermost," even "prest" – those terms suggest more than readiness; they mark an intensity on Antonio's part that differs in expression but not in kind from Bassanio's later crediting of Antonio in superlatives. Perhaps Antonio, knowing that an honorable lady is the object of Bassanio's "pilgrimage," would especially step forward and assert his undying love, loyalty and friendship in those terms, which perhaps are over-compensations for unacknowledged loss: somehow the world, if not his friend, has changed and his own role is now a sad one. Despite that, what are their conversational discoveries? How might they

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24 Unhae Langis, "Usury and Political Friendship in *The Merchant of Venice*," *The Upstart Crow* 30 (2011): 1 25, partly understands the "finest kind of friendship" but misses Cicero's account of *amicitia* in preference to his discussion of "duties," thus almost blending Antonio's aid into a notion of "surety friendship," against which Raleigh, for one, inveighed. She also applies "usury" to classical friendship and misunderstands the reciprocal dynamic of gift exchange. She sees Antonio as unfortunately enthralled with idealized friendship" (24).

have "cop'd withal," to borrow from Hamlet, in their dinners and entertainments? We gain a sense of that from Bassanio's thoughts in the casket test.

Bassanio shows a wise mind, aware of how "ornament" deceives the world (as we know also, having watched the self-regard of other suitors). In law court he knows a gracious voice can obscure evil; in religion he knows one can always find a "sober brow" to approve even "damned error"; in martial looks many cowards wear beards ("valour's excrements"); in beauty's fashions "crisped, snaky, golden locks" are the dowry of a second head, the original having died ("the skull that bred them [those hair pieces] in the sepulcher" – III.ii.74–96). Such a hair piece is here a macabre contrast to Portia's "sunny locks, / hung on her temple like a golden fleece" (Portia being Bassanio's Juliet, a direction, east for the golden fleece and, like Juliet, the sun). Bassanio therefore rejects the golden casket as beguiling ornament, hard food for Midas. He equally rejects the silver one, quickly in its mere exchange value between men, turning then to "meager lead," which threatens more than it promises. These are a constant man's substantial thoughts, reflecting a noble heart and mind and thus one capable of real friendship. Bassanio of course chooses well in the casket matter, choosing not by view but true. That he has also chosen Antonio for friend and Antonio him is also something true. When Portia sees his altered countenance upon reading the letter from Venice, she immediately supposes news of "some dear friend dead, else nothing in the world/ Could turn so much the constitution / of any constant man" (III.ii.244–46).

A parallel in mindfulness is Antonio's earlier remark, said of Shylock's account of Laban's sheep. "An evil soul producing holy witness" is like a smiling villain: "O what a goodly outside falsehood hath" (I.iii.94–97)! Shylock is outside the circle of Ciceronian and Christian virtues – a troubling aspect of the play, but not a rebuke to true friendship, for, as Antonio caustically asserts, "when did friendship take / A breed for barren metal of his friend (I.iii.130)?" Shylock replies in three ways. First, that he would be friends with Antonio and have his love; second that he will take no interest; and third, that if the loan goes forfeit, he will have an equal pound of flesh. His statements are a parody of friendship and love, albeit Antonio's past and present railing has hurt Shylock into producing such a bond, with Shylock also resenting Antonio's clearing of past debts Shylock held. Shakespeare here, as elsewhere in the play, has made noble friendship emotional in a way Cicero does not. In doing so he exploits dramatically the obvious implications in noble friendship of sharing one's friend's joys as one shares his sorrows. Friends have both happy and grievous experiences and may have them unequally, thus introducing turbulence but no vice into their lives.

Indeed, although joy is key even before Bassanio chooses in Belmont, elsewhere the friend he loves is in anguish. Antonio's letter immediately raises Bassanio's intensity, here easily matching Antonio's anywhere in the play. He sees "wounds" on the paper. Despite happiness in Belmont, painful news can have its interruptive sway. Bassanio reveals his startled sympathy by apostrophe and by figure:

> O sweet Portia,
> Here are a few of the unpleasant'st words
> That ever blotted paper! ...
> I have engag'd myself to a dear friend,
> Engag'd my friend to his mere enemy
> To feed my means. Here is a letter lady,
> The paper as the body of my friend,
> And every word in it a gaping wound
> Issuing life blood. (III.ii.249 65).

Like Antonio, Bassanio feels keenly; he thinks fantastically of the letter as Antonio's very body, already rent, every word bleeding loss of life (the letter then is a witness to martyrdom). This causes anguish. But unlike Antonio, Bassanio does not state his own need, identifying instead with his friend's. Twice, then, we see Bassanio both earnest where he loves and that he would act decisively.

In Venice, away from Portia and Belmont, Bassanio is the deeply concerned, extreme friend. Indeed, much as noble friendship is necessary and triumphant when Horatio and Hamlet seal their hearts and souls together in watching Claudius, and later when sharing the lethal dangers of court, so here only noble friendship urges itself on Antonio's behalf. Seemingly grief has absorbed this friendship wholly, making one hurt soul in two bodies, grief and anxiety expressed in nearly parallel strands. To Antonio's "these griefs and losses have so abated me / That I shall hardly spare a pound of flesh / Tomorrow to my bloody creditor. /... . Pray God Bassanio come / To see me pay his debt, and then I care not" (III.iii.32–36), we have Bassanio's pained argument with Shylock: "This is no answer thou unfeeling man, / To excuse the current of thy cruelty ... . Do all men kill the thing they do not love" (IV.i.63–66)? Bassanio's love will free Antonio, so Antonio thinks, to settle affairs with the little flesh he has, thus redeeming or clearing his debt, which is also Bassanio's. But argument with Shylock is futile (certainly after Shylock has associated Antonio with Jessica's thefts and elopement) – "You may as well use question with the wolf" (IV.i.73). Antonio urges Bassanio to desist so that he, Antonio, can have his judgment and "the Jew his will" (one of very few hints of anger in his resigned state).

Shortly before Portia's appearance, disguised as a lawyer, Bassanio would cheer up his Antonio. He vows the "Jew shall have my flesh, blood, bones and all, / Ere thou shalt lose for me one drop of blood" (IV.i.112–13). He proffers himself as a sacrifice, a willing scapegoat, to which Antonio replies with his "tainted wether of the flock" lines. Bassanio before choosing at Belmont said a gracious voice can season even a tainted law plea, obscuring its evil. To consider himself here "tainted" is Antonio's way of sharing Bassanio's wisdom, making it literal while inverting it: nothing can obscure the necessity of my death. Some readers have considered Antonio's "wether" – a neutered sheep – indicative of a now castrated desire and therefore evidence of his less than fully sublimated, homoerotic interest in Bassanio. If so, that interest has at least been sublimated into a completely sacrificial, pastoral and cultural form as Antonio resolves to "oppose" his patience to Shylock's "fury," inwardly arming himself so as to "suffer with a quietness of spirit, / The very tyranny and rage" (IV.i.10–13). Here, as it were, he would reverse roles, being a Horatio to Bassanio's excited Hamlet. Following his tainted "wether" image, Antonio implies little more than a premature "ripeness": the weakest "kind of fruit / Drops earliest to the ground, and so let me" (IV.i.115–16). A "tainted" wether, one compromised or else sick, is like fruit dropping prematurely (in contrast Antonio has considered Bassanio "ripe" in his courting of Portia). To close the matter, Antonio, reversing again, produces a Hamlet-like plea on his own behalf: "You cannot better be employ'd Bassanio, / Than to live still and write mine epitaph" (IV.i.117–18). The felicity of sacrificial death is not to be Bassanio's. Antonio, like Hamlet, would have his noble friend live on to champion Antonio's honor.

In the moment, Portia's entry and the Duke's address forestall Bassanio's likely protest. However, a little later, when Shylock craves the law, Bassanio pleads with the disguised Portia and the court to let him pay the loan ten times over or, if that is not sufficient, to have the court do a great right (by doing a little wrong and dissolving Shylock's pound of flesh contract). Curb the "devil of his will" (IV.i.213). Here Bassanio advocates a wrong; but the wrong is little and his noble friend's life is at stake. In contrast, Gratiano, the antic social friend and thus not keyed in to noble friendship, is angry regarding Shylock. "Of thy sharp envy: can no prayers pierce thee" (IV.i.126)? He rails rather than offering himself in Antonio's place or else pleading on Antonio's behalf. Without Bassanio, had Bassanio refused, Antonio would have suffered an injustice in that friendship and justice are coextensive for Aristotle. Antonio would have had no necessary, comforting knowledge or love no matter how many Gratianos railed at Shylock.

However, the disguised Portia soon turns to Antonio for his last words. Prepared, Antonio asks for Bassanio's hand: "fare you well, Grieve not that I am

fall'n to this for you: / For herein Fortune shows herself more kind / Than is her custom" (IV.i.261–63). His reciprocal, consoling remark might contain implicit blame; yet Antonio admits nothing of the kind. Rather he says his impending death is fortunate; he will not die a wretched man, old and poor. He is young and knows the wealth of Bassanio's loving mind and friendship, expressed in Bassanio's hurried arrival and in all that Bassanio has said he would do. Then comes his final request:

> Commend me to your honourable wife,
> Tell her the process of Antonio's end,
> Say how I lov'd you, speak me fair in death:
> And when the tale is told, bid her be judge
> Whether Bassanio had not once a love:
> Repent but you that you shall lose your friend
> And he repents not that he pays your debt.
> For if the Jew do cut but deep enough,
> I'll pay it instantly with all my heart (IV.i.269 78).

That death quip seals what is essentially a banner for friendship: this was not the case of a wild fool, trapped into a diabolical bargain, but the tale of a loving, honorable friend –"speak me fair" – who isn't sorry that he pays the debt, however much Bassanio would repent the loss of such a friend. After this pathos, a stricken Bassanio says what the disguised Portia finds thankless: that life, wife and world are not esteemed with him above Antonio's life. He would lose all, sacrifice all here to this devil (Shylock), to deliver Antonio. At this point, Bassanio must be emotionally prostrate, reduced soon to silence, while despairing for his noble friend. The stress of the moment produces extreme formulations, although he does not actually hold Antonio's life in *higher* esteem than his own or his dear wife's – rather he esteems it or the saving of it equally with all else of great worth.

In a calm situation there is no conflict between noble friendship and the obligations of married love, though the former should be more disinterested than the latter (perhaps why Antonio says he repents not that he repays Bassanio's debt). That this friendship is noble is not the problem; rather, dire stress casts the friendship into a realm of superlative effort and recompense, a stress that colored the friendship even in the beginning, before Antonio knew the full details of why Bassanio would borrow more wealth.

As the friendship again lives and breathes after Shylock loses his case, Portia's bond with Bassanio now looms. How earnest is Bassanio in claiming equality of wife and world with Antonio's life yet perforce favoring that life over Portia's commandment in the stress of the moment? Soon after in Belmont Bassanio

introduces Antonio to Portia as the man to "whom I am so infinitely bound," a strong phrase suggesting that, however matters work out, the noble friendship will continue. Marriage does not replace it but marriage has its claim (and threat). Portia's assertion begins archly, that Bassanio "should in all sense be much bound to him [Antonio], / For (as I hear) he was much bound for you" (V.i.135–36). So Bassanio and Gratiano have to be faced down over the rings, the symbols of marital contract and generative sex. Bassanio, when accused, argues how unwillingly he gave the ring, how much the doctor (Portia in disguise) deserved it for his services to "my dear friend," how, pulled hard between deeply unwanted "shame" and strongly desired "courtesy, / My honour would not let ingratitude so much besmear" the situation (V.i.193–219). He ends by claiming that even she would have begged him to give the ring, which might have worked: the original signifier could re-signify its import. In contrast, she is cutting: as the doctor has what Bassanio swore to keep she will deny the doctor nothing, not even her body or her husband's bed, that very bed to which in Act III Bassanio promised to return without resting. Portia and Nerissa will outface their husbands, who imagine they gave the rings to men, putting on a sometimes rather sarcastic severity.

Portia threatens cuckoldry as her revenge. Nerissa follows suit, to which Gratiano, the second Jason, offers genital violence: "Let not me take him, then / For if I do I'll mar the young clerk's pen" (V.1.236–37). Just here Antonio moans, "I am th'unhappy subject of these quarrels" (V.i.238), being so in two senses: his release the object of great gratitude toward the doctor of law; and his tipping the scales in the lawyer's favor, the disguised Portia having asked for the wedding ring, against what he knows of Portia's command. He knows that Bassanio should neither sell, nor give, nor lose it (IV.i.439). Hastily, she tells him not to grieve. He is welcome notwithstanding this quarrel, which continues with a beseeching Bassanio. When Bassanio suddenly swears, by his soul, that he will never more break an oath with Portia, Antonio jumps in to underwrite this new vow, giving it deep credit: "I once did lend my body for his wealth, / Which but for him that had your husband's ring / Had quite miscarried. I dare be bound again, / My soul upon the forfeit, that your lord / Will never more break faith advisedly" (V.i.249–53). This modifies the extreme promises in Acts I and III: the bond is now of the soul rather than body; and it will be Antonio's surety for Bassanio not breaking faith deliberately. Presumably faith might be broken accidentally or unwittingly. So this is a much more mindful vow on Bassanio's behalf and a spiritual bond on Antonio's. Seemingly satisfied, Portia gives Antonio a ring to give to Bassanio, having Antonio bid him keep it better "than the other." Thus, in effect she hands marital fidelity back to Bassanio, re-

warding him through Antonio, Bassanio's noble if somewhat overwrought friend.[25] Marriage and noble friendship are now in communion.

Yet the nightmare of cuckoldry still lingers as Nerissa shows a ring she has for lying with the clerk, to which the always earthy Gratiano exclaims: "are we cuckolds ere we deserved it (V.i.265)?" Although Portia immediately chastises Gratiano, she also produces a letter confirming she was the doctor and Nerissa the clerk. Still, the specter of cuckoldry is not easily dispelled. Both Bassanio and Gratiano nervously echo it humorously. For Portia's "I'll have that doctor for my bedfellow," Bassanio's surprised chiming is this: "Sweet doctor, you shall be my bedfellow. / When I am absent, then lie with my wife" (V.i.285 –his noble friendship joke). Vulgar bawdiness falls to Gratiano: "I should wish it dark / Till I were couching with the doctor's clerk" (V.i.304–05). And readers have seen the threat reverberating in relation to a conflict between male friendship and married love.[26] However, within the context of noble friendship and the equivalence of souls and love, as one's soul mate is equivalent to his friend, to lie with one's soul mate is to lie with his semblance, the friend. For Portia to lie with the doctor is to lie with a countenance that is essentially herself – two countenances or perhaps "lineaments" (to use her earlier term) in one body, or, as another noble friendship joke, one soul in two "lineaments." Thus her threat is really a cuckold paradox, for she would in any event lie with herself.[27] Nevertheless, such figurative cuckoldry raises once more the sexual tension that noble friendship left behind, this time in relation to the woman one's noble friend marries. In the me-

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25 Pequigney, "The Two Antonios" (see note 3), 218, rightly understands this as Antonio staking his soul on something of moral value. As Guarantor he has a part in their marriage. For a com prehensive overview of early modern attitudes toward Jews, as well as their social and economic status in Venice, see Amany El Sawy's essay in this volume. "Community and the Others: Unveil ing Boundaries in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*." El Sawy also treats Shakespeare's pre sentation of Shylock and interpretations of Shylock on the English stage until today.

26 See Coppélia Kahn, "The Cuckoo's Note: Male Friendship and Cuckoldry," *The Merchant of Venice*, *Shakespeare's 'Rough Magic'*, ed. Peter Erickson and Coppelia Kahn (Newark, DE: Univer sity of Delaware Press, 1985), 104 12.

27 David N. Beauregard misses the cuckoldry humor and the noble friendship jokes here, al though he nicely argues for the importance of Aristotelian friendship, as adumbrated through Aquinas. He does not argue for noble friendship, for the semblance of one's soul, aside from noting that good friendship "is rooted in virtue and good character" (135). The likeness between two friends is a scholastic "connaturality" he thinks Portia expresses when she would purchase "the semblance of [her] soul" (3.4. l. 20) in attempting to redeem Antonio, who is the "bosom lover" of her lord. See Beauregard, "Love and Friendship in *The Merchant of Venice:* Shake speare, Aristotle and Aquinas, *Renaissance Essays on Values in Literature* 71.2 (2019): 133 48.

dieval tradition of look-alike, avowed friends, actual bedding of one's wife, by the friend, may occur.[28]

A final exchange follows Portia's revelations: in effect Portia reciprocates for Antonio's commitment of soul. She has news of three argosies, news that gives Antonio, via Portia, as he says, "life *and* living [emphasis mine]." Her lawyer avatar gives him life and now, as carrier of news, she brings him his own wealth (apart from the court's award from Shylock's estate). This is her gracious recapitulation of her earlier equivalence: as Bassanio's love is bound to Antonio, and hers to Bassanio, rewarded again with the ring, so also is she bound to a rewarded Antonio, his painful voyages ended.

The community of Christian merchants now breathes easily again, free from marriage jeopardy and "grievous penalties." It has grown and has absorbed Shylock's daughter through marital love and also Shylock (the latter through forced conversion). Noble friendship vows are in soulful harmony as the smaller community inside the merchant world enlarges by one. Noble friendship transcends erotic desire but does not usually require separation from the world, although some may see it as exclusive. In Hamlet's case that separation was partly necessary, given the dangerous world of court, which he has to negotiate in secret with Horatio. Then Horatio at the end will bring Hamlet back into the now changed court upon Fortinbras' arrival, by championing Hamlet's honor to the as yet "unknowing world."

Still, the psychology of noble friendship, as sketched below in the addendum, cannot entirely escape whatever infant desires, family desires, and erotic relations once affected the friends, as one sees in the youthful cases of *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, where of course noble friendship has yet to form. But when it does, some strands of early desires likely continue on into adult life. Adult friendship, which includes noble friendship, sublimates those desires and can expand into social relations, esprit de corps, and love of community, especially if that community, notwithstanding jeopardy, is friendly toward the friendship and open to such expansion, as is so in *Merchant*. Solario, for example, thinks of Antonio's feelings for Bassanio as "affection wondrous sensible" evident even in a firm handshake (II.viii.48). In Hamlet's case Claudius' court was not open in that Hamlet was a worrisome prince, for whom noble friendship was both deep help and saving grace.

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28 See *Amys and Amylion*, ed. Francoise Le Saux (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1993).

Addendum

The probable psychology of noble friendship in *Hamlet* offers some purchase for psychoanalytical analysis, given Hamlet's often intense states and aside from his talk of his mother, uncle, and incestuous sheets. But *Merchant* offers even better grounds for speculation. Much as Portia promises more details at the end, to wit, "And yet I am sure you are not satisfied," so readers may have questions, especially about the probable psychology of noble friendship in *Hamlet* which offers some purchase for the psychology of noble friendship.[29] To that end this addendum draws on brief insights from Derrida and Lacan, while relying on extended accounts by Melanie Klein and Freud, as well as noting queer theory's focus on non-dyadic friendships.

In editing *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, William Carroll says the "male-male friendship reflected a Neoplatonic exaltation of both selfless devotion to and ideal union with another, as well as mastery over sexual desire."[30] Those are plausible but problematic assertions. First, "ideal union" is troubling, although the noble friend's pleasures and pains are as one's own (and, in the medieval Amys and Amylion tradition, their shared oath is like a marriage vow). Moreover, "Neoplatonic" seems unnecessary. There is no one descending into the many, or perfection descending into the imperfect, or a meditative comparison of variations such that one might glimpse an underlying form. However, one character might see his similitude in the other. Such an identification would be with the form that character manifests, as like one's own – perhaps Platonic in that sense. The ideal of twinning in the medieval tradition of Amis and Amylion is one of separately well-born males, look-a-likes, fresh into their bachelor adulthoods. Cicero's model does not require similarity of appearance, while allowing status and age differences. He focuses on moral conversationalists; by finding and cultivating such friendship one improves one's own character, acquires a model of virtue for life, in memory and in whatever affairs one's friend leaves undone should he die.

Next, how do we understand "mastery over sexual desire"? In noble friendship there is no awareness of such "mastery"; there has been a psychological

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29 Although social psychologists have studied friendship associations intensively for the last thirty years, their research posits no developmental dynamic, pays no attention to classical conceptions, and yet has observations congruent with classical and Freudian views: in adulthood, good friends are freely chosen, the relationship is personal, mutual, affective and equal, involving reciprocity and aid when needed. See overviews of various research areas: *The Psychology of Friendship* ed. Mahzad Hojjat, Anne Moyer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
30 Carroll, *Two Gentlemen* (see note1), 12.

overcoming achieved long before friendship blossoms. The intimate activities friends share can suggest homosexual or at least homosocial liking (Alan Bray), yet homosexual desire is largely deflected and rededicated. Does this idealization of male friendship, then, involve what Carroll, following Garber, Adelman and Haslem, formulates as a "fantasy of denial, an embodiment ... of the paralysis of normative development from same-sex to other-sex erotic relations – representing an adolescent phase of withdrawal, of self-protection prior to the establishment of a heterosexual relationship"?[31] The turbulent friendship in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona,* at least on Proteus's part, seems to reflect that fantasy. Valentine's absolute estimation of Sylvia in comparison with Proteus's Julia may also reflect difficulties at the threshold of same sex to other sex involvement. Is there something similar in *Merchant* or *Hamlet?*

Melanie Klein supports Carroll's formulation for adolescence, when strong impulses "bring about very intense, same-sex friendships between young people ... Unconscious homosexual feelings underlie these relationships and very often lead to actual homosexual activities. Such relationships are partly an escape from the drive towards the other sex, which is often too unmanageable at this stage, for various internal and external reasons." Friendships "in adolescence, as we know, are very often unstable ... The adolescent is not yet emancipated from the strong emotional ties of infancy and is still – more than he knows – swayed by them."[32]

Adult friendships can differ, however. Homosexual tendencies, according to Klein, linger but affectionate "feelings ... are partially dissociated from sexual ones, which recede into the background ... for practical purposes they disappear." She considers relationships between women and between men, the former something Derrida raises against the idea of noble friendship, which excludes women's friendships as well as heterosexual friendships. Still, he acknowledges the prior existence of the notion, before any friendship forms, while also suggesting that friendship in part anticipates the death of the friend (thus perhaps neither reifying friendship nor fetishizing the friend).[33] Noble friendship does not figure at all in post-Derridean thinking, which, when continued into queer theory, emphasizes various friendships among several people, even group relations among queer friends (who are either gay or estranged in some way from gender

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31 Carroll, *Two Gentlemen* (see note 1), 40 41. Lori Schroeder Haslem, "'O Me, The Word Choose!': Female Voice and Catechetical Ritual in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Merchant of Venice,*" *Shakespeare Studies* 22 (1994): 122 40.

32 Melanie Klein, *Love, Guilt and Reparation and Other Works* (New York: The Free Press, 1984), 330 31.

33 Jacques Derrida, *The Politics of Friendship*, trans. George Collins (London: Verso, 2005), 27.

and sexual norms): those relations "are sometimes erotic, diversely affectionate, and often result from a shared feeling of being different"[34] (consider Bassanio's merry companions, especially Gratiano, whose "skipping spirit" is not a fault in Bassanio's eyes, though an anticipated problem in his love embassy to Belmont [II.ii.178]). Returning to Klein, one can consider two women (although in Shakespeare's plays invariably the two women are young, girls even, or else the relationship is mentor-like and possessive, as with Titania's handmaiden: the "capacity to give and take emotionally is one essential for true friendship. Here, elements of early situations are expressed in adult ways." If we grow up emotionally and become self-sufficient, we shall not be too dependent upon maternal support and comfort [or paternal, I would add], but the wish to receive them when painful and difficult situations arise will remain until we die [a strand of this may well inform Antonio's hope that Bassanio will come to his stricken side]. A successful blending of a … [parent-attitude and a child-attitude] 'seems to be one of the conditions … for an emotionally rich … personality and for the capacity for friendship."[35]

Furthermore, "we share interests and pleasures with a friend, but we may also be capable of enjoying her happiness and success even when we ourselves lack these [an essential aspect and also expression of noble friendship]." Possessiveness and grievance "are disturbing elements in friendship; indeed, overstrong emotions altogether are likely to undermine it. Whenever this happens … early situations of unsatisfied desires, of grievance, of greed or jealousy, have broken through" [as for Proteus in *Two Gentlemen*, perhaps: envy, competition, a manipulative relation to a father figure, the Duke].

"The separation of affectionate from sexual feelings, the sublimation of homosexual tendencies and identification," then, are foundational for any kind of adult male friendship. "Although elements and gratifications corresponding to adult personality enter – fresh – into a man's friendship with another man, he also is seeking partly for a repetition of his relation to his father or brother, or trying to find a new affinity which fulfills past desires, or to improve on the unsatisfactory relations to those who once stood nearest to him."[36] Hamlet's rage over incestuous sheets may be relevant here, but he is not sexual with Horatio any more than Antonio is with Bassanio (despite an "erotic" tinge, see below).

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34 John S. Garrison, *Friendship and Queer Theory in the Renaissance* (New York and London: Routledge, 2014), xvii.

35 Klein, *Love, Guilt* (see note 32), 331.

36 Klein, *Love, Guilt*, 333. See also the attachment theory, as discussed, for instance, by John Bowlby, *Attachment and Loss* (New York: Basic Books, 1969).

Antonio can support Bassanio even though sad about losing something (Antonio must feel to one side of the marital joy Bassanio seeks). Despite Bassanio's love, Antonio's pathos suggests he needs Bassanio more than Bassanio needs him, perhaps reflecting a paternal conflict in his past (as somehow reenacted through the play's monitory father-figure, Shylock, whom Antonio has despised for his "usances" and has publicly berated). While bringing no compensatory demand into his friendship with Bassanio, his letter's pathos is suggestive, as is his fourth-act hope that Bassanio will speak him fair. In a lesser key, we might also consider Hamlet's closing plea to Horatio. His self-image and honor are in need of fair speaking.

Further purchase appears in Freud's ego-ideal notion and in his account of narcissistic object choice. In *Collected Papers, IV* Freud says that while we take our first love object from those who have fed and protected us, homosexuals may take themselves as their model. "They are plainly seeking themselves as a love-object and their type of object-choice may be termed *narcissistic*."[37] Both types of object choice are open to us. Choosing oneself mainly expresses original, primary narcissism. For men who choose a female object, their marked over-estimation "is doubtless derived from the original narcissism of the child, now transferred to the sexual object." Later, a person may love narcissistically what he is himself, what he once was, or what he would like to be, or someone who was once part of himself.

Antonio does not love Bassanio in this sexual-object sense. Noble friendship is a culturally underwritten ego-ideal that transcends sexual love and would indeed find such desire disgusting. A repression of homosexual desire occurs here from the ego's point of view – or else this is a sublimation (desires are sublimated; objects idealized; both can happen at once). Narcissism is displaced onto this ego-ideal. Self-love is displaced onto the other as ideal, the ideal becoming the embodiment of all perfections. The formation of an ego-ideal can increase the demands of the ego and is "the most powerful factor favoring repression [in the neurotic]; sublimation is a way out, a way by which the claims of the ego can be met without involving repression."[38] Antonio, in offering his "extremest" means, perhaps reflects a once-repressed narcissism now sublimated into the ego-ideal of the noble friend. We could then say the same of Bassanio.

How does self-regard fit here? Self-regard intimately connects "with the narcissistic libido." Not "being loved lowers the self-regarding feelings, while being

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37 Sigmund Freud, *Collected Papers, Volume IV*, trans. Joan Riviere (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1948, 1959), 52.

38 Freud, *Collected Papers* (see note 37), 52.

loved raises them ... to be loved is the aim and the satisfaction in a narcissistic object-choice." Furthermore, "he who loves has, so to speak, forfeited a part of his narcissism, which can only be replaced by his being loved" (compare Antonio's hope in his letter). "After the stage of heterosexual object-choice has been reached, the homosexual tendencies are not, as might be supposed, done away with or brought to a stop; they are merely deflected from their sexual aim and applied to fresh uses. They now combine with portions of the ego-instincts and, as "anaclitic" components [leaning up against or supporting themselves upon the ego-instincts], these help to constitute the social instincts, thus contributing an erotic factor to friendship and comradeship, to esprit de corps and to the love of mankind in general [Bassanio does not express this social instinct, while Antonio generously pays debts others have incurred, to Shylock's dismay]."[39] Lacan would separate the demand for love from the appetite for satisfaction; for him, that separation defines desire (or wish). Each partner must hold the place of what causes desire and yet no real satisfaction is possible. It is not enough for the needing subject to need or for the object of love to be an object. Translated into friendship, there would be demand, perhaps for acknowledgment, but not a drive for erotic satisfaction; nor would being loved be enough, or so it seems. Lacan is opaque here and, given his metapsychology of lack, likely to find noble friendship narcissistic even if it avoids pathology, pathology being a quest for the self in the other.[40]

We can, then, suggest that Bassanio is not Antonio's love object – or if he once were, subliminally, Antonio has sublimated it into the ego-ideal of noble friendship taken to extreme and "uttermost" ends. In support of Bassanio he, Antonio, would utterly rack his credit, even though, anticipatorily sad about it before, he soon learns promised details about his noble friend's hopes for love and wealth outside of Venice. To compensate, then, he places all his means and more at his honorable friend's disposal in an honorable project. Shakespeare here intuits the displaced, erotic character of noble friendship in this case, and perhaps its unthinking, ready narcissism in the fleshly "bond," having devised a drama of physical need as a semblance in some ghostly way of psychic need. The friendship on Antonio's part radically attenuates the melancholia expected when loss of life (which is loss of love) looms: Antonio has not abandoned his love of Bassanio, although he has anticipated notable separation.

39 Freud, *Volume III*, (see note 37), 446 47.
40 Jacques Lacan, *The Language of the Self: The Function of Language in Psychoanalysis*, trans. Anthony Wilden (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968, from a 1956 essay).

For his self-regard, Antonio really needs Bassanio's confirming love, which Bassanio hardly withholds. Given that love he can accept his new status in Bassanio's world of love and happily pay Bassanio's debts because he identifies his own with Bassanio's. Disinterested, he can celebrate joy in Belmont but not partake of it (hence his sadness). Throughout, however, he is devotedly a noble friend and would have Bassanio say so to the honorable Portia that what he did he did for love, that Bassanio has had a love whom he can hold in his mind's eye after Antonio dies.

So if noble friendship can be emotional as well as sometimes necessary in relation to a broader and threatening world, being so beyond the instability of youth, Shakespeare has a means of testing such friendship, moving beyond easy tropes, beyond figured, famous pairs ever steady and wholly committed to each other. He can focus on relations that the vicissitudes of human life and psychic nature inform both in less than vicious *and* less than absolutely virtuous ways. He has been working this vein variously in all the initially friendly but then conflicted male and female pairings we find in other comedies (e. g. Helena and Hermia; Bertram and Parolles; Claudio and Benedick). And he has gamed it in several, quite startling sonnets, where the speaker confronts and would overcome the hurt and momentary jealousy triangular relationships can spawn.

Najlaa Aldeeb

Deconstructing the (Mis)Interpretation of Paratextual Elements in Ross's English Translation of the Qur'ān, *The Alcoran of Mahomet* (1649)

Abstract: Contemporary reviewers of Qur'ān translations such as Bruce Lawrence and Abdur Raheem Kidwai have recognized medieval and early modern Qur'ān translations as anti-Islamic. These translations were meant to make the Qur'ān accessible to the European reader to know about Islam, yet they had either missionary or political reasons. The first English translation of the Qur'ān was done by Alexander Ross, the chaplain to Charles I of England, in 1649, a time of great political and social turmoil, marked by a civil war, regicide, and suppression of voices in the press. Due to the threat of the Ottoman Empire, the Council of State considered the Qur'ān as the book of the enemy and issued a warrant to seize the copies and apprehend the printer. Whoever published or translated the Qur'ān was to be punished; therefore, Ross was obliged to add an anti-Islamic preface and appendix to his target text to satisfy the authorities and to avoid punishment. However, these additions were misinterpreted by modern scholars. Analyzing the paratextual devices of this version promises to reveal the relationship between European-Christian and Arab-Muslim countries at that time. Thus, this paper compares Ross's translation of the Qur'ān to its French source text by André du Ryer and the second English translation by George Sale to deconstruct the claim that all Orientalists, non-Arab, and non-Muslim translators of the Qur'ān, including Ross, were anti-Islamic.

Keywords: Alexander Ross, deconstruction, Orientalists, paratextual elements, Qur'ān translation

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Introduction: The Itineraries of Qur'ān Translations during the Medieval and Early Modern Periods

Throughout history, the Qur'ān has been translated for Muslims and non-Muslims who do not speak Arabic to understand its meanings and message. The first partial translation was created in 615 at the time of Prophet Mohammed when Ja'far Bin Abi Taleb interpreted the first four verses from *Sūrat Maryam* to Negus, king of Abyssinia, now known as Ethiopia.[1] This partial translation had a political reason behind it since Ja'far wanted to persuade the king of Abyssinia to accept Muslim immigrants in his country and to protect them from the unbelievers of Islam. Also, in 884, Salman the Persian, or Salman al-Farsi, translated *Sūrat Al-Fatihah* into Persian[2] to be used in prayers, so it had a religious purpose. The first fully attested complete versions were created between the tenth and twelfth centuries, and their intention was to know Islam and understand the Qur'ān, the religion of the Turks. Thus, the attempts of Qur'ān translations (QT) were motivated by religious and political reasons, and they followed four itineraries: from Arabic into Latin; from Latin into other European languages; from Arabic into European languages by modern Orientalists; and from Arabic into European languages by Muslims.[3] This paper gives a brief overview of the three itineraries of Qur'ān translations, which took place during the medieval and early modern era; it focuses on the first English translation comparing it to its French source text (ST) and to the second English translation.

The First Itinerary of Qur'ān Translation

In the twelfth century, people in the West considered Islam as a religious threat, which necessitated knowing it thoroughly. In 1143, Peter the Venerable, head of the Cluny abbey in southern France, thought that Islam should not be fought

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1 Shahnaze Safieddine, "Migration to Abyssinia," *Message of Thaqalayn* 12.2 (2011): 83–102.
2 Travis Zadeh, "The Fātiha of Salmān al Fārisī and the Modern Controversy over Translating the Qur'ān," *The Meaning of the Word: Lexicology and Qur'anic Exegesis,* ed. Stephen Burge (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 375–420.
3 Abdur Raheem Kidwai, *Bibliography of the Translations of the Meanings of the Glorious Qur'an into English:1649 2002* (Al Madinah Al Munawwarah: King Fahd Qur'ān Printing Complex, 2008).

with military means but with reason and words. To be able to do so, knowledge of Islam was needed; as a result, he proposed the translation of the Qur'ān into Latin in an endeavor to know about Islam and to convert Muslims to Christianity. The task was accomplished by the English priest Robert of Retina, known as Robert of Ketton, and the German priest Hermann of Carinthia. The title of Robert's translation, *Lex Mahumet pseudoprophete* (*The Law of the False Prophet Muhammad*), reflects the translator's bias against Islam. Robert changed the division of the Qur'ān from 114 *Sūrahs*[4] to 123 chapters. While numerous critics have stated that Robert made a lot of errors because he wanted to deceive and show Islam as inferior to Christianity, other critics have stated that Robert did not want to deceive, but just made some unintended mistakes.[5] He wanted to show how Muslims interpreted the Qur'ān, instead of just translating it, so he explained some points in his version of the Qur'ān in a very complex Latin, which resulted, however, in some honest mistakes. Christian clerics kept Robert's translation in the Abbey until 1543; hence, Robert's translation remained the standard Latin translation for four centuries despite its inaccuracies.

Although Mark of Toledo (fl. 1193–1216) rendered another Latin translation in the early thirteenth century in Spain, it did not circulate widely, so it was less well-known than the translation of Robert.[6] In his prologue, Mark mentioned that he completed his translation of the Qur'ān in the year 1210 and that he avoided applying Robert's strategy of paraphrase. He emphasized his attempt to adhere to the original as much as possible, which in some places caused him not to pay attention to the context and to translate with a standard or basic meaning of the word. Toward the end of his prologue, Mark wrote down in two sentences the reasons that made Roderic of Toledo commission the translation: to fight against the Muslims' "aberrant doctrines" and to "confound" them in order perhaps to achieve the conversion of some of them without using weapons, which a bishop was not permitted to do at any rate. He wrote in Latin:

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4 A *Sūrah* (/sʊərə/; Arabic: سورة, Romanized: *Sūratun* or *Sūrah*; plural: سور, *Suwar*) is the equiv alent of "chapter" in the Qur'ān. There are 114 *Sūrahs* in the Qur'ān, each one is divided into *ayat* (verses).

5 Thomas E. Burman, "Tafsīr and Translation: Traditional Arabic Qur'ān Exegesis and the Latin Qur'āns of Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo," *Speculum* 73.3 (1998): 703 32.

6 Charles Burnett, "The Coherence of the Arabic Latin Translation Program in Toledo," *Science in Context* 14.2 (2002): 249 88.

ut quos ei non licebat armis impugnare corporalibus, saltem enormibus institutis obuiando confunderet ... . Quatinus ex institutis detestandis Mafometi a Christianis confusi, Sarraceni ad fidem nonnulli traherentur catholicam.[7]

[It was not lawful for a bishop to attack aberrant doctrines using weapons and armies so that those, at least, the enormous institutions must fight them... . To fight them, they release a translation from the institution to attract Muslims to the Catholic faith and embrace Chris tianity.]

Despite his fidelity to the text, Mark's Christian cultural background sometimes influenced his translation. This Christian background came to the surface, for instance, when he translated the story of Jesus's birth in *Sūrat Maryam*.

Mark's translation represented a great improvement over the work of Robert of Ketton and was on the whole a respectable translation.[8] It was more popular in Spain and Italy, while Robert's was very well-known in France and the North of Europe. However, Robert's translation circulated well beyond the Middle Ages because its printed version which appeared in 1543 had been adjusted and improved by Theodor Bibliander (1504–1564). Another reason for the circulation of Robert's translation was a foreword by Martin Luther, in which Luther stated that the purpose of the print was the study of Islam, a religious threat. Already during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, some priests had aspired to encounter the religious threat of Islam by knowing the Qur'ān and intending to convert as many individuals as possible to Christianity, yet still there were of course some improvements that could have been made in certain places.

In the fourteenth century, the interest in Islam and Qur'ān translation decreased, but there was no clear explanation for this. The reason could have been the Black Death and the catastrophe that hit Europe.[9] When the Church had to come up with a reason why the plague happened to Europe, it was related to the endeavor to know about Islam, so priests commonly did not occupy themselves with Islam anymore. During this period, the idea of the power of words spread not only among theologians but also philosophers and writers. For example, believing in the possibility of an inter-religious dialogue between the Jews, Christians, and Muslims, Ramon Llull, a Spanish Christian philosopher and writ-

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7 Mark of Toledo, *Praefatio in alcoranum*; see also Ulisse Cecini, "Main Features of Mark of Tol edo's Latin Qur'ān Translation," *Al Masaq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* 25.3 (2013): 331 44.
8 Aymenn J. Al Tamimi, "Mark of Toledo's Latin Translation of the Qur'an in the Thirteenth Cen tury," *Pundicity Informed Opinion and Review,* August 14, 2020, online at http://www.aymennja wad.org/24461/mark of toledo latin translation of the quran in (last accessed on Jan. 20, 2022).
9 Andrew Gray, "Translations of the Qur'an and other Islamic Texts before Dante (Twelfth and Thirteenth Century)," *Dante Studies* 125 (2007): 79 92.

er, urged the study of Arabic in Europe to convert Muslims and schismatic Christians.[10] Although Llull did not translate the Qur'ān, his thoughts affected many translators. He travelled throughout Europe to meet with popes, kings, and princes, trying to establish special colleges to prepare future missionaries.

When Llull returned to Spain in 1308, he promulgated the idea that the conversion of Muslims should be achieved through prayer, not through military force. He finally achieved his goal of linguistic education at major universities in 1311 when the Council of Vienne ordered the creation of chairs of Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean (Aramaic) at the universities of Bologna, Oxford, Paris, and Salamanca as well as at the Papal Court.[11] Thus, Llull hoped for the establishment of universal peace anchored in one all-encompassing faith, so he spent his career attempting to convert Muslims to Christianity and was actively involved in the Arabic to Latin translation movement, but he made few attempts to engage actively with Islamic sources relying only on Christian and Jewish sources to refute Islam.

Like Peter Abelard, Llull, and Nicholas of Cusa, philosophers and writers throughout the pre-modern age depicted Christianity as the only true religion, and they assumed that it would be possible to develop a rational argument about God and the divine message that Jews and Muslims would voluntarily abandon their traditional faith and convert to Christianity. The ideas of these writers were highlighted in the accounts by slaves who had managed to return from the Ottoman Empire. These ex-slaves confirmed that there was a need for a dialogue between religions because the military power of the Turks exceeded that of the West. For example, Georgius de Hungaria (1422/23–1502), an ex-slave, admitted that the Turks demonstrated a considerable military and technical superiority over the Christians.[12] He had been captured by the Turks as a young man and was sold into slavery to spend two decades in the Ottoman world before he managed to escape and return to Italy.[13] He provided detailed information

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10 Paul R. Blum, *Philosophy of Religion in the Renaissance* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010).

11 Albrecht Classen, *Toleration and Tolerance in Medieval European Literature* Routledge Studies in Medieval Literature and Culture, 8 (New York and London: Routledge, 2018; paperback, 2021), 269 73.

12 Albrecht Classen, "The World of the Turks Described by an Eye Witness: Georgius de Hungarian's Dialectical Discourse on the Foreign World of the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of Early Modern History* 7.3 (2003): 257 79.

13 Albrecht Classen, "Life Writing as a Slave in Turkish Hands: Georgius of Hungary's Reflections About His Existence in the Turkish World," *Neohelicon* 39.1 (2012): 55 72; online: https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11059 012 0125 1 (last accessed on Jan. 26, 2022).

about his admiration of Ottoman culture; at one point early into his slavery, he had even been on the brink of converting to Islam, but after his escape George began radically to condemn and reject Islam.

The fifteenth century witnessed another wave of interest in Islam. Nicholas of Cusa wrote a detailed review of the Latin translation of the Qur'ān entitled *Cribratio Alchorani, Sifting the Koran.* He argued that the Qur'ān was to be interpreted in the light of the Gospel; he alleged that the Arabs were not true to the Qur'ān when they persecuted Christians.[14] Nicholas looked at the Qur'ān as a book of doctrine, a book of law, stating that the earliest Latin translation concentrated on the intellectual motivations and interests of the Qur'ān. He confirmed that initially the intellectual engagement of Latin scholars with Islam and Qur'ān was interpreted as a serious effort toward understanding the faith and holy book of Muslims. Nicholas added that later on in the thirteenth century, the Latin version of the Qur'ān was used for mission and crusade manuals which were written by members of the Dominican order. Also, Reinhold Glei stated that motivations and techniques of Qur'ān translation changed according to time and region. For example, translations for non-Muslims by non-Muslims served for the intellectual discourse or for finding cultural identity by dissociating oneself from the other. Glei asserted that from a linguistic point of view, translating from the Arabic original or another previous translation (indirect translation) was linked to the political situation of the country of translation at the time of translation.[15]

In the second half of the fifteenth century, John of Segovia rendered another Qur'ān translation. He believed that peace and doctrine would be more successful solutions for the growing Muslim threat than the military response.[16] His experiences as a professor at the University of Salamanca and then as a diplomat for the Crown of Castile contributed to his attitude toward Muslims. John realized that the style, structure, and main contents of Robert's translation of the Qur'ān did not reflect an ideal of love for the truth. He aspired to produce an authentic version by being as literal and complete as possible and to avoid any false assumption or association. His love for the truth and scrupulous procedure result-

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14 John Tolan, "Nicholas of Cusa and Islam: Polemic and Dialogue in the Late Middle Ages [Review of *Nicholas of Cusa and Islam: Polemic and Dialogue in the Late Middle Ages*," *The Catholic Historical Review* 102.1 (2016): 158 59.

15 Raphaela Veit, Reinhold F. Glei (ed.), *Frühe Koranübersetzungen. Europäische und außereuropäische Fallstudien* (BAC Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium 88), Trier: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2012) *Journal of Transcultural Medieval* 1.1 (2014), 152 56 (book review).

16 Ulli Roth, "Juan of Segovia's Translation of the Qur'an," *Al Qantara* 35.2 (2014): 555 78.

ed in his engagement in interreligious communication; in 1453 he produced a trilingual translation of the Qur'ān (Arabic-Spanish-Latin). This translation did not include any additions, explanations, or omissions. John, in fact, developed a new approach toward Islam, not crusade, but interreligious communication based on thorough knowledge of the religion of the other to guarantee peace, either through converting the other or at least convincing him to stop warfare. John of Segovia and Nicholas of Cusa renounced the crusades and called for critical editions of the Qur'ān as a means to better understand and more effectively engage the enemy.[17]

John of Segovia cited *Sūrah* 33: 40, which says that Muhammed is the "seal and culmination of the prophets," in order to refute it. Like his contemporaries, John used the Qur'ān to denigrate Muhammed and to show how and why the Qur'ān was flawed. He also cited *Sūrah* 4: 43 and *Sūrah* 5: 6 literally to conclude that the Islamic ablution described in these *Sūrahs* does not move beyond common external washing and thus does not rise to the level of sacrament.[18] Nevertheless, John showed a notable fondness for *Sūrah* 29: 46:

> *Believers,* debate courteously with People of The Book   except the oppressors among them
>   and tell them: "We believe in what's revealed to us and what's revealed to you, Our God
>   and your God is One, and we submit to Him.[19]

He saw in this Qur'ānic verse approbation of his plan for interreligious dialogue. John cited the Qur'ān to persuade both Christians and Muslims, and in that order, that there was a need for dialogue between them.

Highlighting the idea of interfaith dialogue, Albrecht Classen asserted that in the medieval era, writers, theologians, politicians, and philosophers were engaged in an ongoing debate on religions in an attempt to convert people to their religions. Classen suggested having an interreligious dialogue because too many deaths resulted from the agony between religions. He confirmed that voices such as Nicholas of Cusa and Llull did not achieve the desired or dreamed-of breakthrough, but, though isolated, they were powerful voices at their time. As in the eighteenth century, Voltaire agreed that Christians should tolerate each other, in

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17 Reinhold F. Glei, "The Christian God in Favor of a Muslim Emperor? Gianmario Filelfo's, *Amyris,*" *Medievalia et Humanistica Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture,* New Series, 45 (London and New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2020), 27 42.

18 Jesse D. Mann, "Throwing the Book at Them: Juan de Segovia's Use of Qur'an Revista?," *Es pañola de Filosofía Medieval* 26.1 (2019): 79 96.

19 Musharraf Hussain, *The Majestic Qur'an: Guidance and Good News for the Mindful* (Nottingham: Invitation Publishing, 2020).

the twenty-first century, Classen believes that the interfaith dialogue between all religions is required since all people are brothers and sisters and we are all children of the same father. Classen gives examples from the Middle Ages, showing that in the twelfth century there was a determination by the Crusades to grant room for peaceful contacts and efforts to learn something about the other cultures and religions. However, there was no real contacts with representatives of Islam. Thus, Classen's idea of the dialogue between religions sheds light on the significance of communication as a tool to suppress violence and achieve harmony among world religions.[20]

The Second Itinerary of Qur'ān Translation

The second itinerary of Qur'ān Translation (QT) was translating the Qur'ān from Latin into other European languages. For the great majority of the inhabitants of Western Europe during the pre-modern age, Islam, Muslims, and the Turks were known only through stories, histories, a few travelers' accounts, and portrayals in the theater. In 1543, the Italian Pope Alexander VII (1567–1555) allowed the Church to print Robert's Latin translation of the Qur'ān. Translating it into Italian, German, Dutch, and Hebrew resulted into erroneous and distorted versions due to its allegedly improbable and unpleasant meanings over likely and decent meanings. Reinhold Glei and Roberto Tottoli discuss Robert's problems of trying to produce a "literal" or "word-by-word" translation of the Qur'ān in Latin and his choices in trying to render the quite foreign concepts of the Qur'ān into comprehensible Latin.[21] Like Robert, later translators of the Qur'ān into European languages adopted prescribed polemical roles in order to portray Islam in a negative light. Also, similar to Robert, the European translators applied literal, inchoate, and reductive[22] approaches of translation. Thus, QTs from Arabic into

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20 Albrecht Classen, "Early Outreaches from Medieval Christendom to the Muslim East: Wolf ram von Eschenbach, Ramon Llull and Nicholas of Cusa Explore Options to Communicate with Representatives of Arabic Islam: Tolerance Already in the Middle Ages?," *Studia Neophilo logica* 84.2 (2012): 1 15, online at http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/00393274.2012.728414 (last accessed on Jan. 15, 2022).
21 Reinhold F. Glei and Roberto Tottoli, *Ludovico Marracci at Work: The Evolution of His Latin Translation of the Qur'ān in the Light of His Newly Discovered Manuscripts: With an Edition and a Comparative Linguistic Analysis of Sura 18, Corpus Islamo Christianum.* Arabica Latina, 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
22 Bruce B Lawrence, *The Koran in English: A Biography* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017), xvi.

Latin and then from Latin to many other European languages were tools to promote missionization.

In the seventeenth century, Islam changed from being a religious threat to being a political threat. The power of the Turks and their control over trade in Europe resulted in alliances with European countries, with which they traded, so these countries wanted to know about Islam and Muslims. In 1698, Father Louis Maracci, the confessor of Pope Innocent XI, created the second Latin QT, which included the original text, explanatory notes from various Arabic works of exegesis, a section about the life of Mahomet, and refutations.[23] His title in Latin is *Prodromus Ad Refutationem Alcoran, [A Refutation of the Qur'ān]*; this title demonstrates that Maracci aimed at discrediting Islam. Learning Arabic from a Turk and mastering it, he carefully juxtaposed and sufficiently garbled texts so as to portray Islam in the worst possible light. George Sale's English translations of the Qur'ān – commonly called *The Alcoran of Mohammed* – was done based on Maracci's Latin version.[24] Commenting on Maracci's translation, Sale said, "It is, generally speaking, very exact, but adheres to the Arabic idiom too literally to be easily understood." Sale declares that the notes Maracci added are valuable, but the refutations are "unsatisfactory and sometimes impertinent."[25] On the other hand, Glei and Tottoli stated that unlike Robert, Maracci did not carry out a literal translation; he rendered the source text applying sense for sense. They confirm that Maracci also transferred the end rhyme of *āyāt*, Qur'ānic verses[26] although he derided the rhyming.

Although this period witnessed a Eurocentric sense of cultural superiority, it was a turning point in Qur'ān translation.[27] Reinhold Glei stated: "When Christians initially translated the Qur'ān, the texts they created were for the most part ideologically charged, which resulted in corrupted translations."[28] Glei also observed that using Latin as an epilanguage did not wholly eradicate

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23 Samuel M. Zwemer, "Translations of the Koran," *The Moslem World* 5.1 (1915): 244 61.
24 Alexander Bevilacqua, "The Qur'an Translations of Marracci and Sale," *Journal of the War burg and Courtauld Institutes* 76 (2013): 93 130.
25 Samuel M. Zwemer, "The Christian God in Favor of a Muslim Emperor?" (see note 17).
26 Reinhold Glei and Roberto Tottoli, "Juan of Segovia's Translation of the Qur'ān" (see note 16).
27 David R. Blanks, "Western Views of Islam in the Premodern Period: A Brief History of Past Approaches," *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other,* ed. David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 11 54.
28 Reinhold Glei, "Using Latin to Analyse other Languages," *Ruhr Universität Bochum* 27 March 2017, online at https://news.rub.de/english/press releases/2017 03 27 translations using latin analyse other languages (last accessed on Jan. 25, 2022).

the problem, but it was possible to represent the structure of the Arabic language in a more neutral manner. Also, in the seventeenth century, accounts of the rise of the Ottomans were written by diplomats who traveled between the Byzantine court and the Ottoman capital, and who may have spent time in Constantinople. The authors of these accounts remarked on virtues that were commended in Islam, and on the fairness of the Ottoman legal system and their openness to the religious minorities within their empire.[29] Such favorable comments contrasted with the general condemnation of the Turks as cruel, which resulted in the third itinerary of QT from Arabic into European languages by Orientalists.

The Third Itinerary of Qur'ān Translation

The third itinerary of Qur'ān Translation (QT) was translating the Qur'ān from Arabic into other European languages by modern Orientalists. From the time of the crusades until that of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the idea of the Muslim "other" was affecting the Western world view, resulting in the concept that Islam was the greatest problem of Christendom.[30] The Europeans' political and economic affairs with the Turks resulted in the translation of Turkish literary and religious books, including the Qur'ān. For Orientalists, the Qur'ān was the major source of the Islamic Teachings and the Islamic laws, so they questioned this source in term of its reliability from linguistic, literary and legislative perspectives.[31] Translating the Qur'ān was the most effective tool through which they were able to study the Holy Book; nevertheless, it was, at the same time, a tool to distort the image of Islam and Muslims.

Some Orientalists created great harm by mistranslating the Qurānic text and producing incorrect translations, while others translated faithfully, which served Islam in one way or another. Qur'ān translations by Orientalists were to Spanish, German, French, English, and Italian; however, the French translation of the Qur'ān by André du Ryer (1647) was reviewed significantly by scholars because of its translation into English by Alexander Ross in 1649, the focus of this paper.

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29 Nabil Matar, "The Qur'an in English Writings, 1543 1697," *Christian Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History.* Volume 6: *Western Europe (1500 1600)*, ed. David Thomas and John Chesworth (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 11 24.

30 Richard W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages.* Second printing, (1962; London: Yale University Press, 1978).

31 Gumaa Ahmed and Ahmed Gumaa Siddiek, "Review of Some Orientalists' Approaches used in the Translation of the Holy Quran," *International Journal on Studies in English Language and Literature (IJSELL)* 6.4 (2018): 38 53.

Friedrich Majrlaan"s Translation which was known as "The Turkish Bible"

Fluent in Arabic and Turkish, the French diplomat André du Ryer (ca. 1580–ca. 1672) became interested in Islam and the Arabic language. His familiarity with conversational idioms and courtly prose endowed his QT with a lively style and readable language. Du Ryer's translation appeared in the era of burgeoning French colonialism; nevertheless, the Turkish threat for Europeans can hardly be underestimated. According to Richard Knolles, the Turkish were "the scourge of God and present terror of the world."[32] Du Ryer's translation was published in 1647 during the time of the alliance established between Francis I, the king of France, and Suleiman, the sultan of the Ottomans. Consequently, QT was not meant to distort the image of Islam but to understand the Qur'ān and its language as several Orientalists were both inclined to embrace the Turks and interested in their culture, language, and literature. One representative of those Orientalists was the French traveler Jean Thevenot, who went to Turkey in 1652. Unlike other Europeans who revealed typical Oriental negative stereotypes, Thevenot stated:

> There are many in Christendom who believe that the Turks are great devils, barbarians, and people without faith, but those who have known them and who have talked with them have quite a different opinion; since it is certain that the Turks are good people who follow very well the commandment given us by nature, only to do to others what we would have done to us.[33]

Similarly, being a diplomatic envoy to Constantinople and French consul to Alexandria, du Ryer was one of the Orientalists holding a positive view toward the Turks and being fascinated with Arabic literature and translations. When he rendered the Qur'ān into French, no publishers or clerical authorities were in favor of publishing that work in the vernacular; therefore, du Ryer included some anti-Islamic invective in his preface.[34]

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32 Salih Özbaran**,** *Richard Knolles' History of the Turks* (Ankara: Tarih Vakfi Yurt Yayinlari, 2003).

33 Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 80.

34 Nabil Matar, "André du Ryer and Oriental Studies in Seventeenth Century France," *Common Knowledge* 12.3 (2006): 520   21.

Du Ryer "worked hard to achieve a readable, elegant French version that at points became a paraphrase."[35] Du Ryer's translation of *surat An-Nās* provides an example of his accuracy and clarity of the overall message of the Qur'ānic verse. His French rendition is: "Dis leur, Je me garderaI des tentations du Diable & de la malice du peuple, par l'aide du Seigneur du peuple, Roi du peuple"[36] [Tell them, I will keep myself from the temptations of the Devil and the malice of the people, by the help of the Lord of the people, King of the people]. This *surah* is a supplication against the evil of humans and jinn. It emphasizes the fact that God is the Lord and Master of all and that He is the only One to be called upon for help.[37] It can be translated into English as "Say: I seek refuge in the Lord of mankind, the King of mankind, the God of mankind, from the evil of the sneaking whisperer who whispers in the hearts of mankind, from among jinn and men."[38] Unlike the early-modern Latin versions of the Qur'ān, du Ryer's version departs from literal translation in order to offer its readers a Qur'ān in a kind of elevated language that matches, at least to some extent, the high-register Arabic of the Qur'ān itself. The praise of du Ryer's translation by both censors and readers marked its success and in turn its translation into English in 1649 by Alexander Ross, chaplain to Charles I of England.

Thus, based on the history of Qur'ān translations in the medieval and early modern period, Qur'ān translation was a form of communicating thoughts among various people, cultures, and countries. It was an aspect of international communication and intercultural relationship, including ideological relationships. Ross's translation of the Qur'ān played an important role in transferring information and establishing relationship among individuals and nations. Ross's ideology and the dominant ideology of his patronage, society, and ruling power affected the reception of his target text (TT). This paper queries both the purpose of the anti-Islamic complements added to Ross's translation and the translator's stance toward Islam, asserting that the paratextual devices were misinterpreted at the time of the translation due to the dominant political and religious ideologies.

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35 Thomas E. Burman, "European Qur'an Translations 1500 1700," *Christian Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History:* Volume 6. *Western Europe (1500 1600)*, ed. David Thomas and John Chesworth (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 25 38.

36 André du Ryer, *The Alcoran of Mahomet* (Paris: Jean Francois Lucas, 1647), 103.

37 Mustafa Khattab, *The clear Qur'an: A thematic English translation* (Cairo: Dar Al Salam for Printing, Publishing, Distribution, and Translation, 2019), 679.

38 Muhammad Taqi ud Din Al Hilali and Muhammad M. Khan, *Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur'ān in the English Language* (2007; Riyadh: Darussalam, 2011), 1106.

Ross's Qur'ān Translation: Historical Background

Ross was utterly unacquainted with the Arabic language, and he followed the French version, which was faithful to the source text because the French translator was interested in the Turkish Court and because in 1536 there was a Franco-Ottoman alliance between the king of France Francis I and the sultan of the Ottoman Empire, Suleiman I. Ross's English translation of the Qur'ān was published during a period of great political and social turmoil in England, marked by the civil war, regicide and suppression of voices in the press.[39] During this period, England changed from an Anglican monarchy to a Commonwealth. Religiously, and the National Church allied with the Puritans and the state power, resulting in numerous sects and religious instability. England witnessed the closure of theaters, and the Church set strict rules. In 1644, Oliver Cromwell[40] enforced an Act of Parliament banning Christmas celebrations since Christmas was regarded by the Puritans as a wasteful festival that threatened core Christian beliefs. Although not all European people of that time were against Arabs and Muslims, the political and religious events created tensions between European-Christian and Arab-Muslim countries. Writing about Islam or translating the Qur'ān was a strategy to articulate the turbulent circumstances of civil war and a rejection of the Commonwealth authority. Thus, the reception of Ross's English translation of the Qur'ān was affected by the political and religious events along with the dominant ideologies in England in the seventeenth century.

The specific reason for Ross's Qur'ān translation (QT) is not known, but Ross might have thought of receiving a royal reward similar to the one du Ryer got from King Louis XIV.[41] Ross was a beneficiary of the English monarch, Charles I, and he was given the vicarage of Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight from the king. However, by the time Ross finished his translation, King Charles I had been executed, England had turned into a Commonwealth, and the new authority was against QT. When Ross sent his text to the Commonwealth for a license to print it, it was rejected, and there was an order to apprehend the printer and to

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39 Sarah Covington, *Wounds, Flesh, and Metaphor in Seventeenth Century England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

40 Cromwell, the English general and statesman, was one of the signatories of Charles I's death warrant in 1649, and he dominated the short lived Commonwealth of England from 1653 until his death in 1658.

41 Nabil Matar, "Alexander Ross and the First English Translation of the Qur'an," *Muslim World* 88.1 (1998): 81   92.

seize all copies of the *Turkish Alcoran*. After ten days of collecting the *Turkish Alcoran* from the market, the Council of State arrested Robert White, the printer of Ross's *the Alcoran,* confiscated the printed copies, and summoned Thomas Ross "to give an account for the printing."[42] All the editions of the Qur'ān and their commentaries were blacklisted by Pope Clement X.

Another reason for Ross's translation of the Qur'ān could be having a dialogue with the authorities in England to refute the contradiction between trading with the Turks and teaching their language but forbidding translating their religious book. Unlike Peter the Venerable whose purpose for the translation of the Qur'ān was his preference for peaceful persuasion to the force of arms in dealing with Muslims, Ross's purpose was to attack the Cromwellian regime and the Church of England. According to Hans Eberhard Mayer, Peter wanted to "attack not with arms … but with words, not with force but with reason, not with hate but with love … [Peter said] with the help of the Scriptures I show you the way to salvation."[43] However, Ross stated that his purpose for taking up the heavy task of translating what he refered to as "the Ground-work of the religion of the Turks" was due to:

> There being so many Sects and Heresies banded against the Truth, finding that of Mahomet wanting to the Muster, I thought good to bring it to their Colours, that so viewing thine enemies in their full body, thou mayst the better prepare to encounter, and I hope overcome them. (n.p.n)

There is a pun in Ross's explanation as the enemies appear on the surface as the Turks, but the real enemies are the many religious sects in England.

Ross's translation was a tool to give him a voice to express his dissatisfaction with the changes in England after the execution of Charles I of England. This voice in his translation is meant to expose the Cromwellian authorities who are obliquely depicted as being even worse than their Muslim counterparts in their lack of observing the laws and their disrespect of their religious and political leaders. It seems that Ross implemented a dialogue through his translation to give a deep grasp of events in his time through his preface and appendix. Thus, it can be concluded that Ross attempted in the attachments in his translation to attack the many sects in the Church of England and the oppression of the Commonwealth.

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42 Noel Malcolm, "The 1649 English Translation of the Koran: Its Origins and Significance," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 75 (2012): 261 95.

43 Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. from the German by John Gillingham (1965; New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 230.

The reasons for rejecting the publication of Ross's English translation were not publicly announced; however, in his biography, Ross implied that if the King had been alive, he would not have worried about the translation, and Britons would not have had to fear the QT because their religion would have been well protected under their devout King. Now that the King was dead, there was fear that the Qur'ān would implant itself in English society, and this fear increased due to the power of the Ottoman Empire.[44] To receive a publication license, Ross attached two letters, which were not included in du Ryer's French text.[45] The titles of these sections are: "To Mr. Du Ryer, Lord of *Malezair*, Gentleman in Ordinary of the Kings Chamber at *Constantinople*," and "A Translation of the Command of the Grand Seignior, concerning Mr. *Malezair*." The former was sent to du Ryer from numerous consuls and the latter was a travelling pass issued by the "Grand Seignior," the Sultan of Turkey, for du Ryer's travels between France and the Ottoman Empire. These letters were added by Ross to impress Christians and Muslims alike.

However, for the Commonwealth authority, the pass from the Sultan of Turkey implied du Ryer's good relation with the Turks, which in turn stirred the dissatisfaction of the Council of State and gave them a hint that du Ryer's translation was in favor of Islam. Producing an indirect translation reflected not only Ross's lack of knowledge of the Arabic language but also his dissatisfaction with the political and religious status in England. Since he did not know Arabic, he found in French a prestigious language which represented for him a powerful religious authority, unlike the authority in England which had many sects and heresies. George Sale stated that Ross was "utterly unacquainted with the Arabic language,"[46] and Kidwai confirmed Ross's QT was biased against Islam and Prophet Mohammed.[47] However, Tolan argued that talking about Islam in seventeenth-century England was a way of criticizing the ruling power of the time,[48]

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44 Jonathan Burton and Ania Loomba, "Alexander Ross, Arcana microcosmi, or the hid secrets of mans body disclosed (1651)," *Race in Early Modern England*, ed. Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 240 48.

45 John Tolan, "Muhammad, Republican Revolutionary?" *History today*, July 25, 2019, online at: https://www.historytoday.com/miscellanies/muhammad republican revolutionary (Last accessed on Jan. 20, 2022).

46 George Sale, *The Koran: Commonly Called the Alcoran of Mohammed* (London: C. Ackers, 1734), viii.

47 Abdur R. Kidwai, *Bibliography of the Translations of the Meanings of the Glorious Qur'an into English:1649 2002* (see note 3).

48 John Tolan, "Muhammad, Republican Revolutionary?" *History Today*, 25 July, 2019, on line at: https://www.historytoday.com/miscellanies/muhammad republican revolutionary (last accessed on Jan. 26, 2022).

and Hood stated that Ross's diatribe against Islam was a vehicle for a polemical attack upon the Cromwellian regime.[49] Also, Malcolm asserted that Ross's translation was "faithfully executed, without omissions or embroidery."[50]

The two texts before the translation: "To the Reader," and "A Summary of the Religion of The Turks," were added to satisfy the Commonwealth authority, to vindicate himself, and to avoid punishment. Also, Ross added two appendices, "The Life and Death of Mahomet" and "Needful Caveat or Admonition to the Reader," to persuade the target readers and the authority that there was no danger in reading QT.[51] Interpreting these paratextual elements: title, preface, and appendices, can reveal Ross's poetical and political agenda behind his translation.

Paratextual Devices in Ross's Translation

Analyzing the paratextual features of QTs offers information about the target text (TT) and the effect of the translation's time and place on the final product. Paratexts, framing devices outside the main body of the text, are tools used to contextualize works, generate interest, and influence the way a text is received.[52] Peritexts and epitexts are the two types of paratextual devices that help to understand the translators' choices. Peritexts are elements around the text, such as cover images, titles, prefatory materials, introductions, footnotes, endnotes, epigraphs, photographs, layout, and related appendages. Epitexts are elements beyond the text, including interviews, self-reviews, TV shows, awards, and self-commentaries. These devices impact the reception of the translated texts.[53]

Paratextual elements can uncover information about the translators' intentions to preserve the image of Islam, as a religion whose message is to spread peace or vice versa. Translators might take liberty with the text in their titles, prefaces, and footnotes to give the impression they intend, which can reveal their

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49 Nathan Hood, "The First English Quran Translation: Scotland's Early Polemic in Christian Muslim Encounter," *School of Divinity*, November 18, 2019, online at: https://christianmuslim.div.ed.ac.uk/the first english quran translation scotlands early polemic in christian muslim encounter/ (last accessed on Jan. 19, 2022).

50 Noel Malcolm, "The 1649 English Translation of the Koran" (see note 42), 263.

51 Bouteldja Riche, and Gariti Mohamed, "Alexander Ross's *the Alcoran of Mahomet:* Oliver Cromwell in the Prophet Muhammed's Mantel," *International Journal of Arts and Sciences* 12.1 (2019), 257 265.

52 Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation,* trans. Jane E. Lewin and foreword by Richard Macksey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

53 Kathryn Batchelor, *Translation and Paratexts* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

ideologies and help classifying them as either faithful in transferring the meanings and the true message of the Qur'ān or biased against the ST. Punctuation is another paratextual tool, which shows the differences between QTs. Thus, peritexts (internal elements) and epitexts (external elements)[54] affect Ross's QT as they reveal information about the translator's ideologies and the translation approach.

A Peritextual Devices

Peritextual devices are tools around the text: titles, prefaces, introductions, footnotes, and endnotes. The title of Ross's translation reflects the hatred of the Turks at the time when the translation was created:

> Vrolijk, A. (2004). "Sale, George (b. in or after 1696, d. 1736)." In H.C.G. Matthew & Brian Harrison (Eds).
> The Alcoran of Mahomet, Translated out of Arabique into French; by the Sieur Du Ryer. Lord of Malezair and Resident for the King of France, at Alexandria. And newly Englished, for the satisfaction of all that desire to look into the Turkish Vanities.[55]

Ross added the word "satisfaction" to give the reason for publishing his translation. Adding this word and the phrase "Turkish Vanities" provides a background of Ross's intention to add the anti-Islamic tetters, attached in the last minute,[56] in response to a demand by the authorities only to satisfy the Commonwealth authority who dislike the Turks. Ross started by attacking the Cromwellian authorities:

> I know the publishing of the Alcoran may be ... scandalous to the higher powers, who not withstanding have cleared themselves by disliking the publishing, and questioning the publishers thereof.[57]

He explained to the "Christian Reader" the reason for forbidding the publication of his translation saying that his translation was rejected because of the new ruling authority's dislike of the Turks. Ross also clarified that religious instability is another reason for rejecting QT:

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54 Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (see note 52), 150.

55 Alexander Ross, *The Alcoran of Mahomet* (London: Anno Dom, 1649), AI.

56 Noel Malcolm, "The 1649 Koran: A Postscript," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Insti tutes* 77 (2014): 145   71.

57 Alexander Ross, *The Alcoran of Mahomet* (see note 55): Ee.

> There being so many Sects and Heresies banded together against the Truth … . Therefore (*Christian Reader*) though some, conscious of their own instability in Religion, and of theirs (too like Turks in this) whose prosperity and opinions they follow, were unwilling this should see the Presse, yet am I confident.[58]

He confirmed that Protestant Christians did not need to be anxious about the Qur'ān because they had a strong faith in their own religion and because the Qur'ān of the Turks was a mere heresy, so it could not shake their religion. Ross added the "Batch" of Cromwellians should not be anxious either, for they had already wandered into the "Darkness" of heresy and the "Alcoran" was no more than another heresy to which they might subscribe. He justified his explanation that the "Batch" of heretics in "Whitehall" did not want another heresy to threaten their own, adding that true believers would not be affected by any deception. Thus, the reason for the anti-Islamic letter to the Christian reader was an attempt to avoid the punishment of the Commonwealth authority. Ross condemned the instability in the Church of England and the many sectarians and dissensions by drawing an analogy between the Turks and the Commonwealth authority.

Mordechai Feingold stated that Ross used the translation as "a club with which to strike out at the loathsome 'heretics' in Whitehall."[59] Since the Qur'ān was seen as a handy political weapon rather than a genuine threat to Christian religion, Ross used the preface to criticize the political practices of the new ruler in England. After the execution of Charles I, the purged Parliament became cautious of the press and sensitive to the increasing attacks on Oliver Cromwell and the new regime.

In the attachment before the text, "A Summary of the Religion of the Turks," Ross compares the stability in the Turks' religion with the instability within the Commonwealth authority. He states:

> The *Turks* believe one sole God, in one sole Person, Creator of heaven and earth, the re warder of the good, and punisher of the wicked; who hath created Paradise for the recom pense of the righteous, and Hell for the last punishment of crimes.[60]

The excerpt above shows the implication that the Turks have religious stability unlike the English citizens; moreover, it implies the punishment of the crime of executing the king. Ross criticizes the strict rules of the Church, and the

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58 Alexander Ross, *The Alcoran of Mahomet* (see note 55): A2 A3.

59 Mordechai Feingold, "'The Turkish Alcoran': New Light on the 1649 English Translation of the Koran," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 75.4 (2012): 475 501.

60 Alexander Ross, *The Alcoran of Mahomet* (see note 55), 8.

ban of the festival of Christmas by describing how Muslims drink and celebrate "the feast of great *Bairan*, as the Christians Easter after Lent." However, in reality, drinking alcohol is forbidden in Islam, but it is mentioned only to raise awareness among the Christian readers of the effect of stability in religion on eliminating extremism. The extract below shows Ross's praise of the Turks:

> They are great founders of Temples, and Hospitals, and are obliged to give to the poor ... . they have covents of Religious, that live exemplarily; obey their Superiours without contradiction, and dance after the sound of Flutes and other instruments when they make their prayers.[61]

Ross emphasizes the prosperity of the Turkish reign, the charity the Turks donate, and their religious stability. He highlights their obedience to their rulers without rebelling or inconsistency. He also highlights their life without extremism or intolerance as they "dance" and listen to music unlike the dismantling of the English Church and extremist Puritans. Thus, Ross confirmed the cultural and religious features of Islam.

Ross appended two units: "The Life and Death of Mahomet" and "A needful Caveat or Admonition to the Reader" for the target readers to know there would be no danger in reading *the Alcoran*. These essays were added to the text after it had been printed but before it had gone to the binders because they have different page numbers and consist of a separate set of sheets.[62] In 18 Propositions, Ross repeated saying that reading the Qur'ān is not dangerous for those who have faith, ridiculing the Cromwellian censorship which was prohibiting the reading of material from a civilization with which England had traded and battled for over a century, and attacking the new regime in England. The excerpt below summarizes the 18 propositions in the "Caveat" to persuade the authority to publish *Alcoran:*

> Though [publishing *Alcoran*] may be dangerous ... .. Is there more danger in reading the *Alcoran*, then in reading the Errors of ancient and moderne Hereticks? ... . The *Alcoran* is translated into *French* and ... into our own tongue ... . I pray you, why is the *Arabick* tongue, the language of that false Prophet, and in which he writ his *Alcoran*, so much learned and taught in Schools and Christian Universities ... . There is a kinde of necessity we should know evil as well as good, falshood as well as truth ... . Books of Palmistry, Physiognomy, judicial Astrologie, Necromancy, and other superstitious and impious Arts have been permitted to come abroad ... . [so] the reading of the *Alcoran* will enable us to beat *Mahomet*

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61 Alexander Ross, *The Alcoran of Mahomet* (see note 55), 9 10.

62 Nabil Matar, "Alexander Ross and the First English Translation of the Qur'an" (see note 41), 81 92.

with his own weapons ... . In reading the *Alcoran*, though we finde much dung, yet in it we shall meet with some gold, some jewels of Christians vertues ... . The *Turks* are our neigh bors, and their Territories border upon the dominions of Christendom ... . The *Turks* are pre posterously zealous in praying for the conversion ... . In reading the *Alcoran* we shall see what is the force of superstition ... . If you will take a brief view of the *Alcoran* you shall finde it a hodgepodge made up of those four ingredients. Of Contradictions. 2. Of Blasphe mie. 3. Of ridiculous Fables. 4. Of Lyes.[63]

Ross argued that Muslims are better, in all respects, than the regicides, and in Proposition 18 he summed up his argument stating:

Therefore, they only may surely and without danger read the *Alcoran*, who are intelligent, judicious, learned, and thought grounded in piety, but weak, ignorant, inconstant, and dis affected minds to the truth, must not venture to meddle with this unhallowed piece.[64]

In the extract above, Ross repeated that Christians with strong faith would not be affected by reading QT if they were smart, well-educated, and pious, but those with weak faith who were ignorant with unstable faith would be impacted. Consequently, the peritextual tools reveal Ross's intention in adding the anti-Islamic attachments in his translation.

Comparing Ross's preface to that of George Sale, producing the second English translation of the Qur'ān in 1734, we observe the former's faithfulness to the ST and praise of the Turks and the latters' bias against Islam. Sale was a British Orientalist indebted to a Latin translation published in Padua by Ludovico Marracci titled "*Refutatio alcorani*" [Refutation of the Koran].[65] Sale's purpose was to refute the Qur'ān, and his preface reveals his eagerness to secure the conversion of the Muslims to Protestant Christianity: "The Protestants alone are able to attack the Koran with success; and for them, I trust, Providence has reserved the glory of its overthrow."[66] Sale Anglicized the word "Qur'ān," using the word "Koran," and he included the prophet's name "Mohammad" in his title: *The Koran: Commonly Called the Alkoran of Mohammed*. This title reflects his desire to show the superiority of Christ over Muhammad and Christianity over Islam and to deprive Islam from any authenticity.

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63 Alexander Ross, *The Alcoran of Mahomet* (see note 55), Ee1 Ff3.

64 Alexander Ross, *The Alcoran of Mahomet* (see note 55), Ff4.

65 Arnoud Vrolijk, "Sale, George (b. in or after 1696, d. 1736)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Bi ography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 685 87.

66 George Sale, *The Koran* (see note 46), x.

Sale's bias is shown in his version published in 1891, in which he claims that unlike Christianity and Judaism, Islam is not a heavenly religion. He states that:

> He (Mohammed) has given a new system of religion, which has had still greater success than the arms of his followers, and to establish this religion made use of an imposture; and on this account it is supposed that he must of necessity have been a most abandoned villain, and his memory is become infamous. But as Mohammed gave his Arabs the best religion he could, as well as the best laws, preferable. at least, to those of the ancient pagan lawgivers, I confess I cannot see why he deserves not equal respect though not with Moses or Jesus Christ, whose laws came really from Heaven, yet, with Minos or Numa, notwithstanding the distinction of a learned writer, who seems to think it a greater crime to make use of an imposture to setup a new religion, founded on the acknowledg ment of one true God, and to destroy idolatry, than to use the same means to gain reception to rules and regulations for the more orderly practice of heathenism already established.[67]

In addition to the title and preface, footnotes in Sale's translation are against Islam and Muhammed. Lawrence stated that "Sale was publicly more abusive in his attacks on Mohammad than Ross, but privately perhaps he was in even deeper sympathy with Islam."[68] What is written and said about translations can also reveal information about the ideologies of translators.

B Epitextual Devices

Epitextual devices are tools, beyond the TT, such as conversations, correspondences, interviews, reviews, and commentaries. These devices disclose more information about translations and help provide a better understanding. The reviews on Ross's translation of Qur'ān show that it is faithful to the French source text, and the anti-Islamic attachments are tools to criticize the regime at the time of the translation.

Du Ryer's translation of Qur'ān reveals his faithfulness, clarity, and accuracy. Thomas E. Burman stated that du Ryer had lived and traveled widely in the Middle East and had mastered Arabic alongside Turkish and Persian.[69] Burman confirmed that du Ryer was concerned to present Islam's holy book as an exotic work of eastern literature, rather like the Persian poetry that he had likewise translated. Burman declared that du Ryer's translation is shaped by his knowl-

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67 George Sale, *The Koran, Commonly Called the Alcoran of Mohammed: Translated into English from the Original Arabic, with Explanatory Notes, Taken from the Most Approved Commentators, to Which Is Prefixed a Preliminary Discourse* (London: Frederick Warne, 1891).

68 Bruce B. Lawrence, *The Koran in English: A Biography* (see note 22), 39.

69 Thomas E. Burman, "European Qur'an Translations 1500 1700" (see note 35), 25 38.

edge of Qur'ānic exegeses; for example, he incorporated material from the Qur'ānic exegetical tradition. He collected Arabic manuscripts, including many copies of Qur'ān commentaries, including the widely influential fifteenth-century *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* by *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī* and *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, the *Tafsīr al-kabīr of al-Rāzī*, and *al-Bayḍāwī's Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl*, among others.

The publication of Ross's QT *The Alcoran* was a gift to many critics of the regime after the execution of Charles I. For example, John Crouch, the author of the satirical royal newspaper *The Man in the Moon,* commented on the Council of State's special instructions to seek out his own clandestine press[70] that the *Turkish Alcharon* was a text worth most serious devotion. Also, the royalist, Sir Ralph Clare, in a mock-declaration by the crowned heads of Europe to the people of England, referred to putting the *Turkish Alkaron* to the press to be the English subjects' future Common-Prayer Book. He commented that the English version *The Alcoran* "omitted all the most gross, absurd, ridiculous blasphemies, and impossible Fictions,"[71] because Du Ryer, working secretly for the Sultan, had removed them when making his translation.

Similarly, Nabil Matar, a modern scholar, stated that Ross's motivation to translate the Qur'ān into English was to receive royal patronage as a reward and the addition of the attachments was to gain the license of publication from the Council of State. Matar argued that Ross used the translation as a stick to beat the new regime's attempts at censorship, reveal how the dismantling of the National Church in England was spawning a mass of heresies, and to offer the Qur'ān as a salutary warning.[72] Similar to Matar, Malcolm asserted that Ross did not have direct political or religious reasons for translating the Qur'ān into English;[73] it was an attempt to attack the new regime. Both scholars and the royalists confirmed that the attachments in Ross's QT were meant to attack the Commonwealth authority and praise the Turks. Ross would have lost his immediate source of income as a minister of the Church of England, and he already had a reputation as a polemicist, someone engaged in pamphlet debates

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70 John Crouch, *The Man in the Moon*, *Discovering a World of Knavery under the Sunne*; *Both in the Parliament, the Councell of State, the Army, the City, and the Country. With other Intelligence from England, Scotland, and Ireland.* [Issue 7] (London: Die Lune, 1649), 361 68.

71 Sir Ralph Clare, *A Declaration to the English Nation, from Fardinando the IVth Emperour of Germany*, online at: Oxford Text Archive, https://ota.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repository/xmlui/handle/20.500.12024/A33229/allzip (last accessed on Jan. 26, 2022), 6.

72 Nabil Matar, "Alexander Ross and the First English Translation of the Qur'an" (see note 41), 81 92.

73 Noel Malcolm, "The 1649 English Translation of the Koran" (see note 42), 295.

with other authors. Therefore, he appended the anti-Islamic essays to satisfy the parliament and secure his position.

The Reception of Ross's Qur'ān Translation

Ross's translation of the Qur'ān was a success on the book market. *The Alcoran of Mahomet* was published in late April, 1649 without identifying either publisher or printer, and without any display of Downame's imprimatur. By May 2, 1649 John Dury informed a correspondent, "The Alcoran is come forth in English"; five days later the bookseller George Thomason acquired his copy.[74] According to Daniel Neal, Bishop White Kennett warned against the licensing of *The Alcoran of Mahomet* by a Presbyterian minister as indicative of the proliferation of heresies unleashed by the revolution.[75] Therefore, bookseller John Stephenson requested Ross's contribution of the "needful Caveat" to the volume lest to lose his money if the book were to be suppressed. The official censor, John Downame approved the translation after Ross added the preface and appendix; Downame had previously warmly endorsed several of Ross's books.[76] The translation achieved a commercial success, and a second edition was called for before the year was out, and it remained popular enough to commission a 1688 printing using large and expensive elephant folio sized pages.[77] Ross's Qur'ān translations of 1649 and 1688 were the sole sources for most in the English speaking world for eighty five years, until the translation of George Sale. Sir William Davenant alluded to such a success when commenting in his *Gondibert* on "the Arabian's Gospel" saying: "The Curious much perus'd this, then, new Book; / As if some secret ways to Heav'n it taught."[78] Contrary to the expectation of the theologians and politicians of the time, no public controversy ensued on Ross's translation of the Qur'ān.

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74 George Thomason, *Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts Relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration* (London: Printed by order of the Trustees, 1908).

75 Daniel Neal and Joshua Toulmin, *The History of the Puritans: or, Protestant Nonconformists, from the Reformation in 1517, to the Revolution in 1688: Comprising an Account of their Principles, their Attempts for a Farther Reformation in the Church, their Sufferings, and the Lives and Characters of their Most Considerable Divines* (London: Printed for William Baynes and Son, 1822).

76 Mordechai Feingold, *"The Turkish Alcoran"* (see note 59).

77 Nabil Matar, "Alexander Ross and the First English Translation of the Qur'an" (see note 41), 81 92.

78 *Sir William Davenant's Gondibert*, ed. David F. Gladish (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 157.

Comparative Analysis: Ross's vs Sale's Translation

Comparative Qur'ān translation (CQT), a recent product-oriented and text-bound approach, helps in understanding the features of QT.[79] It discloses information about "social and/or personal background against which a particular translation was done, as well as the various constraints which bear on a particular act of translating."[80] Van Doorslaer states that models in functionalist or descriptive approaches to descriptive translation studies (DTS) can be used to describe both the realization of a translation and its function in different circumstances. He explains that these models can reveal the extra-textual (paratextual), the textual, and contextual elements of translation. On the other hand, Alexander Burak suggests integrating a larger view, focusing on linguistic features, translation techniques, cultural situations, and aspects such as impact and reception. Burak uses the term "otherness,"[81] relating it to the "translation-resistant elements" that the translator meets, most importantly realia (culture-specific items).[82]

Transliteration of names, additions, omissions, loanwords, and substitutions are translation procedures that can change the meaning and reveal the translator's ideology. Once Ross finished his introduction, he turned to the text of the Qur'ān; he followed the translation of du Ryer closely, but he added a table of contents and chapter numbers at the beginning of each *Sūrah* neither of which du Ryer had done. He translated word for word from the French text. The table below shows that Ross transferred the semantic meaning faithfully:

Ultimate source text	Mediating text (du Ryer 1647)	Ultimate target Text (Ross 1649)
هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَى وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ.	Il a envoyé **fon Prophete** pour conduire le peuple au droit chemin, **pour prêcher la Loi de**	He hath sent **his Prophet** to conduct men into the right way, **to preach Law of**

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79 Kitty van Leuven Zwart, "Translation and Original: Similarities and Dissimilarities, II," *Target* 2.1 (1984/1990): 69 96.

80 Alan Tse Chung, "Deconstructing Comparative Translation: Facts, Myths and Limitations," *Translation Quarterly* 66 (2012): 77 85.

81 The term was originally created by Jacques Lecercle and already introduced into TS literature by Lawrence Venuti in 1998.

82 Alexander Burak, *The Other in Translation: A Case for Comparative Translation Studies* (Bloomington, IN: Slavica Pub, 2013), 1 8.

Continued

Ultimate source text	Mediating text (du Ryer 1647)	Ultimate target Text (Ross 1649)
التوبة: 33	**vérité**, & pour la faire paroître par deffus toutes les autres Loix du monde contre la volonté des Idolatres. (La Conversion)	**Truth,** and to make it eminent above all other Laws of the world, against the will of Idolaters. (Conversion)

The French translation interprets the meaning of the source text (ST), and Ross transfers the same meaning without interference. However, because du Ryer was non-Arab and non-Muslim, he used neutral terms ignoring the religious sense of the cultural-religious-bound term الْهُدَى and rendered it as "au droit chemin" and Ross in turn translated it as "the right way." The past tense of أَرْسَلَ was shifted by Ross into present perfect "He hath sent," but it did not cause any semantic loss. The translators did not confine to a target language equivalence of the original text, which transforms translation into a creative process of rewriting emphasizing the meaning.[83] Comparing Ross's QT to that of Sale emphasizes the idea that Ross was faithful to the French text:

Ultimate source text	Mediating text (du Ryer)	Ultimate target Text 1(Ross)	Ultimate target Text 2 (Sale)
هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَى وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُون. التوبة:33	Il a envoyé fon Prophete pour conduire le peuple au droit chemin, pour prêcher la Loi de vérité, & pour la faire paroître par deffus toutes les autres Loix du monde contre la volonté des Idolatres. (La Conversion)	He hath sent **his Prophet** to conduct men into the right way, **to preach Law of Truth,** and to make it eminent above all other Laws of the world, against the will of Idolaters. (Conversion)	It is he who hath sent **his apostle** and true religion: that he **may cause it to appear superior** to every *other* religion; although the idolaters be averse *thereto*. (The Declaration of Immunity)

Sale's choice of "his apostle" instead of "his prophet" reflects his bias to his religion Christianity as it is a more biblical word. Also, the use of modality in "may cause it to appear superior" instead of the infinitive for purpose in لِيُظْهِرَهُ, weak-

83 Andrea Modrea, "Ideology, Subversion and the Translator's Voice: A Comparative Analysis of the French and English Translations of Guillermo Cobrera Infante's *Tres Tristes Tiggres*," M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, Canada, 2004.

ens the image of Mohammad's religion as it reduces the strength of the purposive preposition "to."

Modality is a semantic grammatical aspect, whose function is to express "the attitude of the speaker towards the utterance, whether it is considered a fact, a belief, a necessity, etc."[84] Ross's use of modality and the word "superior" discloses his belief of Islam and Christianity as one is superior and one is inferior, saying that Islam "may appear superior," but it is not, as he believed. Consequently, Sale's use of biblical words, lexes and modality reflects his ideology against Islam unlike Ross, who renders the ST faithfully.

Lefevere designates translation as "the most obviously recognizable type of rewriting, and (...) potentially the most influential because it is able to project the image of an author and/or those works beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin."[85] For him, translators are motivated by either ideology and/or poetics; they are in agreement with the dominant ideologies of their time. Lefevere defines ideology as the "grillwork of form, convention, and belief which orders our actions."[86] In this paper, ideology is the body of beliefs that control the translator's choices of lexes and grammar. The table below shows that Ross's failure to translate خَاتَمَ النَّبِيِّينَ, a religious term, is because it is rendered neutrally in the French text:

Ultimate source text	Mediating text (du Ryer 1647)	Ultimate target Text (Ross 1649)	Ultimate target Text 2 (Sale)
مَا كَانَ مُحَمَّدٌ أَبَا أَحَدٍ مِنْ رِجَالِكُمْ وَلَٰكِنْ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ وَخَاتَمَ النَّبِيِّينَ. الأحزاب :40	Mahomet n'eſt pas votre pere, il eſt Apôtre de Dieu & **le dernier de tous les Prophetes,**	Mahomet is not your father, he is the Apostle of God, and the **last of all the Prophets,** (the bands)	Mahommed is not the father of any man among you; but the apostle of GOD, and **the seal of the Prophets:**

This failure in transferring the term results from the faithfulness to the French translation which used "le dernier" literally meaning "last." Ross's lack of knowledge of the Arabic language caused sacrificing the religious sense of the term. Translation of names also reflects translators' ideologies; for example,

84 Jean Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics of French and English: A Method ology for Translation,* trans. J. C. Sager and M. J. Hamel (1958; Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995), 142.

85 André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 9.

86 André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (see note 85), 16.

translating ٱللَّٰه in capital letters "GOD" by Sale discloses his religious attitude toward Christianity as he follows the way in the Bible. Another reflection of the superiority of Christianity over Islam is the use of a line from the Bible in translating بَشِيراً وَنَذِيراً:

Ultimate source text	Mediating text (du Ryer 1647)	Ultimate target Text (Ross 1649)	Ultimate target Text 2 (Sale)
وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا كَافَّةً لِّلنَّاسِ بَشِيراً وَنَذِيراً وَلَكِنَّ أَكْثَرَ ٱلنَّاسِ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ سبأ: 28	Nous ne t'avons envoyé que pour annoncer aux hommes les joyes du Paradis, & pour leur prêcher les peines de l'Enfer, mais la plus grande partie ne le connoit pas,	We have not sent thee but **to declare to men the joyes of Paradise,** and **to preach to them the pains of hell**, but the **greatest** part knoweth it not; chapter 34	We have not sent thee otherwise than unto mankind in general, **a bearer of good tidings**, and **a denouncer of threats**; but the **greater** part of men do not understand.

The example above shows that Ross applied a communicative approach in translation to transfer the meaning; he translated the phrase as "to declare to men the joyes of Paradise, and to preach to them the pains of hell." He used paraphrasing with explanation giving the same message of the Qur'ānic verse. In Tabari's interpretation of the Qur'ān, the verse means that Muhammad was sent not only to his own people but to all people, Arabs and non-Arabs. Muhammad was a herald/messenger to announce the joy of paradise to those who follow him and obey God, and to preach those who disobey God to the pains of hell, but most people do not know that God sent him to all mankind. Sale gave a simplified general and imprecise meaning, which did not transfer the exact meaning of the Qur'ānic verse, so he rendered it as "a bearer of good tidings and a denouncer of threats," alluding to the bible and reflecting Christian missionaries. The phrase "good tiding" is used in Isaiah 40:9 the Bible American Standard Version (ASV) "O thou that tellest good tidings to Zion."[87] It means good news.

Moreover, the use of "greater" by Sale instead of "greatest" for أَكْثَرَ is a grammar shift, which results in partial semantic loss. Translating يَعْلَمُونَ as "understand" implies ridiculing Islam since "to know" means to perceive the truth, whereas "to understand" means to be aware of the meaning of the Qur'ānic message. Hervey and Higgins define translation loss as failure to replicate the ST exactly through omission, addition, or grammatical losses such as any improper

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87 Compare translations for Isaiah 40:9, online at: *Bible Study Tools*, https://www.biblestudy tools.com/isaiah/40_9_compare.html (last accessed on Jan. 24, 2022).

use of articles, prepositions, gender, aspect and tense, plurality, comparison and/or duality.[88] Thus, the grammar loss and the misuse of lexis in Sale's translation reveals his failure and bias in interpreting the Qur'ān and highlights Ross's faithfulness to his source text.

The table below gives another example which uncovers the sameness of Ross to his ST and the change in Sale's translation:

Ultimate source text	Mediating text (du Ryer 1647)	Ultimate target Text (Ross 1649)	Ultimate target Text 2 (Sale)
وَإِنَّكَ لَعَلى خُلُقٍ عَظِيمٍ القلم:4	Dieu t'a créé d'une création haute & trés-illuſtre.	God hath created thee, with a creation high, and most illustrious.	For thou art of a noble disposition.

Ross imitated the structure and meaning of the French text. He used a complete meaningful sentence starting with the subject "God" and the verb "hath created;" back translation could be "God created you from a lofty and illustrious creation." Nevertheless, Sale rendered it as a phrase giving a light description of the prophet as someone who has good nature, causing mistranslation and complete semantic loss by using "disposition" to describe the prophet's ethics/morals. Schaffner states ideologies find their clearest expression in language and at different levels,"[89] and these levels can range from the lexical-semantic level to the grammatical-syntactic one. Consequently, Sales ideologies were represented in his choices of lexes and grammar reflecting his bias against prophet Mohammed, whereas Ross translated faithfully without imposing his ideologies.

The verse below shows the effect of grammar and lexicon in disclosing the translator's ideologies:

Ultimate source text	Mediating text (du Ryer 1647)	Ultimate target Text (Ross 1649)	Ultimate target Text 2 (Sale)
وما أرسلناك إلا رحمة للعالمين.	nous ne t'avons envoyé que pour faire grace aux hommes.	We **had** not sent thee, but in favor of men	We **have** not sent thee, *O Mohammed*, but as a mercy unto all creatures.

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88 Sandor Hervey and Ian Higgins, *Thinking Translation. A Course in Translation Method: French to English* (London: Routledge, 1992), 35.

89 Christina Schaffner, "Editorial: Political Speeches and Discourse Analysis," *Current Issues in Language and Society* 3.3 (1996): 201 04.

Continued

Ultimate source text	Mediating text (du Ryer 1647)	Ultimate target Text (Ross 1649)	Ultimate target Text 2 (Sale)
:الأنبياء 107		(the prophets)	

In the three translations the conjunction و / and is omitted, not realizing that there is an addition to the characteristics of the prophet. This omission demonstrates that the translators ignore the context and coherency of the text. There is also shift in grammar when Sale changed the tense from past into present perfect, which resulted in a shift in the meaning of the ST. The term للعالمين is rendered by Sale as "creature"; however, it can be translated literally as "the whole world." In Ross's indirect translation, the term "hommes" is rendered literally as "men," which gives the same meaning of the ST.

Sale's bias is clear in the insertion of the word "Jesus" and in assuming that Mohammad invented the Qur'ān. In *Sūrat Maryam:* 19 غُلَّمَا زَكِيًّا is translated by Sale as "a holy son," which reflects Sale's belief that Christ is holy, so he adds "concerning Jesus" when he translates بِكُفْرِهِمْ/ *bikufrihim,* in *Sūrat Maryam:* 37. Sale rendered it as "Yet the sectaries differ among themselves concerning Jesus; but woe be unto those who are unbelievers, because of their appearance at the great day" for فَاخْتَلَفَ الْأَحْزَابُ مِن بَيْنِهِمْ فَوَيْلٌ لِّلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِن مَّشْهَدِ يَوْمٍ عَظِيمٍ , which does not talk about "Jesus." Also, in his introduction, Sale said that Mohammad was the author of the Qur'ān, which reflects his bias against Islam. In addition to these examples, back translation can highlight the difference between Ross and Sale's translations to reveal the translators' ideologies.

Back Translation

Back translation, also known as reverse translation, is the process of re-translating content from the target language back to its source language in literal terms.[90] It is often used as a quality assurance method to confirm whether the translation is accurate or not. The table below shows that Ross's translation is nearer to the original source text in Arabic than Sale's:

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90 Sergiy Tyupa, "A Theoretical Framework for Back Translation as a Quality Assessment Tool," *New Voices in Translation Studies* 7.1 (2011): 35 46.

Ultimate source text	Ultimate target Text 1(Ross)	Back Translation	Ultimate target Text 2 (Sale)	Back Translation
هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَى وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُون التوبة:33	He hath sent **his Prophet** to conduct men into the right way, **to preach Law of Truth**, and to make it eminent above all other Laws of the world, against the will of Idolaters. (Conversion)	قد أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ لِيهدي الناس إلى الطريق الصحيح، ليظهر قانون الحق، ويجعله فوق كل قوانين العالم الأخرى، وَلَوْ كَرِهَ المشركين.	It is he who hath sent **his apostle** and true religion: that he **may cause it to appear superior** to every *other* religion; although the idolaters be averse *thereto*. (The Declaration of Immunity)	هو الذي أرسل رسوله ودينه الحق: لعله يجعله أعلى من كل دين آخر. مع ان المشركين يكرهون ذلك.

Back translating the English version helps to see that the Arabic of the translation by Ross fits in and matches the original version. The example below shows that Ross's back translation is almost the same as the original source text in Arabic:

Ultimate source text	Ultimate target Text 1 (Ross)	Back Translation	Ultimate target Text 2 (Sale)	Back Translation
وَإِنَّكَ لَعَلى خُلُقٍ عَظِيمٍ القلم:4	God hath created thee, with a creation high, and most illustrious.	لقد خلقك الله بأعظم الخُلُق.	For thou *art* of a noble disposition.	لأنك ذو تصرف نبيل.

However, similar to the previous example, Sale twisted the meaning of the source text by giving a neutral meaning not related to the ST sacrificing the religious sense. Unlike Ross, Sale chose lexis reflecting his beliefs and his unfaithfulness to the source text.[91]

Conclusion

Ross's translation of the Qur'ān, an indirect translation from French into English due to the translator's lack of the knowledge of the Arabic language, was the first English QT, which appeared in 1649. Apprehending the printer of the Qur'ān and rejecting giving permission for the publication of its translation into English re-

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91 Ibrahem Bani Abdo and Safa Abu Mousa, "The Effect of the Translators' Ideology in the Translation of Qur'an," *International Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Translation* (IJLLT) 2.1 (2019): 23–32.

veal the tension in the relationship between the European-Christian and the Arab-Muslim countries and the dominance of the new regime in England, the Commonwealth during that period. This paper claims that Ross was not anti-Islamic, but he was an admirer of the Turks' religious stability since he was faithful to the ST. The paper argues that Ross's anger shown in his introduction was about the regicide of the king.

Ross, chaplain to Charles I of England, added two essays before the text and eighteen propositions after the text to impress the Council of State to give him a license to publish his translation at a time of great political and social turmoil in England. These anti-Islamic attachments were the reason for giving Ross permission to publish and circulate his translation. They were aimed to convince the authority that reading the Qur'ān was not dangerous for those who had faith in Christianity and to ridicule the Cromwellian censorship which was prohibiting the reading of material from a civilization with which England had traded and battled for over a century. The paratextual devices including the title, preface, appendix, and reviews along with the comparison with George Sale's translation demonstrate that "Mahomet" was used to allude to Oliver Cromwell and the rejection was against the rules and actions of the English authorities.

This paper considers translation as an ideological act since it is controlled by the translators' ideologies, the ideologies of the patronage, and the ideologies of the ruling power. It can be concluded that contemporary interpretations of Ross's translation and its paratexts deconstruct the claim that all Orientalists, non-Arab, and non-Muslim translators of the Qur'ān, including Ross, were anti-Islamic and that Ross was against regicide and religion instability, but not Islam.

Amany El-Sawy

Community and the Others: Unveiling Boundaries in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*

Abstract: Shakespeare portrays conflict and opposition between the Christian Venetians and the Jewish community in *The Merchant of Venice* (1596–1598), although he was not personally familiar with Venice. His depiction of Shylock, the 'merciless' Jew, is a mere projection of the discrimination against Jews in England. Shylock and his community live at the social and physical periphery because of their religion. This article suggests how Shakespeare portrays the Jewish community in Venice for his London audience, and to what extent the Venetian community in the sixteenth century differed from the English people.

Keywords: Jews, Community, Communication, Miscommunication, Power, Shylock, Venetians

Introduction

What is a person's community? One has to think about its complexity. Am I considered Muslim just because I was brought up in a Muslim family? What about the professional academic community to which I belong? And what about the Whatsapp community parents that allows me to follow my daughter's progress at school? How about the theatrical community for which I write? I am one person belonging to different communities and communicating within each. If I am obsessed with my academic identity and communicate with the mothers' virtual community as I would with my professional colleagues, there will be definitely some form of miscommunication. Thus, communication and miscommunication are related to one's communities. I have various identities, as an Arab, a Muslim, a university professor, a wife, mother, sister, and a playwright. However, I try to

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be myself in all of these roles, trusting that my underlying humanity will come through and prevent unnecessary misunderstanding.

Community is not a fixed entity, then; it changes according to its focus its members. Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington suggest that action within a community is composed of six interrelated parts:

> First, the institutional arrangements, practices and roles that structure it. Second, the peo ple who did it, did not do it, did not want to do it, were excluded from doing it. Third, the acts and artefacts   whether communicative or material   which defined and constituted it. Fourth, the geographical places in which it was located. Fifth, the time in which it was done and perpetuated. And, sixth, the rhetoric by which it was legitimated, represented, dis cussed, used and turned into ideology.[1]

This article will explore the different communities William Shakespeare touched on in *The Merchant of Venice.* Does Shakespeare write only about Venice, or does he allude to other places? Is Venice considered as a single community, or does it consist of distinct ones? Since Shylock and Antony are both Venetians, do they belong to one community? Definitely, the answer is Yes and No. They do as merchants, but do not as people. I discuss the different communities in Venice, the Christian versus the Jewish communities, and how Venice is itself different from the English community. First, the article will shed light on sixteenth-century Venice and how it was a luxurious land for a diverse people of every trade, culture, and class. Then, the article will delve into the realm of nationhood with special emphasis on the Jewish community, which was regarded as inferior within Venice, though important to the city's trade and economic security. Most importantly, the article will portray Shakespeare's perception and portrayal of Shylock as a representative of the Jewish community. Furthermore, variety of on-stage interpretations of Shylock will be presented to prove the complexity of his character. Finally, the article will show how Shakespeare uses Shylock as a means to fight prejudice.

Shakespeare contextualizes his play in Venice, a Roman Catholic materialist culture that cherished the size of its pockets more than anything else. He wants his audience to be pleased, and perhaps to think about similarities in London, where there were prejudices against foreigners of all sorts. He does not want negative publicity, let alone the sort that could have a play closed down by the Master of Revels. Even if he never visited Italy, Shakespeare's portrayal of Venice

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1 Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington, *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (New York: St. Martin's Press for Manchester University Press, 2000), 12. They build upon observations about the term made by Raymond Williams, citing *Keywords: A Vocabu lary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana, 1976), 23.

could be accurate to some extent, for his sense of Venetian culture might have been formed, indirectly, through books and stories and, perhaps, Venetian merchants he met in London. Although the Venetian community Shakespeare portrays in *The Merchant of Venice* is different from the English community in Shakespeare's time, there were similarities between sixteenth-century Venice and sixteenth-century England in which *The Merchant of Venice* was written, the socio-cultural context which he exposes and criticizes. Nonetheless, Shakespeare shows that a community will believe in its own superiority and goodness and that such imprudent urban pride is not isolated but exists wherever human beings reside.

Shakespeare's Venice

Venice was more than a convenient locale for Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice.* It was the setting of the "pound of flesh" story that he followed, Fiorentino's "Il pecorone." It was a cosmopolitan nation-state that held a reputation among the other European cities for its ostentatious display of wealth and prosperity. The Venetians were feared because Venice was regarded as a nation of people whose ambition knew no limits and led them to seek "world-domination."[2] Mary McCarthy elaborates on Venetian history and culture in *Venice Observed* and tells us that from the early Middle Ages and early Renaissance, Venice, in the eyes of many, was seen as a place of "vice and reckless greed."[3] Thus, Venice can be compared ancient Rome as treated in Revelation 17, as the 'Whore of Babylon' leading other nations to their doom. Like this deceitful woman creature, Venice is a place of great beauty and seduction, one whose vanity prevails. Venetians believed themselves to be the "true heirs of Rome,"[4] making Venice a rival for England, which also reputed itself as being founded by great Romans.

Samuel Schoenbaum states that the Bankside's Oliphant was well-known to have served as center for recreation and business transactions among the Italian tradesmen and merchants temporarily or permanently residing in London during Shakespeare's time.[5] The Venetians operated on a sea offering access to innumerable goods, a sort of bazaar conducted over long expanses of water. E. E. Rich comments on the self -sufficiency of the little trade kingdom so dominated by the Venetians:

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2 Mary McCarthy, *Venice Observed* (New York: Reynal & Company, 1956), 52.

3 McCarthy, *Venice Observed* (see note 3), 25, 52.

4 McCarthy, *Venice Observed* (see note 3), 66.

5 Samuel Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare's Lives* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 169.

The Mediterranean at the beginning of the sixteenth century was still very much a world of its own. It was still a large world, not yet dwarfed by comparison with the world of great oceans beyond Suez and Gibraltar. A ship an ordinary merchant ship, with reasonable weather took up to two months to make the passage, say, from Cartagena to Alicante to Alexandria; perhaps two or three weeks from Messina to Tripoli or Barbary; ten or twelve days from Leghorn to Tunis. There was plenty of space, plenty of elbow room; and the area as a whole was almost self supporting. The sixty or so peoples who inhabited the countries bordering the inland sea produced between them most of the food, many of the raw mate rials, and almost all of the manufactured goods which they consumed. They built their own ships and carried their own trade.[6]

Boies Penrose states that the Venetians in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries "established a monopoly amounting to a stranglehold on the Egyptian trade. The Adriatic, the Archipelago, Alexandria – this was Venice's lifeline, and she tended to pass over the possibility of trade elsewhere in order to keep this immensely valuable monopoly."[7] That is, the cities of northern Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were characterized by knowledge of manufacture and of finance. However, in the sixteenth century:

[T]here was little in the way of business or industrial techniques in use in the northern economies that would have been unfamiliar to a Venetian merchant or a Florentine clothier of the fifteenth century. Late medieval Italy knew all the most sophisticated techniques of banking, credit, and international exchange. It was to the House of the Tedeschi at Venice that Jacob Fugger the Second went to learn the arts of trade which he later employed to expand the House of Fugger in to one of the largest business enterprises of the fifteenth century ... . In Elizabethan London the leading bankers were Italians or Spaniards still Cavalcanti, Giraldi, Pallavicini and even James I *was* still employing Burlamachi as his private financial agent.[8]

In noting the centuries of Venetian prosperity, one must acknowledge her expertise at securing monopoly rights, adapting to vicissitudes of sea trade, and affecting a system, for a time at least, invincible to the attacks of punier challengers or belligerent pirates. Until world-wide trade success required a power to

6 E. E. Rich and C. H. Wilson, *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe.* Vol. IV: *The Economy of Expanding Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 155.

7 Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420 1620* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), 17; see also A. Lytton Sells, *The Paradise of Travelers: The Italian Influence on Englishmen in the Seventeenth Century* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1964), 43 44.

8 Rich and Wilson, *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* (see note 7), 490.

venture beyond the Mediterranean and even the North Sea, Venetian answers to the demands of commerce were more than sufficient.

> The fleets of merchant galleys for which Venice is famous were successful partly because their sailing qualities were adapted to the seas in which they operated and partly because they were for a time the best solution to the problem of protection   not only safety from pirates, but a flexible marshaling of the flow of trade so as to secure favorable treaties and take quick advantage of them. Any effort to explain why Venice was more prosperous than its rivals, or more prosperous at some times than at others, must consider how far the Vene tians were more secure, at less cost, from disruption by violence in their purchases of wares in one place, their shipments, and their sales of good markets.[9]

Everything in Venice was luxurious; the architecture was known more for its beauty than its sensibleness; the cloths, materials, and other stuffs had to be of the finest quality for profit inducing trade; and the art reflected "the love of the things of this world" making the "company of saints appear as a community of equals ... [with] Authority dispersed among the citizenry [with] God ... [who is] 'contained' in heaven, like the doge in his palace ... [all of these images render-ing] The love of this world ... as democratic."[10] McCarthy goes on to describe Ven-ice (in the present and past) as a place of unsurpassable beauty:

> [T]he spirit of enchantment under which Venice lies, pearly and roseate ... [is] changeless throughout the centuries ... A wholly materialist city is nothing but dream incarnate. Venice is the world's unconscious ... A list of the goods in which the early Venetian merchants traf ficked arouses a sense of pure wonder: wine and grain from Apulia, gems and drugs from Asia, metal work, silk and cloth of gold from Byzantium and Greece.[11]

McCarthy confirms the fact that Venice was situated between two worlds – Chris-tian Europe and the Islamic East – and offered trade to both and all – making it grounds for a diverse people of every trade, culture, and class. Thomas Coryate, a Briton and a self-described "traveler," commented on the diversity of Venice in his narrative *Coryate's Crudities: 1611* (1978):

> Here you may both see all manner of fashions of attire, and hear all the languages of Chris tendom, besides those that are spoken by the barbarous ethnics; the frequency of people being so great ... that a man may very properly call it ... a marketplace of the world ... [in addition to Venetian patricians] you may see Polonians, Slavonians, Persians, Grecians,

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9 Frederic C. Lane, "Economic Consequences of Organized Violence," in *Venice and History: The Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966), 421.

10 McCarthy, *Venice Observed* (see note 3), 155.

11 McCarthy, *Venice Observed* (see note 3), 50.

> Turks, Jews, Christians ... each nation distinguished from another by their proper and pe
> culiar habits.[12]

Power and splendor were Venice's priorities and reasons of other nation's hatred and envy, especially during the Crusades – a time in which war was a mixture of religious fervor and territorial dispute. During the Crusades, in comparison to the other European nations involved, Venice did not have its eye primarily focused on religion, but on its business:

> Booty and trade concessions were extorted by the Venetians impartially from Christian and heathen ... The Crusades were a bonanza for Venice, which acted as a shipping agent for Crusaders and treated the whole affair as a business operation. They helped out with their own troops at Jaffa and Tyre (after stipulating their price), but they did not 'take the Cross,' even in pretense, until the Fourth Crusade.[13]

Therefore, Venice main target was, of course, money, and the Venetian establishment tolerated all people with whom it could engage in business, be it Christian believers or barbaric and backward infidels, as foreigners were often perceived as.

Nevertheless, this business tolerance did not eliminate the fact that some Englishmen considered Venice as a society worthy to be modeled after, especially their government. Lewis Lewkenor, a translator of Cardinal Gasparo Contarini's *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice* (1551), wrote a praise of Venetian government in the introduction to the translation of this text (1599). The Venetian government limited the powers of the prince (Doge) and the patricians were not alone in holding influential positions; other classes were represented as well. For Lewkenor, the Venetian government's sense of justice was "pure and uncorrupted"[14] and "their encouragements to virtue infinite."[15] Apparently, Lewkenor applauded Venice's 'healthy democracy' from which it was actually far removed. The Venetian society was one that was highly stratified by class, race, and status. Therefore, toleration of any foreigner was not from "virtue infinite"; it was for business and gain. Thus, many in England considered Venice as a morally deplorable nation and equated it with the supposedly wretched Jews who were perceived as the quintessential capitalists, lustful for money and profit.

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12 Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities: 1611* (London: Scolar Press, 1978), 139.

13 McCarthy, *Venice Observed* (see note 3), 38.

14 Gasparo Contarini and Lewis Lewkenor. *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice* (1599; Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969), 103.

15 Contarini and Lewkenor, *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice* (see note 15), 105.

McCarthy explains that the Venetians had a reputation for "sharp dealings," for having a "business push," and were engrossed in a "godless secularism." All of these were considered Jewish attributes. Thus, in the English people's minds the Venetian is synonymous with the Jew, the exemplar of covetousness.[16] William Thomas confirms such beliefs in *The History of Italy* (1549) in which he describes the average Venetian gentleman as "proud ... covetous ... tyrant to tenant, [and] never satisfied with hoarding up of money"[17] (134). According to Thomas, the Venetian gentleman makes his profit from the Jews' business of usury and "would rather see a poor man starve than relieve him with a penny."[18] Thomas's contested the materialism of the cosmopolitan Venice and considered it as a moral laxity:

> [H]e that dwelleth in Venice may reckon himself exempt from subjection. For no man marks another's doings, or that meddleth with an other man's living ... If thou be a Jew, a Turk, or believeth in the devil (so thou spread not thine opinions abroad) thou are free from all con trollment.[19]

According to Thomas, the materialism of Venetian community made them neglect Christian morality and ultimately making them as adamant as any Jew.

Venice was a highly stratified society. Depending on who and what a person was, he/she had a certain social role. Everyone had to know their place: "the Inquisition in Venice ... was primarily [concerned] with those whose way of life or imprudent speech gave rise to scandal and caused them to be suspected of straying from their assigned social roles."[20] What disturbed the Venetians about foreigners was the threat they posed to their power. The Venetians did not tolerate the overstepping of one's social category which might trample upon the state.[21] Typical of all pre-modern societies, Venice – as a stratified society– was obsessed with the position of power; everyone had to know who they were and what their relationship to the state was.

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16 McCarthy, *Venice Observed* (see note 3), 52.

17 William Thomas, *The History of Italy (1549)* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1963), 134.

18 Thomas, *The History of Italy* (see note 18), 135.

19 Thomas, *The History of Italy* (see note 18), 137.

20 Riccardo Calimani, *The Ghetto of Venice: A History.* Trans. Katherine Silberblatt Wolfthal (New York: M. Evans and Company, 1997), 57.

21 Brian Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice: 1550 1670* (New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1997), 16 17.

Nation and Jewish Nationhood

In another respect, Venice was like England and other European counterparts; it was concerned with the "purity" of its people. The purity of the Venetian citizen did not only rest in the practiced religion, but also in "race" or "nationality." The terms "nation" and "race" were used differently than in contemporary times. The word "nation" in the seventeenth century referred to people who lived in a community as opposed to its thirteenth-century meaning which was "a group of people related by blood."[22] However, Janet Adelman, in her *Blood Relations* (2008), expounds on the instability of nationhood. She highlights that

> [T]he idea of nationhood itself was in flux, in a kind of secular equivalent to the Pauline shift from literal to spiritual descent from Abraham. Initially firmly linked with blood and kinship, and specifically with birth through its Latin root, during this period "nation" was well on its way to becoming a political term in which the artificial "family" within a country's territorial boundaries was merely metaphoric, borrowing its force from exactly those presumptively natural family groupings of kinship   old style "nations"   that were now to be superseded. And the nation so conceived was ideally situated to inherit the promise originally given to the blood nation of the Jews.[23]

For Shylock, Adelman states, "nationhood" rests steadily on continuity of blood and kinship; it is an extension of the "tribe," a term that he uses interchangeably with "nation". Nevertheless, Shylock uses "tribe" with an odd mix of contempt and irony when he conceals his plan for revenge under the claim that "sufferance is the badge of all our tribe" (1.3.106). According to Adelman, the word tribe "unmistakably serves to register not only the blood kinship of the Jews but more particularly their derivation from the tribes of Israel and hence their claim to a sacred nationhood based on that derivation."[24] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the words "nation" and "race" were used synonymously to differentiate between communities, just as in the Middle Ages. "Race" hardly ever referred to skin color as it does now but was an indication of a different nationality or religion such as the Irish or the Jews.[25]

Though the Jews are considered "inferior to the Venetian patricians and merchants," they "could still live with dignity as long as they respected the social

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22 Lindsay M. Kaplan, *William Shakespeare: The Merchant of Venice: Texts and Contexts* (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2002), 129.

23 Janet Adelman, *Blood Relations: Christian and Jew in the* Merchant of Venice (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 92.

24 Adelman, *Blood Relations* (see note 24), 93.

25 Kaplan, *William Shakespeare:* The Merchant of Venice: *Texts and Contexts* (see note 23), 129.

role assigned to them."[26] The Jews had to be given a "place" and so the Ghetto was the state's (and the Church's) method of insuring the Venetian-Catholic hierarchy. The term 'Ghetto' was coined in Venice in which the Jews had to know their place and, from the Venetian standpoint, there was no better way for Jews to have a constant reminder of their inferior status than by "[declaring] in physical terms [the restriction of] Jews to a confined place in the economic, social, and religious systems."[27] All Jews had to live there, whether they were highly educated and respected or downtrodden and poor.

Acts of mercy or charity were few and far between in the Jewish experience in Venice during the Inquisition. The Jews were restricted in every aspect: clothing, trade, and social relations. No Jewish person could own property outside of the Ghetto, nor could they purchase lands and lease them or hold them for loans. Land and houses were symbols of power and position; therefore, great measures were taken to curb the prosperity of the Jewish community.[28] Jews were required to wear yellow badges and could only leave Venice, and the Ghetto, for a certain period of time.[29] They were heavily taxed and by the mid-sixteenth century had to pay a tax "consisting of several thousand ducats per annum."[30] The Jews were not considered true citizens of Venice since the regulations for Venetian citizenship were often obscure, granting a "privileged legal status" or a conditional citizenship, but never full-fledged and permanent.[31] Even the ways Jews ran their financial offices and pawnshops were closely regulated; in their agreement, or "charter" with the state, the types of loans lent, the hours of business operation, and designated location were indicated.[32]

The Venetian patricians were hypocritically posing that their main concern was the moral well-being of Venetian citizens, yet they were cautious only about their economic security. However, rigid social classification for the Venetian community was integral and had to stay perpetual, or else the ruling class might lose its power. This did not affect the fact that Venice permitted Jews to live, work, and practice their religion with limited protection under a belittling social position. By doing so, Jews enabled Venetians to avoid the practice of usury and still reap the sweets of new-found capitalism.

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26 Calimani, *The Ghetto of Venice* (see note 21), 57.
27 Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice* (see note 22), 154.
28 Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice* (see note 22), 158.
29 Calimani, *The Ghetto of Venice* (see note 21), 9, 11.
30 Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice* (see note 22), 148.
31 Calimani, *The Ghetto of Venice* (see note 21), 10, 12.
32 Calimani, *The Ghetto of Venice* (see note 21), 18, 19.

Usury was considered a sin, and one that broke ancient rules of kindness and cordiality. It is forbidden in the Bible, specifically in the Old Testament for the Christians, and the Torah for the Jews: "And if thy brother be waxen poor...Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury."[33] (Leviticus 25: 35–37). Nonetheless, from the perspective of Christians, it was acceptable for the Jews to practice usury: "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother ... Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury."[34] Moneylenders were needed in Venice to meet the needs of the working poor and to give merchants credit, but "banking and moneylending in any form were considered usury [and were] strictly forbidden in the city for religious reasons."[35] Venetians were adhering to the Catholic doctrine, so they used the Jews as surrogates to benefit from the sin and meet their needs. Eventually, the Jews came to be the primary moneylenders.

Amnon Linder states that in the thirteenth century England, in place of Jews as both tax collectors and taxpayers, the king would rely upon Italian bankers as collectors, and the clergy as payers.[36] Banking, in the modern sense of the word, can be traced to medieval and early Renaissance Italy, to the rich cities in the north such as Florence, Venice, and Genoa. The Bardi and Peruzzi families dominated banking in fourteenth-century Florence, establishing branches in many other parts of Europe. The development of banking spread through Europe also and a number of important innovations took place in Amsterdam during the Dutch Republic in the sixteenth century and in London in the seventeenth century.[37]

In *The Accommodated Jew* (2016), Kathy Lavezzo accentuates that "while Christians claimed to supplant such 'Jewish' materialisms with a higher, spiritu-

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33 Gordon J. Wenham, *The Book of Leviticus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1979), 25: 35 37.
34 Peter C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1976), 23:19 20.
35 Calimani, *The Ghetto of Venice* (see note 21), 6. Editor's note: The public discourse on usury as a sinful behavior performed by Jews did not emerge fully until the fourteenth century; most didactic poets well until the end of the thirteenth century condemned usury in outright terms, but did not mention it in connection with Jews; cf. Albrecht Classen, "Wucher als Thema bei spätmittelalterlichen didaktischen Autoren. Wo aber sind die ‚Wucherjuden'?," forthcoming in *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik*. For the medieval situation in Spain, see the con tribution by Connie L. Scarborough, and for the conditions under which Jews operated in the Holy Roman Empire, see the study by Andreas Lehnertz and Birgit Wiedl, both here in the pre sent volume.
36 Amnon Linder, "Jews and Judaism in the Eyes of Christian Thinkers of the Middle Ages," *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. Jeremy Cohen. Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter Studien, 11 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 117.
37 Anonymous, "History of Banking," https://www.lkouniv.ac.in/site/writereaddata/siteConten t/202004051341563589anurag sriv History banking.pdf (last accessed on Dec. 22, 2021).

al-order mode of being, Christian history tells a very different story."[38] Lavezzo echoes Karl Marx who compares the official version of Christianity to the nineteenth-century political state. Both are, according to Marx, "unreal, imaginary" insofar as its mystical elements have no existence in an ineluctably material world.[39] Any claim about Christian spirituality – like notions of political community – is, Marx asserts, mere sophistry, the "*political lion's skin*" that covers over profane, material practices that in reality dominate life and are the practical basis of both Christianity and the political state.[40] Lavezzo states that Marx equates the actual nature of Christianity with Judaism, confronting Christian readers with the idea that the Jewishness they have long demonized as grasping, selfish, and carnal is in actuality their own nature.[41] David Nirenberg reframes this insight in a non-Marxist and more religious register when he writes that Pauline supersession "would have the effect of stigmatizing and 'Judaizing' vast areas of human life – letter, law, flesh – that are difficult to transcend in this world."[42]

Christian Banking and Materialism

Between 1527 and 1572 a number of important banking family groups arose in Italy, such as the Grimaldi, Spinola, and Pallavicino families, who were especially influential and wealthy, the Doria; although perhaps less influential; and the Pinelli and the Lomellini.[43] Although the London Royal Exchange was established in 1565, there were no banking houses in London operating in a manner recognized as such today until the seventeenth century. James Walvin points out:

> The thriving British economy after 1660 was made possible mainly because of Britain's financial institutions. Trading houses, insurance companies and banks emerged to underpin Britain's overseas trade and empire. The expansion of overseas trade, especially in the Atlantic, relied on credit, and bills of credit (like modern travellers cheques), which were at

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38 Kathy Lavezzo, *The Accommodated Jew: English Antisemitism from Bede to Milton* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2016), 20.

39 Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question," *Early Writings*, ed. T. B. Bottomore (London: Watts, 1963), 1 40; here 17.

40 Marx, "On the Jewish Question" (see note 40), 14.

41 Lavezzo, *The Accommodated Jew* (see note 39), 20.

42 David Nirenberg, "Shakespeare's Jewish Question," *Renaissance Drama* 38 (2010): 77 113; here 78.

43 Christopher Duggan, *A Concise History of Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 66; see also Scott B. MacDonald and Albert L. Gastmann, *A History of Credit and Power in the Western World* (New Brunswick: NJ, Transaction Publishers, 2004).

the heart of the slave trade. Similarly, the maritime insurance, which was focused at Lloyds of London, thrived on the Atlantic slave trade.[44]

Walvin states that there were no established banks in London until the mid-seventeenth century, and few until a century later. By the end of the sixteenth century and during the seventeenth, the traditional banking functions of accepting deposits, moneylending, money changing, and transferring funds were combined with the issuance of bank debt that served as a substitute for gold and silver coins. New banking practices stimulated commercial and industrial growth by providing a safe and convenient means of payment and money supply more responsive to commercial needs. By the end of the seventeenth century, banking was also becoming important for the funding requirements of the combative European states. This would lead on to government regulations and the first central banks, and the success of the new banking techniques and practices in London helped spread the concepts and ideas elsewhere in Europe.

It was not just the poor who needed money to pay debts or for business ventures, but, more importantly, also members of the elite. In this case, the Jews were an advantage for Venetian patricians and government leaders. Trade became very active, and the Jews were both investors and consumers. Poor Christians could be employed by Jewish moneylenders, but in times of desperation, as Calimani states, the poor did not turn their anger upon the powerful but upon the successful Jewish lenders.[45]

Thus, in sixteenth-century Venice, religion was a socio-economic, racial, and political label. Religion was considered a foundation on which success and a good reputation was built. It designated a person's class, who they were and how far they could go in such a society. Although Catholicism regarded usury as a sin, Catholicism the Jews were allowed to work as usurers and enabled well-to-do Christian Venetians to benefit from them as well as to be perfect followers of Jesus Christ. Therefore, the authorities in Venice were not concerned with converting Jews to Christianity when they established the Ghetto; they were more concerned with Venetian citizens not being 'contaminated' by the Jewish religion and culture,[46] and the Ghetto was one approach to keep Venice "morally clean."[47]

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44 James Walvin, "Banks and Banking," *Slavery and the Building of Britain* (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2011); online at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/abolition/building brit ain gallery 02.shtml (last accessed on Dec. 22, 2021).

45 Calimani, *The Ghetto of Venice* (see note 21), 22.

46 Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice* (see note 22), 247.

47 Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice* (see note 22), 166.

England had a fantastical perception of itself also. English arrogance and hypocrisy rang as loud a bell as Venice's. The English always were proud of their history, and Shakespeare's age was no different. By the end of the sixteenth century, England became thoroughly Protestant, and the English were the chosen people of God in place of the Jews.[48] The idea of being chosen by God set the tone of superiority that resounded throughout English culture. England's definition of itself was in terms of what others were not – English and White Anglo-Saxon Protestant, and to be English was to have English ancestors going back a few if not many generations. To be anything other than that was to endure a life of suspicion, ridicule, and injustice.

On the other hand, involvement in trade with other nations made Venice culturally heterogeneous and, in some ways, even tolerant of other peoples, cultures, and ideas. However, this does not mean Venetians respected others as human beings; the Christian Venetian community merely perceived them as vehicles of commercial operations. Such was the case with the Jewish community in Venice. Venetians did not have a positive assessment of the Jewish people, culture, or religion, but their chief purpose for having Jews in their lands was to feed and fuel a changing economy. Nevertheless, this does not cancel out the fact that they valued Jewish physicians, astrologers, and teachers, even some Jewish lawyers.

The English had a similar view, concerning the Jewish community, but they dealt with it differently. English people in the sixteenth century valued the purity of their native English blood and culture. Unlike Venice, England did not have commercial dealings with non-white/non-Christian nations until much later. Venice established the Ghetto, and England had its geographical isolation which "created a cultural insularity, and even xenophobia."[49]

This does not mean, however, that no foreigners either visited or resided in England. Queen Elizabeth I issued an edict expressing her disappointment at the presence of "Negroes and black moors" and commanded that they be expelled from England, out of fear of racial contamination and loss of jobs for the English.[50] The discrimination and mistreatment of the Jews was a part of the power struggle in every society, culture, and era. English people, though Christians, were not necessarily any kinder to each other than they were to Jews

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48 James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 44 45.

49 Russ McDonald, *The Bedford Companion to Shakespeare: An Introduction with Documents* (Boston, MA: Bedford Books, 1996), 272.

50 McDonald, *The Bedford Companion to Shakespeare* (see note 50), 272.

and other non-whites/non-Christians. Like Venice, England had conflicts with re-
ligious authority and used religion as a tool of aggression.[51]

English society was naturally highly stratified and this hierarchy was be-
lieved natural, a reflection of the Great Chain of Being.[52] It would be common-
place for an English citizen to take another to court simply because "people ob-
jected to the behavior of others on grounds of status."[53] Every social station had
its responsibilities and certain behavior was expected of each; for example,
those who were well off were to give charity to the less fortunate, their "social
inferiors." However, people used social distinctions to justify their unjust actions

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51 The Jews were present in England up until 1290 when King Edward I banished them; see
Lawrence Danson, *The Harmonies of The Merchant of Venice* (New Haven, CT: Yale University
Press, 1978), xvii. Only a few Jews remained in England, most likely as converts living in fear
of being caught. Usually, any talk of the Jews was in rumors and jokes; Danson, *The Harmonies
of The Merchant of Venice* (see note 51), 112. A simple explanation for the expulsion of the Jews
from England would be the English fear of racial and religious contamination. However, the rea
son for the English expulsion is equivalent to the Venetian reason for permitting their residency
money. Just as in Venice, the foremost function of the Jews in England prior to 1290 was
money lending. The Jewish community served both the members of Parliament and the king.
Many in Parliament did not favor Jewish presence because they were in tremendous debt to
their Jewish lenders. The Jewish lenders also served the king as personal sources of finance
which aided him to have greater autonomy and supported him avoid Parliamentary control
over tax revenues. The Jews were finally expelled when Edward also found himself in consider
able debt and had to accept the demands of the Parliament; Kaplan, *William Shakespeare* (see
note 23), 298. The Jews were caught in the middle of the struggle between Parliament and the
King. The debt Parliament members owed to the Jews underlay their hatred and distrust of
them, but as long as the King could get the finances he needed, the Jews had some protection.
However, once he owed the moneylenders as well more than he could afford, the Jews served no
purpose, and the Jewish lenders were replaced by English businessmen who owned sufficient
money since there were no organized banks; Danson, *The Harmonies of The Merchant of Venice*
(see note 51), xix. The Jews were seen as perpetual threats to the lives of Christians. In the Eng
lish mind, since the Jews crucified Christ, they ritually slaughtered Christians, of which circum
cision (believed to be castration) was part; Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (see note 49), 117.
Raphael Holinshed states that Jews were executed for supposedly crucifying a Christian child by
the name of Hugh in 1255; Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and
Ireland: In Six Volumes* (Burlington: The University of St. Andrews, 2014), 115. Acts of revenge
were commonly perpetrated against Jews. In the year of the expulsion, there was an incident
in which a shipmaster lured the Jewish passengers onto the shore and allowed them to get
swept away by the tide. When they cried for help, the shipmaster jested that they should "cry
rather unto Moses, by whose conduct their fathers passed through the Red Sea;" Holinshed,
Chronicles of England (117). Christian morality and Biblical teaching were forgotten in these mo
ments. Such cruelty illustrates the English negligence of moral and ethical behavior.

52 McDonald, *The Bedford Companion to Shakespeare* (see note 51), 313.

53 McDonald, *The Bedford Companion to Shakespeare* (see note 51), 271.

and so "the class system … was the source of tension and resentment."[54] It is noteworthy that according to McDonald's stratification of Shakespeare's English society, Jews did not fit into any category. Even the lowliest of English people would be seen as better than the most prosperous Jew.

Shakespeare's Jews

Since the Jews had been expelled from England by King Edward I in 1290 and were not legally readmitted until 1655 under the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, Shakespeare did not have any opportunity or occasion to meet Jews in person, and his knowledge of them he must have gathered from literary portrayals and his observation of converted Jews living in London, such as Queen Elizabeth's Portuguese physician Roderigo Lopez and his family. Lopez was accused of attempting to poison Queen Elizabeth, and the fact that he was a 'Marrano', i.e., a Jew who had converted from Judaism to Christianity, led to an outbreak of anti-Jewish sentiment in the country. Thus, the perception of the Jews by the English public was associated with evil since this was the only behavior they were accustomed to think of, and when Lopez broke the law, his 'Jewishness' was no longer overlooked and said to be at the fault for his misbehavior.[55] Lopez's trial and execution inspired Thomas Nashe's portrayal of the Jews in *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594) in which two Jews, Zadoch and Zachary, are portrayed as vicious individuals.

The prevailing image of the Jews in English literature is an undesirable one since they have to face their tragic ends, as in Chaucer's *Prioress's Tale,* Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, and Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, in which the Jews suffer humiliation and ignominy. Edgar Rosenberg relates that "[i]n Chaucer he [the Jewish character] was torn by wild horses and hanged also. In Gower a lion tears him to death. Marlowe has him burned in a cauldron. Shylock, the fox at bay, loses both daughter and ducats, as well as his religion."[56] However, Albrecht Classen observes in *Toleration and Tolerance in Medieval and Early Modern European Literature*:

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54 McDonald, *The Bedford Companion to Shakespeare* (see note 51), 271.

55 James O'Rourke, "Racism and Homophobia in '*The Merchant of Venice*'" (*English Literary History*, vol. 70, no. 2, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 375 97; here 381.

56 Edgar Rosenberg, *From Shylock to Svengali: Jewish Stereotypes in English Fiction* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1960), 45.

> While R. I. Moore had argued that the Middle Ages were determined by a global mindset bent on persecuting all minorities and repressing, if not eliminating, all infidels, heretics, and especially Jews, the contributors to *Beyond the Persecuting Society* (1998) take a much more balanced and complex perspective and point out that medieval authorities mostly lacked the systematic reach to control all their subjects and that much pagan (classical an tique), Arabic, and Jewish knowledge entered the European discourses from early on and were never eliminated or even suspected of anti Christian value.[57]

In particular, Classen differentiates between tolerance and toleration; he refers to Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's last play – *Nathan der Weise* (*Nathan the Wise*, 1779) – which assumes that the various religions are, "ultimately, very similar, all being expressions of human desires to reach out to the *numinosum*, a submission under God, which all leads to a deep form of love for mankind at large."[58] In contrast to tolerance, "toleration constitutes the attitude by an individual who accepts the other faith or ideology as something the fellow-beings embrace and firmly believe in, but who still is adamantly convinced of the absolute truth of his/her own religion, or political position."[59] Thus, there are few examples of tolerance in the Middle Ages and the early modern age, but there are numerous cases of definite toleration; I consider Shakespeare to be one of those writers who expose the double standards of the Christian community that discriminated and maltreated minorities, especially Jews.

Jews were not officially let back into Italy until the start of the sixteenth century. [60] Anne Etienne and Estelle Rivier state:

> Venice was one of the major centers where they had gathered after their exile from Avignon based popes and Spanish Inquisition. As merchants or bankers, the Jews found better living conditions there, as well as in Florence, Genoa or Pisa. The ghetto of Venice which serves as background canvas to Shakespeare's *Merchant* was created in 1516 in an abandoned site of a 14th century foundry that produced cannons. From this place derives the word 'ghetto' since 'geto' is old Venetian dialect for 'foundry'. There, the Jews were victims of humilia tions until Pope Sixtus V (1585   1590) allowed them to reside in all parts of Italy, repealed some of the previous regulations and gave them more freedom. This period corresponds to Shakespeare's writing of *The Merchant*. Perhaps he was aware both of the Jews' hardships and of their renewed hopes.[61]

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57 Albrecht Classen, *Toleration and Tolerance in Medieval and Early Modern European Litera ture*. Routledge Studies in Medieval Literature and Culture, 9 (New York and London: Routledge, 2018), 12.

58 Classen, *Toleration and Tolerance* (see note 58), 13.

59 Classen, *Toleration and Tolerance* (see note 58), 13.

60 John Gross, *Shylock: A Legend & Its Legacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), 35.

61 Anne Etienne and Estelle Rivier, "Topsy Turvying *The Merchant of Venice:* Shylock as Wesk er's Response to the Renaissance Jew," *Rewriting Shakespeare's Plays For and By the Contempo*

Michael Shapiro points out in the introduction to *Wrestling with Shylock* that "Shakespeare transformed the sketchy Jew of his source into a palimpsest – overlaying medieval anti-Judaic notions of Jews with more current ideas of Jews as a nation or people."[62]

Shylock, the Jewish money-lender, is Shakespeare's widely known villain and the unfathomable center of *The Merchant of Venice.* Kathy Lavezzo states that "the Jew isn't only demonized enemy but also sympathetic victim."[63] Although he is portrayed as a rogue, an abundance of cruelties was committed against him: his servant left him for a Christian nobleman; his daughter eloped with her Christian lover Lorenzo; and she stole his money and jewelry. Most of the play's readers do not focus on the cruel events that dehumanized Shylock, but they only consider him as an anti-hero who refuses any sort of alternatives to his "pound of flesh" warranty of the loan.

Etienne and Rivier state that some critics have depicted Shylock as "being a multi-faceted hero, tragic, melodramatic and farcical."[64] They claim:

> [Shylock] endows a kind of dark and very human grandeur at the same time; and generally speaking, he is not deprived of a disturbing depth, of strength and passion, of a powerful countenance. In the end however, Shakespeare ... [who] had already strongly underlined the Jew's ridicule and grotesque tendencies, his avarice and his somewhat senile concerns ... [shows] him to be a truly farcical character.[65]

Others, like Evangeline O'Connor, point to Shakespeare's intention to present the Jew as an unforgivable vengeful tyrant who despises Christians to the extent of almost murdering Antonio:

> [Shylock's] impassioned appeal in the first scene of the third act, "Hath not a Jew eyes," etc., is the only place where Shakespeare seems to intend arousing the least sympathy for the usurer. In all other scenes his meanness and avarice are dwelt upon almost to the exclusion of his justifiable resentment at the insults to his race. He hates Antonio more for spoiling his business than for reviling his religion; and he would gladly see his

rary Stage, ed. Michael Dobson and Estelle Rivier Arnaud (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 143 ̶ 60; here 145 ̶ 46.

62 Michael Shapiro, "Introduction," *Wrestling with Shylock: Jewish Responses to The Merchant of Venice*, ed. Edna Nahshon and Michael Shapiro, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 6.

63 Kathy Lavezzo, *The Accommodated Jew: English Antisemitism from Bede to Milton* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2016), 8.

64 Etienne and Rivier, "Topsy Turvying" (see note 62), 146.

65 Etienne and Rivier, "Topsy Turvying" (see note 62), 146. See also Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask (1946; Princeton: NJ, Princeton University Press, 1953), 317.

only child dead before him if he might regain his ducats. There seems to be no reason to believe that Shakespeare intended any rebuke to the Jew hating spirit of his time.[66]

Undoubtedly, Shakespeare's Shylock is a complex character which the playwright alternately presented as a rogue and as a victim. In the opening scenes, Shylock exhibits every sign of being the play's villain, the unpleasant money-hungry Jewish usurer who bluntly expresses his hatred of Antonio. Nevertheless, throughout the play, Shakespeare depicts a man who suffers much at the hands of his fellow men: the audience is repeatedly informed of the Christians spitting upon Shylock, spurning him and insulting him. Etienne and Rivier elaborate that Shakespeare might have wanted to use Shylock, the emblem of the Jew, as a "metaphor":

> a metaphor for another oppressed people of his time: the English Catholics. Just as the Jews, the Catholics   whom Shakespeare was part of   were constrained to convert depend ing on who was the monarch. Although no evidence can be given on this aspect, *The Mer chant* could then be seen as a covert criticism of religious oppression in Shakespeare's life time.[67]

Nonetheless, in the shadow of the play, Shakespeare transcends antisemitism and shows the audience the humanistic side of Shylock the man, the human who was oppressed by an ignorant and arrogant society.

In his introduction to *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*, Jonathan Dollimore compares the repression of the minorities in early modern England to the renewed and intense repression of deviants of all kinds in the thirteenth, sixteenth and late eighteenth centuries. He stresses that minorities such as "Jews or Arabs" were accused of deviance.[68] Religion, as Ania Loomba highlights, has always been one of the major categories of difference.[69] Jews, for example, are stereotypically delineated as having long/large noses, or Muslim men as having brown skin, black beards, and turbans on their heads. Loomba points out that "Jewish

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66 Evangeline O'Connor, *An Index to the Works of Shakespeare.* (1923; London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 2010), 324.

67 Etienne and Rivier, "Topsy Turvying" (see note 62), 148. Shakespeare had known ties to "rec usants," i.e., people who had not given up "the old faith."

68 Jonathan Dollimore, "Introduction," *Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shake speare and his Contemporaries* (1884; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), xcvii.

69 Ania Loomba, *Gender, Race, Renaissance Drama* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992), 6.

men were said to menstruate, Muslim men to be sodomites, Egyptian women to stand up while urinating, and witches and Amazons to be kin to cannibals."[70]

Saskia Zinsser-Krys states that Jewish stereotypes of the period included: missing emotions, lying, malice, sorcery, stubbornness, and simplemindedness[71]; however, the most prevalent stereotype of Jews, was an obsession with money. Shylock's first line is about money: "Three thousand ducats, well" (1.3.1).[72] This grouping of stereotypes is detrimental in that it treats the Jew as a subhuman with evil and immoral tendencies.

Moreover, Ian Smith's *Race and Rhetoric in the Renaissance: Barbarian Errors* (2009) and Lara Bovilsky's *Barbarous Play: Race on the English Renaissance Stage* (2008) both claim that the stage is a place of racial discourse. Smith highlights the humanistic significance of the Renaissance and maintains that the contemporary English stage was a place of the exchange of racial ideas labeling individuals and ultimately a place of oppression. Similarly, Bovilsky argues that the stage offers occasion to examine social discriminations between the English self and Other. Although Jews had previously been formally expelled from England, Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* revived the image of the Jew in early modern England.[73] James Shapiro, in his study *Shakespeare and the Jews,* tackles the question of Jewishness, and he stresses that it was connected to the English people's own anxiety about religion and the notion of race. To define their own identity as a nation, Shapiro highlights that English men and women would assess the value of other communities' traits such as the Jews' which were different from their own "Englishness."[74]

Etienne and Rivier state that Shakespeare wrote *The Merchant of Venice* "in a still religiously-agitated period resulting from Henry VIII's schism, followed by Protestant Edward VI, Catholic Mary Tudor and Anglican Elizabeth I."[75] Furthermore, they note that Maurice Abiteboul asserts in his depiction of Shakespeare's Renaissance that the "controversies stemming from the confrontation between

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70 Loomba, *Gender, Race, Renaissance Drama* (see note 70), 7.

71 Saskia Zinsser Krys, *The Early Modern Stage Jew: Heritage, Inspiration, and Concepts.* Cultur al Identities, 5 (New York: Peter Lang Edition, 2016), 96   100.

72 William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice: The Cambridge Dover Wilson Shakespeare* Vol. 21, ed. John Dover Wilson (1926; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), I.iii.1. All following quotations will be taken from this edition.

73 Lara Bovilsky, *Barbarous Play: Race on the English Renaissance Stage* (Minneapolis, MN: Uni versity of Minnesota Press, 2008). Christopher Marlowe revived the image of the Jew more than Shakespeare did and earlier too. Shakespeare softened what had become a stage convention.

74 James Shapiro, "Introduction," *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 1   12.

75 Etienne and Rivier, "Topsy Turvying" (see note 62) 145.

two fraternal religions, fanaticism and intolerance … hatred and resentment continuing even after a theoretically settled peace, led to greater trouble, freed vile instincts of vengeance and violence, and roused discords."[76] Moreover, Etienne and Rivier highlight that "when Elizabeth's compromise known as the 'Elizabethan Settlement' helped establish a kind of tolerance among religious groups in 1559, it did not fully eradicate suspicions and persecutions."[77] Quite the contrary, Roman Catholic priests were considered traitors and subject to execution in a cruel public display.

In *The Merchant of Venice*, Shakespeare shows how the Venetians demonize and persecute Shylock.[78] Antonio ridicules Shylock to Bassanio: "Mark you this, Bassanio, / The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose. / An evil soul producing holy witness / Is like a villain with a smiling cheek, / A goodly apple rotten at the heart. / O what a goodly outside falsehood hath!" (1.3.89 – 94).Shylock is described as a "devil," "evil soul," "villain," and "rotten at the heart." James Shapiro claims that one of the perceived stereotypes of the Jews was the belief that they were "black."[79] However, Shylock's blackness is ambiguous, for, according to Antonio, it relates to Shylock's soul: an invisible racial mark, different from the visible blackness of the Moroccan Moor in the play or Othello's racial degradation color in *Othello*. Shapiro's "Jews were black" is polysemous. "In the Christian tradition, whiteness is desired, blackness is condemned. White is the color of the regenerated, of the saved; black is the color of the damned, the lost."[80] White can be associated with God, angels, and heaven, while black can be associated with the devil, evil, and Hell. People who are identified as black or with blackness, like Shylock, are therefore devilish, evil, and hellish. These visual presentations are part of a larger scheme imbedded in early modern visual culture, establishing relationships of power over others.[81]

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76 Etienne and Rivier, "Topsy Turvying" (see note 62) 145.
77 Etienne and Rivier, "Topsy Turvying" (see note 62) 145.
78 Jews were also frequently called "dogs": Shylock: "Thou call'dst me dog before thou hadst a cause, / But since I am a dog, beware my fangs": Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice* (see note 73), (3.3.6 7). Barabas: "they call me dogge" : Christopher Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta*, ed. Roma Gill. *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 2.3.24.
79 Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (see note 49), 171.
80 Anthony Gerard Barthelemy, *Black Face, Maligned Race: The Representation of Blacks in English Drama from Shakespeare to Southerne* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 3.
81 Clark Hulse, and Peter Erickson, "Introduction," *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. id. (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 1 14; here 2.

Similarly, most of the English people of Shakespeare's time considered themselves more culturally and racially white than the Venetians and therefore more powerful and worthy to be the 'inheritor of classical Rome.' Arthur L. Little argues that "Venice figures as an imperfect picture of England, the inheritor of classical Rome's imperial self-fashioning but not its cultural and racial purity, its true virginity – its cultural and racial whiteness."[82] Little extends his argument, identifying Shylock as an example of Venice's perceived inferiority. "The vital presence of Shylock in its conducting of commerce, underscores the city-empire's crisis of identification."[83] Nevertheless, early modern English people turned a blind eye to the fact that Venice was in the center of the world. It is the middle ground between Europe, Asia, and a point of economic contact. The power of early modern England resulted from their merchants' global trade networks. Therefore, money was a necessity, and borrowing money allowed for greater investments and ultimately immense monetary gain. Due to the discovery of the New World and the rise of industrial banking in addition to the difficult transition from feudal society to modern capitalism, usury was a legal commercial activity that was practiced by both Christians and Jew during the time of Shakespeare's play. This is why the English audience had a difficult time relating to Antonio, the main "Merchant of Venice" who does not provide loans at interest. However, he takes out a loan, at interest, so that he can back Bassanio's quest for riches through marriage. There is the strong suggestion that he has borrowed money before to support his commercial ventures and knows where to get it.

Many researchers focus on Shylock's greed, which grows throughout the play, yet I do believe in the fact that his desire for revenge is the thing that grows They claim that, after learning of his daughter's elopement and conversion, Shylock seems more concerned with his loss of money than of his daughter. Nonetheless, this argument is more on Shylock's side and highlights the Venetians' racist discourse which reinforces stereotypes and ignores a heartbreaking incident in Shylock's life. The modern audience knows Shylock's sorrowful reaction, as reported by Solanio: "My daughter! O my ducats! O my daughter!" (2.8.15).Shylock does not speak these lines, but they are uttered by the character whose role is to mock Shylock throughout the course of the play. While Shylock does seem to be upset about his loss of money, he seems most hurt that it was "stolen by my daughter" (2.8.21). Many critics accept Solanio's presentation of

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82 Arthur L. Little, *Shakespeare Jungle Fever: National Imperial Re Visions of Race, Rape, and Sacrifice* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 69.
83 Little, *Shakespeare Jungle Fever* (see note 83), 70.

Shylock as a greedy person who cares only about money and claim that his main concern is for his lost ducats, reinforcing the money-obsessed Jewish stereotype. In fact, Shakespeare defies the stereotype of the money-hungry Jew by making Shylock refuse the six thousand ducats for the three thousand owed him. Thus, Shylock should not be read via his stereotypes as an inherently greedy character. Instead, the ways in which other characters in the play indicate and exaggerate his greediness should be recognized, for that is the evil and invisible blackness present in the play.

Different Theatrical Interpretations of Shylock

In spite of the traces of the medieval "diabolized Jew,"[84] Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* is an alert to the newer, more secularized status of Jews which arose in the early modern period, such as whether, as James Shapiro puts it, "Jewish identity was understood in terms of nationality and race, as well as religion."[85] Moreover, Michael Shapiro stresses that Shakespeare's appeals to many notions of Jewish identity.

> *The Merchant of Venice* draws on several conceptions of Jewish identity, so that Shylock's Jewishness may best be described as a superimposition upon medieval stereotypes of various contemporary ideas about Jews cultural, biological, and theological. Certainly, Shylock's Jewish identity is far more complex than that of the Jew Shakespeare found in his primary narrative source, a tale in *Il Pecorone*, Ser Giovanni Fiorentino's fourteenth century collection of stories published in Italian in 1558.[86]

That is, Shakespeare transformed the overlaying medieval anti-Judaic notions of the sketchy Jews with more current ideas of Jews as a nation or a people. Shakespeare's Shylock is subject to a variety of interpretations. Sylvan Barnet comments on the variety of interpretations actors have given Shylock:

> Broadly, actors have given us four kinds of Shylocks: 1) a comic villain, frightening but finally ridiculous, something like a wicked stepmother or witch in a fairy tale; 2) a titanic,

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84 The term "diabolized Jew" is borrowed from Frank Felsenstein, *Anti Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660 1830* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

85 Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (see note 49), 6. See also Aaron Kitch, "Shylock's Sacred Nation," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59 (2008): 131 55.

86 Michael Shapiro, *Wrestling with Shylock* (see note 63), 6.

diabolic figure; 3) a tragic figure, a hero brought low. a man "more sinned against than sin ning"; 4) a composite figure, at times menacing, at times pathetic, and at times absurd.[87]

Anne Barton, also, comments on the variety of on-stage interpretations Shylock has received.

> In the theatre, the part has always attracted actors, and it has been played in a variety of ways. Shylock has sometimes been presented as the devil incarnate, sometimes as a comic villain gabbling absurdly about ducats and daughters. He has also been sentimentalized as a wronged and suffering father nobler by far than the people who triumph over him.[88]

Shakespeare's Shylock is complex and has different interpretations. First, the positive interpretation in which Shylock is viewed sympathetically, as a victimized man against whom society has perpetrated many wrongs. Second, the neutral interpretations in which Shylock is seen as a mixture of evil, villainous, heroic victimized, or oppressed. Shylock here is portrayed as a complex human being with contradictory and ambiguously mixed traits both negative and positive. The third type of interpretations is the negative one which portrays Shylock as a black devil who has to be destroyed in order to achieve peace. Moody Prior has explored the complexities of Shylock's character and has arrived at a similar conclusion. Shylock has emerged as a character whose possibilities for thought and action are complex and not readily predictable, and has broken out of the confines of whatever stereotype he might at first glance seem destined for.[89] Erich Auerbach comments on the challenging role of Shylock which puzzled the actors who impersonated him. Auerbach states:

> To be sure, in terms of his class, he is not a common everyday figure; he is a pariah; but his class is low. The slight action of the *Merchant of Venice,* with its fairy tale motifs, is almost too heavily burdened by the weight and problematic implications of his character, and many actors who have undertaken the part have tried to concentrate the entire interest of the play upon him and to make him a tragic hero.[90]

Auerbach clarifies that Shylock's hatred has the "deepest and most human motivation," and that it becomes "significant through its power and tenacity."[91] He

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87 Sylvan Barnet, *The Merchant of Venice* (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), 193.

88 Anne Barton, "Introduction to *The Merchant of Venice*," *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. Bla kemore Evans (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1974), 250 53; here 251.

89 Moody E. Prior, "Which is the Jew That Shakespeare Drew?: Shylock Among the Critics, " *The American Scholar* 50 (1981): 479 98; here 492.

90 Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis* (see note 66), 134.

91 Auerbach, *Mimesis* (see note 66), 134.

adds that Shylock, powerfully, expresses his hatred which is coated by "great humanitarian ideas."[92] Shylock, according to Auerbach, does not lack "problematic depth, impressiveness of character, power and passion, and strength of expression."[93]

David Bevington theorizes in *Shakespeare: Four Comedies* how Shylock was probably played or portrayed.

> In the first century and a half of its stage history. *The Merchant of Venice* was not often staged at all ... Shakespeare's acting company ... performed the play "divers times" before 1600 and twice at Court in February of 1605, and they probably played it in a comic vein of acting ... though one would like to think that the original performances also found room for a complex and even troubled response. For a long while thereafter [past 1605], the play virtually disappeared from the stage.[94]

Gwen Sandberg speculates upon the manner in which Shylock was probably interpreted. According to Sandberg, almost all great actors of English and continental stage have attempted the role. Interpretations have varied with taste and judgment of the actors. On the early stage, Shylock was played as a thoroughgoing villain.[95] Sandberg further asserts that even though Shakespeare probably was sympathetic toward Jews and would not have created a totally antisemitic character, the Shylock portrayed on stage under his direction would likely have been played as a villain to satisfy his audience's tastes and expectations.

Bevington agrees with Sandberg's assessment of the original portrayal of Shylock as a villain and says that the actor playing the role probably wore red wig and a large, hooked nose as a comic representation of the stereotypical comic Jew-villain. On the Elizabethan stage the actor portraying him apparently wore a red beard, as in traditional representations of Judas [Iscariot], and a hooked nose.[96] Sylvan Barnet says the Shylock of the red hair and long nose would have been a comic character[97]; nonetheless, Marion Perret says the interpretation of the original Shylock would depend on which of Shakespeare's actors played the part. We might know more about Shakespeare's intent if we knew who

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92 Auerbach, *Mimesis* (see note 66), 134.

93 Auerbach, *Mimesis* (see note661), 134.

94 David Bevington, *Shakespeare: Four Comedies* (New York: Bantam Books, 1988), 277.

95 Gwen Sandberg, "The Enigmatic Shylock," *The Utah Shakespeare Festival, The Professional Theatre at Southern Utah University* (2022); online at https://www.bard.org/study guides/the enigmatic shylock/ (last accessed on April 13, 2022), 7.

96 Bevington, *Shakespeare: Four Comedies* (see note 95), 271.

97 Barnet, *The Merchant of Venice* (see note 88), 194.

played Shylock. If Burbage, the leading actor, played Shylock rather than Bassanio, the audience would have given more, and more careful, attention to the Jew.[98]

There were not known performances of *The Merchant of Venice* on stage after 1605 until the middle of the eighteenth century. This ostensible absence from the stage was the result of a number of factors: theaters were closed in England from 1642 until 1660; interest in Jews had declined; and Restoration and early eighteenth-century writers rewrote Shakespeare's plays so that the originals were not staged, leaving *The Merchant of Venice* absent from the stage from 1605 until 1741. Toby Lelyveld comments on this aspect of the stage history of the play:

> *The Merchant of Venice* had been virtually forgotten after Burbage's death ... [and] has no history during the Restoration period. Although the title is included in a long list published for 1668 69, of the plays allotted to Thomas Killigrew, our interest in the play is not satis fied until the eighteenth century.[99]

Even though the play was, as Lelyveld says, one of many allotted to Thomas Killigrew, no record exists of performance. After the theaters reopened in 1660, *The Merchant of Venice* was still not performed until 1741. During the early part of the century, a revised version of the play entitled *The Jew of Venice* by George Granville, Lord Lansdowne played from 1701 until 1748. Bevington notes the absence of Shakespeare's original from the stage during this period and discusses Granville's version:

> For a long while, the play virtually disappeared from the stage. Thomas Betterton took the role not of Shylock but of Bassanio in an adaptation called *The Jew of Venice*, by George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, in 1701.[100]

Even though Granville's *The Jew of Venice* is not Shakespeare's, yet it was popular with the audiences. Despite its title, Granville's adaptation, takes the focus away from Shylock and places it more on Bassanio, making this play more of a romantic comedy than was Shakespeare's play. Thomas Doggett, a popular low comedy actor, played Shylock as a clownish buffoon. Throughout *The Jew of Venice*, Shylock is treated in an unsympathetic, antisemitic manner. Granville had rewritten the text, and Doggett interpreted that text, so that the potential for

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98 Marion D. Perrett, "Shakespeare's Jew: Preconception and Performance," *Shakespeare Stud ies* 20 (1988): 261 68; here 263.
99 Toby Lelyveld, *Shylock on Stage* (Cleveland, OH: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1960), 11.
100 Bevington, *Shakespeare: Four Comedies* (see note 95), 277.

sympathy and humanity which exists in Shakespeare's text is virtually gone from Granville's version.

By the mid-eighteenth century, Charles Macklin, an Irish actor known for his comic portrayals and for Macbeth, fought to bring Shakespeare's original text of *The Merchant of Venice* back to the stage in a 1741 production at Drury Lane Theatre. John Russell Brown comments on Macklin's restoration of Shakespeare's original as it replaced the Granville version:

> *The Jew of Venice* continued to be played until 14 February, 1741, when Charles Macklin per suaded the management of Drury Lane to restore Shakespeare's play in a text which includ ed both Gobbos, Morocco, Aragon, and Tubal ... . All witnesses affirm that he gave full vent to the Jew's contrasted passions. *The Merchant of Venice* at once became popular, and be fore the end of the month, it had played eight times.[101]

Brown's asserts that Macklin portrayal of Shylock's "contrasted passions" echoes the issue that Shakespeare's multi-dimensional Jew: the ambiguous and contradictory Shylock who is subject to a variety of interpretations. Macklin's portrayal of Shylock revealed the complexity of the Jew as a human being than a stereotypical clown, emphasizing those areas of the text that focus on Shylock's humanity, while at the same time showing some evil qualities as well. Russell Jackson supports Brown's arguments by saying Macklin's Shylock was effective as a theatrical character even though it contained elements of a "monstrous" interpretation, as well as a human one. "Macklin's Jew was villainous, realistic, and passionate."[102] Jackson goes on to say that eventually audiences came to realize that in Macklin's Shylock they were witnessing a dramatic break from the Doggett tradition, and that Macklin had introduced a new dimension to on-stage interpretations of Shylock.[103]

Moreover, Michael Shapiro highlights the political significance of Macklin's interpretations.[104]

> Macklin's Shylock was almost used as a political lever in 1753, when the Jew Bill, officially known as the Jewish Naturalization Act, was proposed to remove restrictions from foreign

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101 John Russell Brown, *Discovering Shakespeare: A New Guide to the Plays* (New York: Colum bia University Press, 1981), xxxiii.

102 Russell Jackson, "Shakespeare on the Stage from 1660 1900," *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare Studies*, ed. Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 187 212; here 191.

103 Jackson, "Shakespeare on the Stage from 1660 1900" (see note 103), 191.

104 Shapiro, *Wrestling with Shylock* (see note 63), 19. See also Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (see note 49), 195 224; David Katz, *Jews in the History of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 240 53.

born Jews residing in England. After its passage, opponents of the bill arranged for Drury Lane to revive *The Merchant of Venice*, in an effort to arouse anti Jewish sentiment for the bill's repeal. Macklin was temporarily sidelined from the role but presumably it was his conception of Shylock which adversaries of the Jew Bill arranged to have produced. The bill was repealed.

Macklin's Shylock manifested qualities of two of the three interpretations of the character which are inherent in the text: a sympathetic, human, tragic victim and a mischievous, venomous, malevolent villain. Lelyveld describes Macklin's Shylock as the first serious portrayal of the Jew:

> The Shylock that Macklin created was not likeable. On the contrary, the aspects of Shylock's personality that were stressed most by Macklin made the money lender appear to be some thing of a monster. Macklin counted on shock effect, and so fierce was this new Shylock that audiences were startled into taking him seriously for the first time. It was Macklin's underscoring of the Jew's malice and revengefulness that first established Shylock as a sig nificant dramatic character. He was relentless, savage, ominous, and venomous. So malig nant was this Shylock that the spectators, unaccustomed to such a display of passion on the stage, could not distinguish between the actor and his role and believed that in private life, Macklin was some sort of devil.[105]

As Lelyveld points out, although Macklin's Shylock was not the low-comedy, stereotypical Jew villain that Doggett had played in Granville's version, neither was it the sympathetic, tragic victim that Edmund Kean and later Henry Irving would present in the nineteenth century.

Barnet gives an account of the effect of Kean's Shylock:

> Kean rejected what we can call the monstrous interpretation, and made Shylock more human, less mythic. He wore a black wig and black beard, and evoked not simply terror but pity, especially in the court scene, where his horrified look at the thought of enforced Christianity evoked sympathy in the audience. His general conception was that Shylock is not a repulsive beast but a man who has been so unjustly treated that his resentment quite understandably drives him to acts of destruction. Kean's Shylock was highly passionate, but not diabolic or monstrous or repulsive.[106]

Kean was the first actor to play Shylock as a persecuted man. He brought the character even closer to reality as a younger man who had every right to seek revenge for the horrors practiced against him. His was the most humanistic in-

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105 Lelyveld, *Shylock on Stage* (see note 100), 22 23.
106 Barnet, *The Merchant of Venice* (see note 88), 197.

terpretation of Shylock until recently; Al Pacino's film performance (2004) is exceptional.

Kean portrayed a persecuted Shylock who represents his oppressed Jewish tribe. Harold Hillebrand reports in his biography of Kean that more than one writer has wondered if Kean had Jewish ancestry, but no proof has been forthcoming, the query seeming to arise from such inconclusive circumstances as Kean's dark coloring and the names of his uncles, Aaron and Hoses.[107] Kean presented the character that Shakespeare created in more depth than preceding actors had done, he examined the text to find the man Shylock who had been hidden for centuries under the Jewish stereotype. F.W. Hawkins describes Kean's finer interpretation of Shylock:

> While under Miss Tidswell's tutelage, Kean began studying Shylock. He penetrated the au thor s subtle conception of the character with a sagacity really wonderful in a boy of his years. At this time the Jew was represented by Kemble, and a few months later by George Frederick Cooke, as a decrepit old man, bent with age, warped with passion, and grinning with deadly malice; but Edmund instinctively arrived at a finer comprehension of the char acter" his conception of Shylock included from the very first those minor but nice consid erations which constitute the human element thrown around the portrait, and which, from their fidelity to natural truth, cause us to sympathize with the revenge which rankled in his heart rather than hate him for indulging in so dark a passion. "The devil is not so black as he's painted" [Kean] said to Hiss Tidswell a few days after he had entered upon his study of the Jew; "and Shylock is not such a devil as the black looking Hr. Kemble would make us believe".[108]

Kean's "fidelity to human truth," reinforces the humanity with which Shakespeare invested Shylock. He portrays Shylock as a wronged human being who was ill-treated by Antonio and the other Christians. Kean's interpretation serves as justification for Shylock's quest for revenge. William Hazlitt, one of the most well-known nineteenth century Shakespearean critics, published a review of Kean's Shylock in *The Morning Chronicle* of 2 February 1814, the day after Kean's premier performance, saying: "For depth and force of conception, we have seen actors whom we should prefer to Mr. Kean in Shylock; for brilliant and masterly execution, none."[109] Two years later, Hazlitt re-published that review in *The Examiner*, adding the following criticism:

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107 Harold Hillebrand, *Edmund Kean* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933), 6.

108 Hillebrand, *Edmund Kean* (see note 108), 46.

109 William Hazlitt, *The Round Table, Characters of Shakespear*'s *Plays* (1817; London: Every man's Library, 1969), 2.

> The accounts in the other papers were not to be sure so favourable; and in the above criti cism there are several errors. His voice, which is here praised, is very bad, though it must be confessed its defects appear less in Shylock than in most of his other characters. The critic appears also to have formed an overstrained idea of the gloomy character of Shylock, prob ably more from seeing other players perform it than from the text of Shakespeare. Mr Kean's manner is much nearer the mark. Shakespeare could not easily divest his characters of their entire humanity: ... Certainly our sympathies are much oftener with him than with his en emies. He is honest in his vices; they are hypocrites in their virtues ... . Shylock never, that we can find, loses his elasticity and presence of mind. There is wonderful grace and ease in all the speeches in this play ... . The character of Shylock is another instance of Shake speare's power of identifying himself with the thoughts of men, their prejudices, and al most instincts.[110]

Hazlitt goes beyond a mere review of Kean's performance as Shylock to give a detailed analysis of Shakespeare's characterization of Shylock. Hazlitt states that Shakespeare's text bears the potential for a variety of interpretations of Shy lock's Jewishness and that Kean successfully demonstrates his view. Hazlitt's ref erence to Shakespeare's "power of identifying himself with the thoughts of men" exemplifies my argument that Shakespeare criticizes the popular stereotype of the Jew of sixteenth-century England to create a humanistic multi-dimensional Jewish character who attempts by all means to face the oppressive Christian Venetians.

After Kean's legendary portrayal of Shylock (1814), attention of audiences and critics to a degree that surpassed even Kean's. That presentation came in late 1879 when Sir Henry Irving, a noted Shakespearean actor, attempted sympa thetically the role of Shylock in 1879. Bernard Grebanier says of Irving's portray al:

> The most celebrated of all Shylocks was Henry Irving. His success with *The Merchant of Venice* when he presented it in London at the Royal Lyceum Theatre on November 1. 1879, is one of the legends of theatrical history. He had no natural endowments. Of medium height [five feet, nine inches], ungainly slender figure, weak voice, he compensated for these shortcomings by the care and thought with which he prepared his productions. In stead of forging a new Shylock, his method was to present an eclectic one, incorporating what he considered the best of his predecessors. If there was anything new about his por trayal, it was his deepening of the audience's sympathies for the Jew.[111]

Affected by the Edmund Kean's positive portrayal of Shylock, Irving's interpreta tion was designed to portray the favorable elements of Shylock's character inher-

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110 Hazlitt, *The Round Table* (see note 110), 3.

111 Bernard Grebanier, *The Truth About Shylock* (New York: Random House, 1962), 333.

ent in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*. As Leigh Woods has said, "Irving, in seeking to reverse a long tradition of comic casting and playing of Shylock, sought to bring out dignity and more serious colours in the role."[112] Woods did not mention Kean's Shylock, referring only to those negative interpretations of Shylock.

Irving presented Shylock as a man of dignity and values. An anonymous review entitled "Henry Irving's Shylock," says of this interpretation:

> Mr. Irving presents Shylock as a picturesque figure, with an air as of a man feeling the bitterness of oppression, and conscious of his own superiority in all but circumstances to the oppressor   a feeling which is finely indicated when, in talk with Antonio, he touches the Christian merchant, and, seeing the action resented, bows deprecatingly, with an affectation of deep humility.[113]

Irving's sympathetic portrayal of Shakespeare's Jew was the result of his own thoughtfulness toward the race. He was sensitive to the discrimination against the Jews in England. In a conversation with his friend, Robert Hickens, Irving talks about the character of Shylock.

> Irving once told me where he found his model for Shylock. For he had a model ... . I remember that I said, "You are almost exactly like some of the Tetuan Jews I encountered long ago in Morocco." He said: "That's not surprising, as I took many ideas for my Shylock from a Moorish Jew I saw when I was yachting once and went ashore in Morocco. They are astonishing fellows." Then I told Irving that he achieved almost a miracle with his Shylock. He asked me what the miracle was. I said: "Whether you play for it or not, you walk away with nearly all the sympathy." His hypnotic eyes twinkled and he said: "I don't chance very much in my performance. No   not very much. One has to know what one's doing, why one's doing it, and exactly what effect it is certain to have upon an audience."[114]

Irving's presentation of Shylock was apparently one of the most important Shakespearean performances in the theatre of the nineteenth century. It was certainly one of the most significant presentations of *The Merchant of Venice*. However, Irving added a scene after Jessica's elopement with Lorenzo in which Shylock returns to his house to find it deserted. Since Shakespeare wrote Shylock into only five scenes, Irving's added "Shylock's sixth scene" in which Shylock is portrayed as tearing his hair and throwing himself to the ground in a fit of de-

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112 Leigh Woods, *On Playing Shakespeare* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 159.

113 Sylvan Barnet, "Henry Irving's Shylock," *The Merchant of Venice* (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), 152   56; here 153.

114 Robert Hickens, "Irving as Shylock," *We Saw Him Act, A Symposium on the Art of Sir Henry Irving*, ed. H. A. Saintsbury and Cecil Palmer (1939; New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969), 166   67.

spair and anger. Irving recognized the potential for a positive interpretation of Shylock which Shakespeare had provided and played that potential to its fullest. Cyril Maude comments on this in "Irving on Shylock."

> Irving must have been the first star actor to play Shylock for sympathy. Edmund Kean ... established a new tradition with his deeply passionate, human performance. Irving, we know, was a great admirer of Kean, but he did not follow him in that. The sympathy he got for that hitherto entirely unsympathetic part was extraordinary, and yet of course he spoke Shakespeare's words, but gave them a new significance.[115]

Irving was not the first actor to play Shylock for sympathy; Kean had done so, though not to the extent of Irving, but Irving was able to give "new significance" to Shakespeare's presentation. Prior to his performing Shylock, Irving was quoted as saying:

> I am going to do The Merchant of Venice ... . I never contemplated doing the piece, which did not even appeal very much to me until when we were down in Morocco and saw the Levant ... . When I saw the Jew in his own dress, Shylock became a different creature. I began to understand him; and now I want to play the part   as soon as I can.[116]

Irving studied Jews very closely, not only to portray their external, physical characteristics, but, more importantly, to unveil their internal, emotional aspects. He wanted to know the inner workings of the Jew's psychology, so that his stage portrayal would carry with it a greater degree of realism and pathos. Irving gives this account of his study of Jews:

> I saw a Jew once, in Tunis, tear his hair and raiment, fling himself in the sand, and writhe in a rage, about a question of money   beside himself with passion. I saw him again, self possessed and fawning; and again, expressing real gratitude for a trifling money courtesy. He was never undignified until he tore at his hair and flung himself down, and then he was picturesque; he was old, but erect, even stately, and full of resources ... he was a type of the great, grand race.[117]

Irving went farther than any actor before him to expose the turmoil of Shylock and his community. Irving's conception of Shylock as a representative of a "great, grand race" is significant in interpreting Shakespeare's *The Merchant*

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115 Cyril Maude, "Irving as Shylock," *We Saw Him Act* (see note 115), 172.

116 Richard Foulkes, "Henry Irving and Laurence Olivier as Shylock," *Theatre Notebook* 27 (1972): 26   36; here 28.

117 Woods, *On Playing Shakespeare* (see note 113), 161.

of Venice, and interpretation was the result of his careful observation. As Foulkes noted:

> The Levant Jews were a major external influence on Irving's Shylock, but unlike them, Shy lock lived in a pre dominantly Christian European society, which provided the main spring for much of his drama. For this aspect of the character, Irving could find examples amongst the Jews in Victorian England where he lived. The most eminent of these were the conser vative politician Benjamin Disraeli, born of Levantine stock, and the banking family Roths child, to which Lord Haughton referred in a speech at the dinner celebrating Irving's one hundredth performance as Shylock, whom he described as "a gentleman of Jewish persua sion, in voice very like a Rothschild."[118]

Irving's landmark performances of Shylock extended into the twentieth century, but stage interpretations of Shylock in England from 1900 through 1944 were influenced by people's attitudes toward Jews during those years and by events in Europe.

Throughout Europe, the final decades of the nineteenth-century were a time of widespread antisemitism. European Jews had been trying for many years to become assimilated into the societies of their adopted countries, but each decade from 1870 to 1900 saw a new wave of antisemitism unfold. As Paul Johnson points out in *A History of the Jews:*

> The growing mood of despair among assimilated Jews was reinforced by the anti Semitic penetration of politics. In the 1870s anti Semitism was fuelled by the financial crisis and scandals; in the 1880s by the arrival of masses of Ostjuden, fleeing from Russian territories; by the 1890s it was a parliamentary presence, threatening [to pass] anti Jewish laws.[119]

In response to the antisemitism in England and indeed all of Europe in the early years of the twentieth century, actors' interpretations of Shylock were chiefly antisemitic. William Poel, whose interpretation began in the late 1890s and extended into the first decade of the twentieth century, presented a thoroughly antisemitic portrait of Shylock in stark contrast to Henry Irving's earlier sympathetic interpretation. Poel's low-comedy presentation was similar to Doggett's Shylock in *The Jew of Venice* and to other early comic portrayals. Robert Speaight describes Poel's conception of Shylock in not very flattering terms:

> He played Shylock himself and resorted to Burbage's red wig; this was to desert art for ar chaeology and comedy for caricature ... . He was blind to Shakespeare's power of seeing all round a situation or a character, of writing on more than one level, of giving to his come

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118 Foulkes, "Henry Irving" (see note 117), 28.
119 Paul Johnson, *A History of the Jews* (New York: Harper & Row, 1987), 395.

dies the quality of chequered sunshine ... . With *The Merchant*, the poetry and persiflage of the fifth act are given a deeper tone by our memory of Shylock's fall. Poel would have us rejoice that avarice and cruelty had met their due rewards and this is what the bulk of Bur bage's audiences may well have felt. It is what we should feel ourselves if *The Merchant* had been written by Ben Jonson ... But a modern audience is moved by the end of *The Merchant*, as only the rare, sensitive spectator would have been moved if he had seen the play acted at the Globe.[120]

Speaight's contention that Poel found in Shakespeare's text a darkly-underwritten comedy that exposes the most malicious and evil side of Shylock. Speaight goes on to say that "Poel's performance was not only without pathos, but it was largely deficient in dignity,"[121] and it was "undoubtedly harsh."[122] Poel's unsympathetic interpretation of Shylock as a low comic villain in stereotyped red wig and beard and exaggerated accent was representative of the growing antisemitism in England at the time.

Following Poel, Louis Calvert also interpreted Shylock negatively as a stereotypical miserly, avaricious moneylender who values money more highly than he values race or family. John Russell Brown points out:

> After Macklin, Kean, and Irving, no one has so completely captured the public's imagina tion with an original Shylock. Most actors have moved somewhere within the earlier limits while frankly comic interpretations, or a woman in the role, have been short lived eccentr ities; occasionally there have been clear failures. Calvert and John Gielgud have been the most assured and independent.[123]

John Gielgud's antisemitic portrayal, however, was an exception. He presented Shylock as an ugly, vengeful villain, according to a review in *New Statesman an Nation:* "A particularly appropriate production in the Europe of 1938, John Gielgud is riveting as the baited Jew, yet he is careful not to sentimentalize the part. Shylock's appearance is extraordinary – gummy, blinking eyes that suggest some nasty creature of the dark."[124] Gielgud's apparently antisemitic interpretation of Shylock was consistent with the prevailing European sentiment of the time. In 1942, as this European antisemitism was reaching a boiling point, Robert

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120 Robert Speaight, *William Poel and the Elizabethan Revival* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Uni versity Press, 1954), 138 39.

121 Speaight, *William Poel,* (see note 121), 139.

122 Speaight, *William Poel,* (see note 121), 140.

123 Brown, *Discovering Shakespeare,* (see note 102), 195.

124 William Babula, *William Shakespeare In Production: 1935 1978* (New York: Garland Pub lication, 1981), 190.

Atkins presented a Shylock in England which fit the accepted characterization of the period. In a Times review of September 24, the critic notes:

> Mr. Robert Atkins is a robust player, and his Shylock was a character which always de
> manded the audience's attention and sometimes gained its respect. His gestures were in
> clined to be monotonous in their extravagance   the hatred even of a Jew like Shylock
> should have something more rigid and less facile in its expression   but he was at his
> most impressive at the right moment in the trial scene, that is, and his exit, on the superb
> anti climax, "I am not well," was managed with the tact of a cunningly phrased postscript
> to a flamboyant letter.[125]

The reviewer's prejudice against Jews, which reflected the prevalent attitude, is revealed in his statement, "the hatred even of a Jew like Shylock" and implies that Jews are not equal to other people. In 1943, Frederick Valk interpreted Shylock as a man who was capable of cunning and hatred. *The London Times* reviewer of February 17, 1943, says of Valk's Shylock:

> The Shylock he gives us is powerful, but the power is that of a fanatically logical mind
> which in the final test lacks the courage of its own logic. Enticing Antonio into the signing
> of "the merry bond" [sic] he shows the adroitness of a respectable Victorian financier con
> cealing the special knowledge which he happens to possess, and in court he is still the un
> feeling man who relies on the letter of the law to compel an eviction of some such humanly
> unfair exaction. The passion of hatred which lifts Shylock out of the ruck of usurers is in
> doubt, and there is never   even when he hears of the sale of the ring   a suggestion of
> pathos.[126]

Valk's interpretation of Shylock is negative and antisemitic. However, the climactic series of events, the Holocaust, has greatly influenced interpretations of Shylock on stage, promoting sympathy and understanding for Shylock. George Hayes' portrayal of Shylock (1945) is the first example which moved away from the unsympathetic, antisemitic portrayals of the Jews, presents Shylock as complex character.

In 1953, Michael Redgrave presented "A Shylock who forces us to recognize that the unlikeable can yet be powerfully human."[127] Leech highlights that the emphasis in Redgrave's portrayal is on Shylock's human qualities, both bad and good, rather than on traits which might cause him to be perceived as evil because he is a Jew. In 1960, at the Stratford-Upon-Avon Festival, Peter O'Toole presented the sympathetic Shylock as an individual Jew rather than as a repre-

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125 "Westminster Theatre: *The Merchant of Venice*," *The London Times* (24 September, 1942), 6.
126 "New Theatre: The Merchant of Venice," *The London Times* (17 February, 1943), 6
127 Clifford Leech, "Stratford 1953," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 4 (1953): 461 66; here 461.

sentative of all Jews. This takes Shylock out of the realm of the stereotypical stage Jew and positions him as an individually wronged Jewish man. Professor Peter Sander, director of Theatre at Hofstra University in New York, relates in a private interview a story told him by American actor Morris Carnovskly concerning a conversation between Carnovsky and O'Toole about their interpretations of Shylock. Carnovsky said he asked O'Toole,

> "Why do you Englishmen always play Shylock with a heavy Jewish dialect?", to which O'Toole replied, "Doesn't everyone, old boy, in order to get sympathy for the Jew?" Carnovsky said, "No. We Jews can get sympathy for Shylock by using our Jewishness and Shakespeare's text without relying on an accent."[128]

John Gross says that "Peter O'Toole's Shylock was handsome, dignified, heroic."[129] Gross's description of O'Toole's Shylock as dignified and heroic points further to a sympathetic post-Holocaust interpretation.

Additionally, that Shylock may be played as both dignified and heroic was the major theme of another interpretation of Shylock in England. This production, featuring Sir Lawrence Olivier as Shylock, and directed by Jonathan Miller, was staged at the National Theatre of Great Britain in 1970, and was later televised. Olivier's Shylock is one of the most critically acclaimed of all modern interpretations, and one of the most positive and sympathetic. Frank Marcus comments on Olivier's Act Four:

> He exits, supported on either side. There is silence. Then, suddenly, from outside, comes the sound of someone falling. It is followed by a ... howl of pain, dying in the distance. Centuries of persecution are in this cry; it chills the blood.[130]

The wail of agony and defeat summarizes all that Shylock has known of abuse and oppression. Eminent theatre critic Clive Barnes adds to this assessment when he writes:

> Laurence Olivier's Shylock is admittedly an elegant piece of stagecraft. Mr. Miller, a great humorist, once described himself as "a Jew, but, you know, not Jewish." It would be an admirable description of this Shylock. Olivier is ... impersonal to the point of credibility. A robot business man with Hebraically ethnic overtones. It is a great performance.[131]

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128 Peter Sander, *Personal Interview*, (17 July 1993).

129 Gross, *Shylock*, (see note 61) 325.

130 Frank Marcus, "Shylock Among the Forsytes," *The New York Times* (10 May 1970), vol. II, 2.

131 Clive Barnes, "Modern Venice," *The New York Times* (5 March 1973), 39.

The deeply sympathetic rendering of Shylock by Olivier was heralded by audiences and critics as wonderful acting, and has become a landmark interpretation of Shylock.

The favorable attitude toward Jews in England at the time influenced an interpretation of Shylock in 1986 when Anthony Sher performed the role at Stratford with the Royal Shakespeare Company. Sher's interpretation of Shylock inspired sympathy because it showed the struggles of Shylock with the antisemitic Christians. In his review of Sher's interpretation, Stanley Wells writes:

> The spitting that Shylock complains of in his opening scene became a symbol of antisemitic behavior. Three Venetian urchins elaborated the action, baiting Shylock crying "Jew, Jew, Jew" after him and Tubal, mimicking and mocking their victims; and this kind of behavior extended upwards to Salerio and Solanio, to Graziano [sic], even to Bassanio and Antonio; among the male characters, only the Duke was free from it in the courtroom scene.
> These emphases rendered Shylock exceptionally sympathetic, an impression in creased by the natural charm in Anthony Sher's detailed, fluent performance, as eloquent in the language of the body as of the tongue. Submissive in adversity, he was yet immensely exciting in the self justifying parable of Jacob's sheep.[132]

Wells highlights the antisemitic behavior of the Christians, so the audience is moved to feel more sympathy for the wronged Shylock who is portrayed as an agent and avenger of his whole disgracefully maltreated race. In his tones we hear the protest and wailing to heaven against the aggression of his oppressors and their hypocritical community.

Shylock as a Means of Fighting Back Antisemitism

Hermann Sinsheimer, a German-Jewish theater critic, comments in *Shylock: The History of a Character*, on the significant influence that Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* has had in affecting understandings of Jewish identity. Sinsheimer maintains that none of Shakespeare's other portrayals of "aliens" has had a correspondingly commanding influential effect. He states:

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132 Stanley Wells, "Shakespeare Performances in London and Stratford Upon Avon, 1986   7," *Shakespeare Survey* 41 (1989): 162   65; here 162.

> I am not aware that Danish courtiers are still regarded as loquacious Poloniuses or Moors as jealous and murderous Othellos. The Jews, however, are still looked upon as Shylock's, or, rather, Shylock still stands for the Jews. Therefore this book is topical.[133]

Sinsheimer locates the figure of Shylock as the nucleus for his exploration of Jewish identity and Jewish history; Sinsheimer claims that Shakespeare deliberately uses Shylock to fight back antisemitism:

> But emphatically the anti Semites must not be allowed to call Shakespeare as a witness for their side. Once again: his Shylock is a furious rebel against the medieval and post medieval enslavement and calumniation of the Jews, a tragic character who perishes because he fights a just fight with unjust means.[134]

Sinsheimer attempts to make clear the injustice which the Venetians have committed to the Jew. By doing so, he combats the belligerent antisemitic propaganda and hatred that erupted in Germany's Third Reich.

Sinsheimer does not eliminate the differences between Jews and Christians, but he argues for Christian/Jewish equality before the law. Sinsheimer disagrees with the belief in "pure" identities and the inequalities they foster. Thus, he juxtaposes the darkness of the medieval period with the light of the Renaissance and argues that Shakespeare fuses Shylock with some of this light and creates a complex character who brings together past and future:

> The character of Shylock is subject to a tension stretching over time and space. For what Shakespeare has achieved is to put into a 'modern' play a medieval figure on the one hand, and on the other to put into his mouth pronouncements and arguments of a future and more progressive time and spirit ... Shylock perplexes by his medieval origin and his

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133 Hermann Sinsheimer, *Shylock: The History of a Character* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1947), 17; Sinsheimer highlights the social topicality of his book because he wrote *Shylock: die Geschichte einer Figur* between 1936 and 1937 in Berlin. In 1938 Sinsheimer then fled to London, translating his book into English during World War II. It first appeared as *Shylock: The History of a Character* in London in 1947; the German version remained unpublished until 1960. The German translation of the quotation is as follows: "Mir ist nicht bekannt, dass dänische Höflinge immer noch als geschwätzige Poloniuse oder Mauren als eifersüchtige und mörderische Othellos gelten. Die Juden werden jedoch immer noch als Shylocks angesehen, oder besser gesagt, Shylock steht immer noch für die Juden. Daher ist dieses Buch aktuell.": Hermann Sinsheimer, *Shylock: Die Geschichte einer Figur. Mit einem Nachwort von Hanns Braun* (Munich: Ner Tamid Verlag, 1960), 10.
134 This section appears in the English version only; Sinsheimer, *Shylock: The History of a Character* (see note 134), 144.

progressive purpose   a master stroke at a time when past and future are jostling each other.[135]

Sinsheimer asserts that Shylock's pronouncements are derived from his demands for equality before the law; nevertheless, Shylock's obsession with material gain cannot be denied.

Sinsheimer shows Shakespeare's ironic and pro-Jewish perspective by elevating Shylock and bringing to light the hypocritical traits of the Christian Venetians. He juxtaposes Shylock's avocation of human rights with Antonio's abuse and maltreatment of Jews. Sinsheimer mentions that Shylock's claim to the pound of flesh is similar to the Venetians' ownership of slaves; he asserts that Shylock's speech is an outburst against inhumanity and injustice. Sinsheimer stresses that Shakespeare gives voice to the oppressed and spreads equality through a figure like Shylock:

> Shakespeare makes a Venetian usurer proclaim something like the equality and equal rights of man   not bombastically or sententiously or piously, but realistically so that it can be understood by every "groundling" in the pit. The usurer turns teacher and preacher understood by the people. A Jew speaks English common sense. Shakespeare is identifying himself with his character   no other explanation is possible.[136]

Shakespeare, Sinsheimer contends, depicts the history of oppression suffered by European Jews within Christian lands, and claims that Shakespeare via Shylock reflects the lack of possible noble friendship between the Jews and Christian Venetians and voices the "new world" of equal rights.[137] David Jacoby highlights that Venice's policy regarding Jews was largely determined by the latter's definition as a particular socio-religious, non-Christian group.

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135 This section appears in the English version only; Sinsheimer, *Shylock: The History of a Char acter* (see note 134), 111.

136 Sinsheimer, *Shylock: The History of a Character* (see note 134), 109; the quotation in the Ger man edition is as follows: "Shakespeare lässt einen venezianischen Wucherer so etwas wie die Gleichheit und Gleichberechtigung des Menschen verkünden   nicht bombastisch oder senti mental oder fromm, sondern realistisch, so dass es von jedem "Bodenling" in der Grube verstan den werden kann. Aus dem Wucherer wird ein vom Volk verstandener Lehrer und Prediger. Ein Jude spricht englischen gesunden Menschenverstand. Shakespeare identifiziert sich mit seiner Figur   eine andere Erklärung ist nicht möglich.": Hermann Sinsheimer, *Shylock* (see note 134), 158.

137 For the concept of friendship underlying the ideal of personal community in many of Shakespeare's plays, see the contribution to this volume by John Hill.

Their residence in Venice was allowed for a short time only, from 1382 to 1397, yet the illegal presence of many Jews in Venice was apparently tolerated in the following period until 1516; however, Jews established in Venice remained foreigners and could not become citizens. Venice's policy was more flexible in the Eastern Mediterranean. Jews residing in Venetian territory enjoyed Venetian status in that region, although they were subject to heavy taxation and forced loans.[138]

Anthony Julius quotes Philip Roth's *Operation Shylock: A Confession* as one of the epigraphs to *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-Semitism in England* (2010): "In the modern world, the Jew has perpetually been on trial; still today the Jew is on trial, in the person of the Israeli – and this modern trial of the Jew, this trial which never ends, begins with the trial of Shylock."[139]

I, as an Egyptian contemporary playwright, do sympathize with Shylock and portray him as a victim in my play *The Sun; All One and the Same.* I highlight the oppression of the "others," and Shakespeare's Shylock is one of my characters created to portray the injustice of the hegemonic communities:

In a world full of oppression, "othernization" spreads. Many can fall under the umbrella of the cruelty of subjugation and be the "others." Women, Jews and the poor suffer a lot in their oppressive worlds which don't tolerate their existence. Nevertheless, these worlds are full of domineering 'selves' who live upon those others' dead corpses and suck their blood. These tyrannical and repressive beings enjoy being like parasites vermin, yet viewing themselves with a magnifying glass as superior faultless gods. Additionally, the tumor of oppression knows no limits and never be diminished by time nor place. Oppression is the same since the creation of Eve. Thus, coercion is the genesis of my first precious play *The Sun.* All the characters are oppressed and discriminated in their own time and place without any exceptions.[140]

I resist the "otherization" of the "hegemonic and antisemitic discourse"; thus, I give these others voice to be heard in other minor communities, constructing a counter- hegemonic discourse by bringing Shylock and her other alien characters

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138 David Jacoby, "Venetian Citizenship and Venetian Identity in the Eastern Mediterranean, Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries," *Cultures of Empire: Rethinking Venetian Rule, 1400 1700*, *Essays in Honour of Benjamin Arbel*, ed. Georg Christ and Franz Julius Morche. The Medieval Mediterranean, 122 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020), 125 52; here 142.

139 Anthony Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti Semitism in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), xi. See Philip Roth, *Operation Shylock: A Confession* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993).

140 Amany El Sawy, *The Sun: All One and the Same. A Play in one Act* (Aug 7, 2018); online at: https://hedgehogsandfoxes.org/index.php/2018/08/07/amany el sawy the sun all one and the same a play in one act/ (last accessed on Dec. 22, 2021).

together from the margins to voice their subordination and forget about their otherness.

Conclusion

To conclude, the communicative discourse of the community is one of the extremely important issues between majority and minority communities, between the insiders and the outsiders, between the well-established and the newcomers. To tolerate requires "a great degree of inner strength and ethical ideals, which motivate the individual to respond to the representatives of other races or religions with openness and a strong welcome." Shakespeare exposes the inability of the Christian Venetian community to tolerate the Jews and "overcome fear; of losing privileges, fear of ceding political and economic ground." Classen quotes Andreas Voßkuhle, the chief justice of the German Supreme Court and Director of the Freiburg Institute for "Staatswissenschaft und Rechtsphilosophie" (in 2017) who talks about the rights of the minor community:

> [T]he minority is not just a terminological entity, but must also be acknowledged politically and protected through the fundamental and freedom laws, meaning that it is not "absolute ly in the wrong, and is not absolutely without rights" (Hans Kelsen). Instead, the minority must have a chance possibly to turn into the majority itself.[141]

Shakespeare unveils the Jewish community, portraying that it is "absolutely in the wrong", and is without right to communicate properly with and turn into the majority group. They use the same language that Classen describes in *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*. According to Classen, language "consists of gestures, mimicry, images, sounds, knots, or music, as long as any of those media allows the individual to communicate in an efficient manner,"[142] but this language is misused by the Christian community. The signs, gestures, and words "really mean what they are supposed to convey"[143]; they express humiliation, prejudice and injustice, and the Jewish community

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141 Classen, *Toleration and Tolerance* (see note 58), 19.
142 Albrecht Classen, "Multilingualism in the Middle Ages: Theoretical and Historical Reflec tions. An Introduction," *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 17 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 1 46; here 2.
143 Classen, *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age* (see note 143), 2.

understands "those signals accordingly."[144] Thus, this article has tried to shed light on marginalization of the Jewish community in Shakespeare *The Merchant of Venice*. Shakespeare tries to unveil the borders that segregate Shylock's community, giving voice to the miscommunication of Shylock's crowd which is crushed because the Venetians possess an insuperable power that cannot be defeated.

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[144] See the introduction to *Words of Love and Love of Words in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 347 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008).

Michael Vargas

Communicating Medieval Catalonia: History and Historical Recollection in an Autonomous Community of Spain

Abstract: The contemporary confrontation between Spain and one of its parts – Catalonia – is situated in substantial disagreements about how to read the medieval past. The examination here of Catalan historical memory and cultural identity confirms that *Catalanism,* the politicized aspiration and actions of some Catalans, is rooted squarely in the recovery, and reconstruction of a fair reading of a veritable medieval past. But dissemination and reception of history are dynamic and creative processes. Creative retelling is not new: the Catalan community has been spinning stories about its distinctiveness since before the Kingdom of Castile merged with the House of Barcelona; each generation has changed the shape and style of its historical imagination as present needs required. That the medieval past gets used to build communities in this way raises questions, for which there are no good answers, about the relationship of history to invention and about the blurry line between historical discovery and popular invention.

Keywords: Catalan myth and myth history, historical memory, recollection in landscapes, medieval and medievalizing, Decadència and Renaixença, identity politics

Introduction: Appreciating the Past

Ruminating on yesterday's problems may seem unhelpful in efforts to sort out the troubles of today's communities. But we cannot do otherwise. The past is among our most useful tools for comprehending present conditions and moving the present into a desired future. All people groups (nations, races, and ethnicities, as we sometimes call them) bring the past forward, drawing from it what they deem helpful in managing the present and constructing the future, but they do so by giving their own shape to the telling, ignoring inconvenient details, lauding heroes and blaming enemies, making grand claims and elaborating

myths. How one group recalls the past can create misunderstandings, competition, and resentment from the perspective of another.

In the case of Catalonia, as Helen Buffery suggests, "much of the social narrative frame has been unintelligible for other groups."[1] In other words, others inside Spain do not understand the Catalan storyline; or perhaps they choose not to understand. How the past gets used is certainly at the roots of the present rift between Catalonia and Spain.

Catalans believe that they possess a medieval past. As they see it, Catalonia's past offers instructions about how to be Catalan. They are right (although in politics to be right does not grant any special privilege). To say that Catalonia had a pre-Spanish past risks losing some Spanish readers who would prefer to dismiss the proposition, but to not say it risks perpetuating ignorance, denial, and the pain that keeps the sides at odds.

My task in what follows is to illustrate some of the ways that members of the Catalan community have received their past and how they represent it to themselves and others. I focus here mostly on contemporary reception, since limitations of space do not permit a full elaboration of the historical development and reception of Catalan identity.[2] These ways of reception and transmission almost always include fictive elements, but that does not mean that they are designed to misrepresent or deceive. My intention, descriptive rather than analytical, is to provide evidence for the following view: Catalans have a multivalent, flexible, and integrated appreciation of their rootedness in the medieval. The appreciation among Catalans for their shared medieval past is not merely a product of the ponderings of nineteenth- and twentieth-century nationalists (as if people in earlier periods had no connection to place and people), nor is it simply a means of justifying present-day complaints about economic inequities. To the contrary, the Catalan imagined community has its locus in some significant chunks of a real medieval past.

The range and quality of scholarly work on Catalonia is very impressive. It extends beyond the factual understanding of the Catalan past to include a sizeable literature on the history of Catalan identity.[3] But my interest here is as much

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1 Helena Buffery, "In Process: The Catalan Independence Movement in On stage Translation," *Journal of Catalan Studies*, 3 (2019): 325 44; here 326; Francesc Ferrer i Gironès, *Catalanofòbia: el pensament anticatalà a través de història.* Llibres a l'abast, 348 (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 2000).
2 For a broader evaluation of historical changes, see Michael Vargas, *Constructing Catalan Identity: Memory, Imagination, and the Medieval* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
3 For orientation in an expansive historiography, see Jaume Aurell, "Tendencias recientes del medievalismo español," *Memoria y Civilización* 11 (2008): 63 103. See also *The Crown of Aragon: A Singular Mediterranean Empire,* ed. Flocel Sabaté. Companions to European History, 12 (Leiden

in impressions and public sentiment as in archival actualities. Thus, this essay draws upon a range of assets broader than cutting-edge historical scholarship. Expert knowledge becomes common knowledge by a slow and uneven process, and on its way into the mainstream of collective memory it often gets softened and misshapen. My goal is to show how Catalans understand the past, so I will cite as evidence and identify as resources for further study popular and textbook general histories, the material culture creations at historic places, sites of commemoration and remembrance, public performance, and forms of mass-educational or distributive media. Comprehensiveness is not the aim; instead, I hope to suggest, for a Catalan case that may be useful in comparison with other settings, a normative basis for measuring the ways that the past gets reconciled with present and changing needs.

Taking the Long View and Looking for Origins

We see it in the international press: "The Catalonian fight for independence has medieval roots;" "Despite more than a thousand years of political flux in the region, Catalonia has long maintained its own unique cultural and linguistic tradition"; "Catalonia had a distinct history of its own long before it became part of Spain"; "With a distinct history stretching back to the early middle ages, many Catalans think of themselves as a separate nation from the rest of Spain."[4] This is how Catalans want to be known to others, textbook stuff in Catalonia, common knowledge advanced by the leading experts and promulgated in pop-

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and Boston: Brill, 2017), which provides an ample bibliography. Jaume Sobriqués i Callicó, *Història de Catalunya*. Collecció Base Historica, 29 (Barcelona: Editorial Base, 2007), later published in Catalan, Spanish and English editions, exemplifies histories written for general interest readers. On historical treatments of Catalan identity, see the contributions to *Historical Analysis of the Catalan Identity*, ed. Flocel Sabaté. Identities, 6 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2015); *The Rise of Catalan Identity: Social Commitment and Political Engagement in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Pompeu Casanovas Romeu, Montserrat Corretger, and Vincent Salvador (Cham: Springer, 2017).

4 Becky Little, "The Catalonian Fight for Independence has Medieval Roots," *History.com* (October 30, 2017), historynewsnetwork.org/article/167353. Kate Keller, "Beyond the Headlines, Catalan Culture Has a Long History of Vibrancy and Staying Power," *Smithsonian.com* (June 25, 2018), smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian institution/beyond headlines catalan culture has long history vibrancy and staying power 180969294/. Tara Jessop, "Eleven Reasons Why Catalonia is a Unique Region in Spain," *Theculturetrip.com* (blog), November 26, 2019, theculturetrip.com/europe/spain/articles/six reasons why catalonia is different from spain/. "Catalan Regional Profile," *BBC.com* (June 11, 2018), www.bbc.com/news/world europe 20345071 (all last accessed on April 15, 2022).

ular venues, broadly understood by Catalans and those who know their history.[5] The Catalan government's official website sometimes also issues the refrain: "The roots of Catalonia as a nation with its own territory and government go back to the early part of the Middle Ages"[6] Some readers may not want to hear it, but we suffer no misinterpretation by accepting a pre-Spanish past as "the standard plotline" in representations of Catalonia and Catalan identity.[7]

Sometimes the plotline gets embellished. The words of a leading Catalan economist, Joan Canadall, serve as an example: "For centuries, Catalonia has been an industrially dynamic territory, graced with modernism and development ... . As long ago as the thirteenth century Catalonia has enjoyed moments of stunning success driven by the astute development of whatever advance corresponded to the era ... . That Catalan nation has always been the business and industry axis around which Spain has prospered. This is our tradition, passed down from our parents, grandparents, and great grandparents."[8] The internationally renowned cellist Pau Casals offered one of the most expressive recitations of Catalonia's medieval inheritance in a 1971 speech before the United Nations General Assembly when he received the UN Peace medal:

> I am a Catalan ... . Catalonia has been the greatest nation in the world. I will tell you why. Catalonia had the first parliament, much before England. Catalonia had the beginning of the United Nations. All the authorities of Catalonia in the eleventh century met in a city in France, at the time Catalonia, to speak about peace. In the eleventh century! Peace in the world and against, against, against wars, the inhumanity of wars. This was Catalonia ... .[9]

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5 As Josep M Salrach i Marès puts it in a video directed to middle school audiences (2nd ESO): "Catalunya neix en el context de il.luminent del món antic, i *orígens* de món medieval." "Naixement de la nació catalana: Origens i expansió, Segles IX XIV" (Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2017), youtube.com/watch?v=nnLfO43rQBw&list=PLmYuw4UHIsuM8XIE198wB 8RACfsiYpg3&index=3 (last accessed on Dec. 8, 2021).
6 Generalitat de Catalunya, "Origins of Catalan Political Institutions," Gencat.net (Dec. 2005), archived at: web.archive.org/web/20051215183144/http://www10.gencat.net/gencat/AppJava/en/generalitat/generalitat/origens/origen.jsp (last accessed on Dec. 26, 2021).
7 Matthew Tree, "Catalan Language Literature: What's Going On?" *What's Up With Catalonia?*, ed. Liz Castro (Ashfield, MA: Catalonia Press, 2013), 147 52; here 150.
8 Joan Canadall, "The Catalan Business Model," *What's Up With Catalonia* (see note 7), 197 200; here 198.
9 Michael Eaude, *Catalonia: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 32, offers context and an edited version of the speech. An excerpt can be viewed here: "Pau Casals United Nations Speech 1971," youtube.com/watch?v= hChcJAh5N0 (last accessed on Dec. 26, 2021).

Claims like these about the precocious development of the government and institutions of medieval Catalonia may apply some gilding to the truth, just as they illustrate an evolution of communal solidarities; but they are not major distortions. These interpretations of the past are of the sort that every people group participates in telling about themselves and their own.

Beyond both accurate descriptions and defensible exaggerations, some renderings of the Catalan past stray far from the veritable substance of the real past. In a great range of media, material culture, and popular performance we see at least as much sentimental fiction as historical fact, as evinced in the tourism promotion of Barcelona's *Barri Gòtic*, in the purchase of a *caganer* at Christmas, or when a group meets in a Cathedral plaza to dance the Sardana. And beyond everyday exaggerations there are the legends and myths, creative inventions of what never was. One of the much-repeated myths of Catalan generation has to do with a supposed ninth-century event out of which came the Catalan flag, the Senyera. We will take note of that legend later in this paper, once we are sufficiently set upon a firm historical footing. In the meantime, it is useful to draw two observations from the foregoing: first, that the movement from fact to sentiment can occur imperceptibly and without intended deception; and, second, that we have not yet encountered any reason to dismiss or denigrate representations of the past. Indeed, we may learn more from such elaborations, and even perhaps in the most egregious examples of mythmaking, if we begin from a desire to understand rather than from a proclivity to deride.

Many historians of Catalonia begin their accounts with Wilfred the Hairy (*Guifré el Pilós*). We do the same here, beginning with the facts and returning later to mention the myth that defends Wilfred's pre-eminence in Catalan collective memory. We then turn to other medieval potentates. I take this rather traditional route for two reasons. The first is merely to confirm that these historical figures, along with others, laid the foundations for Catalonia's territorial frame, its government and law, and its cultural integrity. The second is to acknowledge that Catalonia's demonstrable past is well understood by Catalans.[10]

Wilfred the Hairy became a leader in defense of the frontier zone south of the Pyrenees Mountains between Carolingian Francia and the Iberian Moorish Emirate of Cordoba. From 870 CE, he controlled the Carolingian counties of Urgell and Cerdanya and, by 878, he also had possession of the counties of Barce-

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10 This section provides information found in all standard histories. For scholarly orientation see Thomas Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); *The Crown of Aragon*, ed. Sabaté (see note 3), esp. 70–91 and 172–200; Josep M. Salrach i Marès, Vicent Baydal Sala, Núria García Caldés, et al. *Naixement de la nació catalana: orígens i expansió, segles IX–XIV* (Barcelona: Encyclopedia Catalana, 2017).

lona, Girona, Besalú, and Ausona. All serious potentates in Wilfred's time were experts in violence, practitioners of threat and extortion. Still, like any leader worthy of attention for more than 1000 years, Wilfred possessed a vision for the future. He encouraged a shift in the meaning and heritability of the title "count," a change that over the long term facilitated the aggregation of Barcelona and neighboring counties into what would become the Principate of Catalonia. The result was one of the most durable dynasties in medieval Europe, a line of Catalan rulers in direct descent that lasted from the ninth century into the start of fifteenth century. Wilfred also drew upon the institutions of an increasingly capable Catholic Church. For instance, he founded the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll, an early center for the shaping of Catalan identity and a prominent feature in the modern Catalanist landscape. Wilfred is buried there.[11]

If Catalonia begins in the ninth century with Wilfred's directed accumulation and repopulation of Catalan counties, then Catalonia predates the Kingdom of Castile by nearly two centuries and Spain by more than six hundred years. Historians give primacy, moreover, not only to the man but also to the institutions that, because he began to exploit their potential, became key components of the growth and strength of Catalonia for centuries. Popular memory, beginning its reception in songs for children, agrees with historians in seeing Wilfred in this way.[12]

Leaders and Institutions

Credit for a major period of Catalonia's territorial expansion and institutional evolution is owed especially to three successors of Wilfred the Hairy in the dynasty he founded: Count Ramon Berenguer I (1023–1076), Count Ramon Berenguer IV (1114–1162), and the Count-King James I (1208–1276). Each is an essential figure in the inventory of Catalan connections to the past.

Ramon Berenguer I, called "the Old," became count of Barcelona in 1035, five generations after Wilfred but still fifty years before Castile became a king-

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11 Jordi Mascarella i Rovira and Miquel Sitjar i Serra, *Guifré el Pelós: Documentació i identitat* (Ripoll, Spain: Centre d'Estudis Comarcals del Ripollès, 1997).

12 As example among the many songs for children, "El Compte Guifré el Pilós," in *Historia de Catalunya amb Cancons* (audio recording), comp. Antoni Ros Marbà and Jaume Picas, perf. Guil lermina Motta and La Tinca (Barcelona: Edigsa, 1971), youtube.com/watch?v=zXMzIBGrPEo (last accessed on Dec. 16, 2021); An example of a popular documentary is "Comtes 1. Els inicis dels inicis, amb Guifré el Pelós," dir. Carles Porta (Xarxa Audiovisual Local, 2017).

dom separate from Leon. In addition to making powerful rivals in the Pyrenean region recognize his comital overlordship, he acquired the Languedocian counties of Carcassone and Razès and other Occitan lands. Later, his grandson, Ramon Berenguer III, brought Provence into the Catalan fold through marriage. Catalonia thus became a trans-Pyrenean conglomeration of territories, arguably a state, which it remained until 1659.[13]

In a period of feudal revolutions, Ramon Berenguer I tamed endemic violence and expanded the authority of the House of Barcelona by bringing under his influence the very substantial powers of ecclesiastical officials and landed warrior-nobles. Through a series of formal peace and truce councils, he gave churchmen a part in the management of the warrior ethos and thus weakened his rivals among the fighter-nobility. Working with his wife Almodis of the March as joint sovereign, he began the process of cobbling together bits of custom, elements of Visigothic and ancient Roman law, along with the newly emerging canon law. He thus established the Counts of Barcelona, in the eyes of his peers and his progeny, as lawgivers. Among the most immediate effects was the revival of the Roman-law concept of the lawgiver prince (*princeps*). In the longer term these efforts expanded into what was promulgated by his grandson, Ramon Berenguer IV, as the *Usatges*.[14]

Ramon Berenguer IV lived in a time made fortunate by an urban expansion and the emergence of a commercial economy. He confirmed the primacy of the County of Barcelona among other Catalan counties in part because of the favor he showed to Barcelona's merchants, who at the time were demonstrating their city's success as a rival to Christian city-states such as Genoa and Pisa and to the ports of the Muslim *taifa* kingdoms of Valencia and Dénia. The territorial gains made by his predecessors and his own prodigious military and political skills, augmented by the new economic might of Barcelona, made Ramon Berenguer IV extraordinarily powerful. His powers grew to the extent that a neighboring kingdom sought his overlordship through marriage.

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13 On the untidy relations between Occitan and Catalan counties from the eleventh into the thirteenth century, typically overlooked in Catalan collective memory, see Pere Benito, "An In tense but Stymied Occitan Campaign," *The Crown of Aragon,* ed. Sabaté (see note 3), 92   124.
14 For an example of the treatment of Ramon Berenguer I in the public sphere, see Vicente Mor eno Cullell, "Ramon Berenguer I el Vell," *Sàpiens* (blog), January 21, 2012, cienciessocialsenxar xa.sapiens.cat/2012/01/21/ramon berenguer i/ (last accessed on Dec. 16, 2021). *Sàpiens* is a Cat alan language general interest history magazine in wide circulation. Among the illustrations in the cited story is an iconic image, well known among Catalans, from the *Liber Feudorum* show ing the Count and Almodis buying the rights to Carcassonne.

Competition between two new kingdoms, Castile and Aragon, provided the impetus for the marriage. King Ramiro II of Aragon, "the Monk," asked Ramon Berenguer IV for aid in the defense of his fledgling Kingdom of Aragon against the predations of Alfonso VII, King of Castile. As reward and compensation, Ramiro offered Ramon his infant daughter Peronella in 1137 (he was then 24 years old and she was an infant one year of age). At the consummation of the marriage fourteen years later, in 1151, the Kingdom of Aragon and the House of Barcelona confirmed their uneasy union; although already by this time the union favored Catalonia.[15]

Questions about the changed political reality created by the marriage have given rise to fights among historians over nomenclature. Did the conjoining of territories create an Aragonese kingdom, as Castilian and Aragonese historians would have it, or a Catalan-Aragonese confederation, as Catalan historians often style it? Two points are very well established by historical consensus: The first recognizes Barcelona as the pre-eminent city, the most significant contributor to the economic vitality of both Aragon and Catalonia well into the fifteenth century. The second is that the great lords, the merchants and artisans, peasant farmers and others in Aragon and Catalonia continued to see each as distinct from the other as regards language, law, political institutions, literature, and the arts. Economic and cultural factors strongly favored the Catalans, and the imbalance led rulers and their courts in their own self-recognition to show greater attention to Barcelona and Catalonia over the landlocked Aragonese hinterland. Attending to this two-point consensus, and trying to reconcile the sides in the battle over names and naming patterns, Anglophile historians speak of a Crown of Aragon. They call the successors of Berenguer IV, awkwardly but accurately, "count-kings".

Ramon Berenguer IV continued the work of crafting institutions of state suited to the needs of his Catalan lands. In issuing the *Usatges*, he extended the legal authority of the House of Barcelona by expanding the reach and value of

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15 GenCat.cat (Informació, tramìts i serveis de la Generalitat of Catalunya), "Temes: Cultura i Llengua: Història," web.gencat.cat/ca/temes/catalunya/coneixer/cultura llengua/index. html#bloc4, provides a popular and "official" rendition of events. A song that children can sing to share in the historical memory of the marriage is "Catalunya i Aragó," in *Historia de Catalunya amb Cancons* (audio recording), comp. Antoni Ros Marbà and Jaume Picas, perf. Guillermina Motta and La Tinca (Barcelona: Edigsa, 1971), available online at youtube. com/watch?v=zXMzIBGrPEo. A blog for international view produced by students of an adult English language school in Lleida offers an example of how relatively minor details in the story take on local importance, in this case that the marriage occurred in the cathedral of Lleida: "Travel Explore Catalonia," (blog), March 31, 2017, travelexplorercatalonia.blogspot. com/2017/ (all last accessed on Dec. 26, 2021).

earlier law and custom. Importantly, the text reified the mechanisms by which he offered a share of participation in government to the warrior and ecclesiastical elites. What Berenguer Ramon I initiated with the peace and truce councils and Ramon Berenguer IV regularized in the *Usatges* gave rise by the thirteenth century to a parliament called the *corts*. The *Usatges* remained the fundamental law of Catalonia until Philip V, the Bourbon monarch of Spain, annulled them through his *Nueva Planta* decrees in 1716. Legal scholars continue to recognize the *Usatges* among the seminal texts of European law. They justify a view held by Catalans that their predecessor leaders began early to explore the benefits of a democratic government constrained by law. Philip's revocation of the text, arbitrary and punitive in the way Catalans remember it, continues to be a sticking point in Catalan memory.[16]

Philip V's abrogation of the *Usatges* and *Constitutiones* has served since its occurrence as a source of considerable acrimony. As constitutional documents, they became touchstones for late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century forerunners of today's Catalanists. On the 300th anniversary of their annulment in 2014, and again in 2017 before and after the Referendum in Catalonia on secession, activists, including noted historians, again turned their attention to the loss of Catalonia's constitutional integrity as a turning point. More on the events of the early eighteenth century will follow.

James I, "the Conqueror," who reigned as Count of Barcelona and King of Aragon from 1213 to 1276, is rightly credited with giving coherence and structure to Catalan culture and nationality. In his time the concepts of nation, people, land, language, and culture came into a new co-association in Catalonia, as in France, England, and elsewhere. James was a long-lived ruler, like his peers

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16 Examples of the recent recollection of the *Usatges* and *Constitucions* in public discourse in clude: an interview on Radio Critica, "Un repàs a la història: Les Constitucions Catalanes, Les primers del món? Una entrevista a en Lluís Botinas," *Radio Critica*, Dec. 2, 2017, available on line at youtube.com/watch?v=DeMnYD6zqjM (last accessed on Dec. 9, 2021); a popular docu mentary, "300: 1714 2014," dir. Joan Gallifa and Antoni Tortajada (Corporació Catalana de Mit jans Audiovisuals for TV3, 2014), online at: ccma.cat/tv3/300/programa/ (last accessed on Dec. 9, 2021). Jaume Sobriqués i Callicó, *Espanya contra Catalunya: Crònica Negra d'un simposi d'història.* Base Historica, 117 (Barcelona: Base, 2014), and the contributors to *Vàrem mirar ben al lluny del desert: Actes del simposi "Espanya contra Catalunya: Una mirada hist~orica (1714 2014)", celebrat a Barcelona el 12, 13 I 14 de desembre de 2013,* ed. Jaume Sobrequés i Callicó, Lluís Duran, and Agustí Alcoberro I Pericay. Referents 5 (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de la Presidència, centre d'Història Contemporània de Catalunya, 2014), offer a re cord and analysis of anti Catalan sentiments arising from (and perhaps invited by) a symposium that had as its principal theme Spanish efforts to diminish Catalan identity and institutions be fore and after 1714.

Louis IX of France, the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, and his nephew, Alfonso X of Castile, to whom he gave in marriage his daughter Violant. Alfonso X is much admired, treated with cultic reverence by some Hispanists, but it should be remembered that the successes of his court in law, science, and the arts were due in no small part to the precedents established by James and others. In fact, in 1266 James defended Castile's conquest of Murcia when Alfonso was waylaid with troubles.

James significantly expanded the territorial reach of the House of Barcelona through conquests of the Muslim kingdoms of Majorca (1231) and Valencia (1238). These were important prizes. The seizure of Majorca meant that James opened the western Mediterranean and beyond to Catalan expansion. Valencia, the richest and most populous kingdom on the peninsula at the time of its conquest, brought substantial wealth to the House of Barcelona and to the Catalan barons and merchants who helped acquire it. Each kingdom, Majorca and Valencia, was of the utmost strategic importance at a time when economies rose and fell on their access to Mediterranean shipping routes.

Beyond the voluminous scholarship dedicated to James I, the count-king's name and image are unavoidable in Catalonia. The seat of Catalan government, the Palau de la Generalitat, is located in a plaza named in his honor. His name is given to an abundance of streets and plazas, festivals (*festes*) and equestrian statues. He is the subject of *gigantes*, songs, historical documentaries and a range of quotidian material paraphernalia. A number of medieval manuscript images of him have a wide circulation. Much of the heritage interest in James goes back to the nineteenth century, but he was celebrated earlier, for instance at the Monastery of Santa María de Poblet where he was buried.[17]

The Widening Cultural and Institutional Rift

The Mediterranean expansion initiated by James I has much to do with the depth of the rift between Catalonia and Spain. Catalans give great importance to the Mediterranean expansion in part because it resulted in a seafaring empire, a thalassocracy, that extended Catalonia's commercial dominance in ports as widespread as Italy, Greece, and North Africa. Ferdinand and Isabella thwarted the progress of that empire by reorienting Spanish seafaring interests, making the

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17 For one example among many of the abundant scholarship, see *Jaume I: Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, 2 vols. Memòries de la Secció Històrico Arqueològica, 91 92 (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2011 and 2013).

Atlantic rather than the Mediterranean the focus of naval activity. To put it bluntly, some Catalans who know this part of their history fault the Spanish crown for reducing Catalonia's economic horizons when it could just as easily, and more profitably, have defended those interests in parallel with its new world designs.

It is well known that James had produced in his court, in Catalan, the *Llibre dels Fets* or *Book of Deeds*. Given his personal investment in its production, it is often called the first autobiography by a medieval king (much of it is a first-person account of his life and reign as he himself remembered and dictated it in his later years). Not only is it a singularly brilliant piece of royal propaganda, but it also became the first in a series of histories of the achievements of the rulers of the House of Barcelona, called *Les quatre gran Cròniques* (Four Great Catalan Chronicles), written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Readers have seen in these chronicles the work of the Catalan princes mid-step in the act of creating a Catalan nation and culture.[18]

James's strengthening of the place of law and legislature in Catalan society drew upon and gave encouragement to the political powers of urban merchants and artisans. He also strengthened the roles and procedures of lawyers, notaries and court officials, laying the foundation for an institutionalized judiciary. The extensive guidance he produced for Barcelona's seaborne merchants in 1258 became the basis, along with material produced for the Valencia Consulate of the Sea in 1282, for a major compilation of maritime customs, a *Llibre del Consolat de Mar* (Book of the Consulate of the Sea), which continues to serve as a basis of international seafaring law.

By 1283, irregular councils had become regularized and institutionalized as the *Corts Catalanes*. By 1359, a *Diputació del General* emerged from within the *corts* as a council of deputies established to deliberate and make determinations on taxation and other matters. The institutional developments of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries get remembered in popular historical conception as the medieval precursors of Catalonia's present-day *Generalitat* and *Parlament*.[19]

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18 Jaume Aurell, *Authoring the Past: History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012). For a recent exploration of the extra ordinary richness of Catalonia's textual history, focused especially on tenth and eleventh cen turies manuscripts, see Matthias M. Tischler. "From Disorder to Order. The Scientific Challenges of Early Medieval Catalonia," *Disorder: Expression of an Amorphous Phenomenon in Human His tory: Essays in Honour of Gert Melville*, ed. Mirko Breitenstein and Jörg Sonntag. Vita regularis. Abhandlungen, 67 (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2020), 93 140.

19 Film and documentary treatments of Catalan institutions for Catalan audiences are very nu merous. E. g., "Històries de Palau," dir. Antoni Tortajada (Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audio visuals, 2019), online at youtube.com/watch?v=HfB0OE8rhRY&list=RDCMUCSfMEzJX9i4 3Xl6KFv3DAA&index=1 (last accessed on Dec. 09, 2021).

Since the 1950s, Jaume Vicens Vives and other Catalan historians having given the word *pactisme* to the process whereby rival public constituencies enter into parliamentary negotiations that deliver legally-binding decisions. Pactism is uniquely Catalan in their view, at least in the Iberian context. It is often posited by intellectuals and in popular press in contrast to the autocracy of the Spanish state. It serves as an indication to Catalans of their nation's precocity.[20]

Cultural Selectivity: Remembering and Forgetting

The foregoing, while it may appear to constitute little more than a schoolbook summary of the dynastic and institutional progress of medieval Catalonia, advances several points: First, to acknowledge this as textbook stuff is to admit that it has its place in everyday Catalan self-recognition and collective identity. Second, I have focused on the elements of politics, society, and culture that remain among the traditional measures of the development of nations – territorial consolidation, legal tradition and constitutional frameworks, and language and literature as cultural markers. Third, the foregoing illustrates that Catalonia's cultural and governmental institutions emerged early, perhaps even, as Catalan put it, in a precocious manner that established a precedent for other nations.[21]

Catalans give close attention to a series of events that they have learned to read as a reversal in the trajectory of their nation's medieval territorial expansion, institutional proclivities, and cultural exuberance. These events count among the kinds that researchers describe as causing collective traumas, which, by their nature as moments of distress or discontinuity, fix themselves in collective memory.[22] These events, from roughly 1412 to the period of the nineteenth-century Catalan *Renaixença*, are the source of a memory chasm, the tem-

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20 Vicent Baydal Sala, "Pactistes des de quan? Les arrels del concept de "pactisme" en la historiografia catalana I l'obra de Jaume Vicens Vives" *eHumanistica/IVITRA* 9 (2016): 314 40; here 314. References to pactism in public awareness are many, as in this opinion essay for a Catalan daily newspaper: Xavier Bru de Sala, "Pactisme: història i present," *El Periodico* (April 1, 2011), elperiodico.cat/ca/opinio/20110401/pactisme historia i present 958337; and in Associació Cultur al Vibrant, "El Sometent, milícia de defense del poble català," *Vibrant* (blog), May 26, 2017, his toriavibrant.cat/el sometent milicia de defensa del poble catala/ (last accessed on Dec. 9, 2021).
21 For further discussion of these points, see Flocel Sabaté, *Percepció i identificació dels Cata lans a l'edat mitjana* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Secció Històrico Archeològica, 2016).
22 Michael Richards, *After the Civil War: Making Memory and Re Making Spain Since 1936* (Cam bridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), defines Catalan cultural trauma in the context of the Spanish Civil War while alluding to its operation in Catalonia's deeper history.

poral space that separates the present condition of today's Catalans from the medieval institutions that they see as part of their historic touchstone.

Unwelcomed Events

The death of Martin the Humane in 1410 without a child as heir ended the line of dynastic descent that began with Wilfred the Hairy a half millennium earlier. The succession crisis that followed, concluded in 1412 with the Compromise of Caspe, decided in favor of Ferdinand of Antequera as the next King of Aragon and Count of Barcelona. Ferdinand, the son of Martin's Catalan sister, who through his father was a member of the Trastámara branch of the Castilian royal family, was Castilian by experience and disposition. He spent his first 32 years in Castile and his land wealth was located there. Catalan merchants and barons succeeded to some degree in defending the *Corts* and *Diputació* and the tradition of government by pact. Nonetheless, Ferdinand ruled in the manner of a Castilian monarch. Modern Catalans rightly regard Ferdinand's accession as the beginning of the process of Castilianization that has continued to the present day.

Despite continuing linguistic, cultural, political, and institutional differences between the Kingdom of Castile and Ferdinand's realms in the years after his succession, there were, as John Elliott put it, "certain forces at work which might under favorable circumstances prove conducive to a closer association."[23] These forces included civil unrest inside Catalonia. They also included growing tensions between France and Castile as each grew larger and more voracious. These forces taken together put Catalan leaders in the precarious position of alternatively having to seek the aid of Castile or France against the other. From 1462 to 1472 what began as a succession crisis pitting King John II of Aragon against his son Charles, led to a multifactional civil war, exacerbated by a revolt among *remença* peasants. One point at issue was what members of the *Diputació* and Catalan legal authorities perceived as John's disregard for Catalonia's constitutional norms and prerogatives. The French intruded skillfully to play Catalan factions against each other.

In 1469 Ferdinand married his cousin Isabella. The absorption of the Crown of Aragon into a larger agglomerative conception, that of Spain, was sealed in 1474, when Isabella became Queen of Castile. Ferdinand and Isabella each ruled their domains separately, with some obeisance to the norms of each; none-

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23 John Elliott, *Imperial Spain: 1469–1716* (London: Penguin Books, 2002, rpt. of the orig. pub.: London: Edward Arnold, 1963), 20.

theless, some of their policies began to weaken Catalan autonomy in favor of a Castile-centered state. Ferdinand and his successors became absentees in Catalonia. A sore point for Catalans is a shift of interest and resources away from the Mediterranean – historically the source of Catalonia's economic energies – toward the Atlantic, with ports and access to profits moved to Seville, Cadiz, and elsewhere. Summarizing academic studies into a single tersely cogent sentence, a popular history for Catalan public consumption said about the long-term results of Ferdinand's treatment of Catalonia: "In fact, it ended up being first a colony and then another victim of the cultural insatiability of the empire."[24]

The period from the 1640s through 1714 proved especially disastrous to the interests of Catalans, who repeatedly found themselves at war with their prince. Among the factors causing conflict in the early part of this period are the hubris and blunder of the chief minister of King Philip IV, Gaspár de Guzman, Count-Duke of Olivares. Eager to chase imperial pipedreams by pursuing war on three fronts (the Thirty Years War, war in the Netherlands, and war with France), the count-duke pressured Catalans on taxation beyond the limits allowed by their government and constitution, he forced them to house troops beyond the limits of their sense of propriety, and, ultimately, he pushed them past the breaking point of their allegiance by ignoring their legal rights.

It is no less a cause of political breakdown and civil disquiet that the count-duke's policies wrecked an already debilitated Catalan economy. Meanwhile, many contemporary political actors recognized that the Catalan population was growing diverse and complex, unwieldy and volatile. Through to 1659 Catalonia came undone: a combination of class war, political insurrection, and conflict between France and Spain led to several assaults upon Catalonia's institutional and territorial integrity.

The worst episodes of the War of Spanish Succession from 1701 to 1714 assaulted Catalans on the own soil, with Spanish and French troops alternatively laying siege to Catalan cities and towns. Barcelona, having been abandoned in turn by Spain, England, and France, surrendered to the new Bourbon King, Philip V, after he bombarded the city. In the absolutist fashion shaped by his predecessors, intent on punishing rather than pardoning an entire population of innocents caught in a conflict beyond their control, Philip then issued *Nueva Planta* decrees that annulled the *Usatges* and other *constitucions*, the *corts* and

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24 Lluïsa Monfort, *1001 Curiositats de Catalunya* (Barcelona: L'Arca, 2011), 62: "De fet, acabarà sent primer una colònia i després una víctima més de la fagocitat cultural de l'imperi." Sabaté, *Percepció i identificació dels Catalans* (see note 21), 97, offers a similar interpretation.

Generalitat, and replaced them with military rule. He refortified the fortress on Montjuïc, towering above Barcelona to the northwest, and on the southeast side of the city he had built a massive new citadel, the Ciutadella, over the Ribera neighborhood that he had destroyed for the purpose. Both constructions, along with turning the *Drassanes* shipyard near Barcelona's center into a barracks, had no other intention than to surveil and stifle the city's population.[25]

Dissonance and Coherence

Catalan historiography describes the period from sixteenth through the eighteenth century as *La Decadència*. The term is applied mostly but not exclusively to a diminution in the output and quality of Catalan literature. Some Catalans – economic and social climbers, members of the elite and everyday sycophants, those with access to education and resources – moved to Madrid or made their way to one or another of the American colonies. While some turned their backs on their Catalan heritage, learning to speak and write in Castilian, others sought to integrate dual identities. Some who remained at home in Catalonia resigned themselves to economic hardship and political malaise.[26]

The evidence brought forward to illustrate *La Decadència* operates semiotically in relationship to the *Renaixença*, the nineteenth-century resurgence of Catalan culture along with the political projects meant to reclaim and reassert it. That is, the *Renaixença* needs *La Decadència* like a legendary phoenix needs ashes from which to rise. For Catalans, the period of renaissance implies the revivification of the Catalan nation that has its origins in the medieval.

Researchers who believe that nationalism is a modern construct, and who are apt to give meaning and importance only to those nationalist manifestations occurring from the nineteenth century forward, have tended to deny Catalan claims to a unique pre-Spanish national history, arguing that all things Catalan

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25 For a reference to the public sphere, see the "Històries de Barcelona" interview segments with Dani Cortijo, author of *Històries de la Història de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Altres, 2010) on the daytime program *Connexió Barcelona* (Beteve, 2014), available on the Youtube channel of Dani Cortijo, *AltresBarcelones*, youtube.com/c/AltresBarcelones/videos (last accessed on Dec. 9, 2021).

26 The fullest treatment of la decadència, Núria Sales de Bohigas, *Els Segles de la decadència: segles XVI–XVIII* (Barcelona: Ediciones 62, 1989), describes ways in which government representatives imposed upon the Catalan speaking populace use of the Castilian language in official communications. For related discussion of language complexities in Basque territories, see the paper by Nere Jone Intxaustegi Jauregi in this volume.

– history, traditions, and myth – are inventions of a *Renaixença* intelligentsia. The evidence in this paper is enough to prove them wrong.[27] Still, some Catalan researchers, partly in response, have sought evidence of bright spots and positive developments in the cultural history of Catalonia in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, thus diminishing the hold of the *Decadència* by seeing in the precursors to the *Renaixença* referents of continuity from the medieval to the modern.[28] Either way, whether *Decadència* is writ small or large, it will likely continue to serve as a shorthand for the chasm that Catalans see as separating the democratic institutions possessed by their medieval ancestors from the freedom-achieving society they seek to (re)build in the present. As Jaume Sobriqués has expressed it, no one should suppose that the democratic freedoms regained in Catalonia since the loss of 1714 indicate their full recovery.[29]

Catalans, informed by broad popular reception, see the events of the early modern period as contributing to at least two dangerous reversals in the success of the Catalan state and people: First, events in a period of decadence put up pressure against a history of governmental institutions, policies, and decisions that built consensus among contending parties (*pacisme*). Second, the same events worked to diminish Catalan language and other aspects of Catalan culture and advanced in their place a Castilianization process.

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27 Additional examples and discussion in Montserrat Guibernau, "Anthony D. Smith on Na tions and National Identity: A Critical Assessment," *Nations and Nationalisms* 10 (2004) 125 41, and Daniel Wimmer, "Catalonia: Medieval Monarchs Testifying for Democracy, Nation, and Europe," *Transnational Histories of the 'Royal Nation'*, Palgrave Studies in Modern Monar chy, ed. Milinda Banerjee, Charlotte Backerra, and Cathleen Sarti (Cham: Springer International, 2017), 309 29. For related contexts regarding nationalism and the masses, both medieval and modern, see Albrecht Classen, "Die Gefahren des Massenwahns aus literarhistorischer Sicht: Von Walther von der Vogelweide und Heinrich Wittenwiler zu Thomas Mann und Gustave Le Bon," *Im Clash der Identitäten: Nationalismen im literatur und kulturgeschichtlichen Diskurs*, ed. Wolfgang Brylla and Cezary Lipiński. Andersheit Fremdheit Ungleichheit: Erfahrungen von Disparatheit in der deutschsprachigen Literatur, 1 (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020), 185 99.
28 Núria Sales de Bohigas, *Els Segles de la decadència* (see note 26), extended the notion of dec adence well beyond the decline of language and literature to encompass the full range of dem ographic, environmental, economic, political, and socio structural concerns that contributed to Catalonia's decline over three centuries. By doing so, however, the author inadvertently pointed out the interpretive limitations of decadence. Albert García i Espuche, *Un Siglo Decisivo: Barce lona y Catalunya, 1550 1640*, Libro Universitario, Ensayo, 11 (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1998) took the next historiographical turn by illustrating a moment of economic advances inside Cat alonia thwarted in his view by Philip V's actions up to 1714. In his view, fault for the ugly rela tionship in modern times between Spain and Catalonia falls squarely on a decadent Spain, not on a period of Catalan *decadència*.
29 Sobriqués i Callicó, *Història de Catalunya* (see note 3), 2.

The street-level potency of this period of perceived historical anomaly is made plain in a great number of commemorations, popular literature, and media programming. Two such examples are the memorializations at the *Fossar de les Moreres* observed on Catalan National Day and the *Renovació de la Flama de la Lengua Catalana* celebrated annually for over fifty years at the Monastery of Montserrat. These two events, like many others, recall the brutality of efforts to invent, impose, and enforce a unitary 'Spanish' culture and, simultaneously, to celebrate the failure of those efforts to defeat Catalan aspirations.[30]

Commemorating the Catalan Landscape

Landscapes are important to the construction of historical memories; still, wherever the importance of place intersects with the powers of cultural identity and memory the distance between veracity and verisimilitude can get narrowed. As Nathan Wachtel has put it, "the preservation of recollections rests on their anchorage in space."[31] Much of the material, symbolic, and functional power of Catalonia's medieval past, real and imagined, is situated in the landscape. Catalans, like members of any cultural community, can sometimes move their thoughts with ease, without noticing that they are doing so, from accepting demonstrable facts about the past to adopting bits of past-inspired fiction. The historicized landscape in which Catalans live invites this cognitive journey.

Visitors to the foothills and river valleys of the Pyrenees mountains that Wilfred the Hairy resettled can still find a rich supply of tenth- and eleventh-century Romanesque hermitages and monastic churches. A few of these continue to be working institutions, although others have either suffered the ravages of time or have been shipped out for the construction of New York's Cloisters Museum and other imagination sites. By the mid-nineteenth century, some Catalan geographers, historians, literary figures and others, participating in an *excursionisme*

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30 The poem "El Fossar de les Moreres," by Frederic Soler (d. 1895), found on numerous online sites, is a well known vehicle for memorializing defenders of Barcelona during the siege of 1714. On the annual *Renovació de la Flama de la Lengua Catalana*, and the *excursionisme* movement connected to it, Federació d'Entitats Excursionistes de Catalunya, "Activitats: Flama de la Llen gua Catalana," (blog), February 2020, feec.cat/activitats/activitats feec/flama de la llengua cat alana/ (last accessed on Dec. 09, 2021).

31 Nathan Wachtel, "Memory and History: Introduction," *History and Anthropology* 12 (1986): 207 24; here 216. The general point has been made by numerous theorists including Mikhail Bakhtin, Michel de Certeau, and David Lowenthal. For additional bibliography and discussion, see Vargas, *Constructing Catalan Identity* (see note 2), 69 90.

movement (hiking and sight-seeing) connected to the Catalan *Renaixença*, renewed interest in the ecclesiastical structures. Jacint Verdeguer, a *Renaixença* poet much-celebrated today, was among those who linked the remnants of Romanesque ecclesiastical buildings in the Pyrenean landscape to a deep appreciation for a specifically Catalan past. Remember, of course, that these were Catalan places before the nineteenth century; Verdeguer merely gave voice to them as signifiers of the connection of place and people.[32]

The monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll, founded under Wilfred's authority in 888 and referred to by Catalans as *el bressol de Catalunya*, the cradle of Catalonia, remains the most significant early church establishment in the pre-Pyrenean landscape. Ripoll monastery is the place from which monks first began, as early as 1162, to produce the *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium* (the Deeds of the Counts of Barcelona), an early Latin chronicle of the deeds of the Catalan counts. The Benedictine Monastery of Montserrat, tucked into the impressive series of massive uplifted rocky peaks called Montserrat, the "serrated mountain," had its start with a reorganization of isolated hermitages in 1025 under Abbot Oliba, Wilfred's great-grandson. By the thirteenth century a sculpted image of the Madonna, the Virgin of Montserrat, affectionately called *La Moreneta*, had become intimately connected with Catalan identity. By the end of the fourteenth century, the growth of the pilgrimage to the Virgin's image resulted in the production of a book of pilgrim songs, the *Libre Vermell de Montserrat*, important in its own right as a Catalan cultural icon. By the 1870s, Jacint Verdeguer's poem, "L'Emigrant," referring to Catalonia as the "fatherland of my heart" and addressing Montserrat as a "hermitage suspended in heaven" became a powerful ode connecting the mountain and the monastery to Catalan cultural and political renewal. Pope Leo XIII confirmed Our Lady of Montserrat as the Patroness of Catalunya in 1881.[33]

Some readers may find it too bold to identify two mountainscapes, the Pyrenees and Montserrat, as major sites of artifact and memory. Catalans, however, have no trouble distinguishing these not merely as geologic features but as parts

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32 Relations between the Catalan populace and the Catholic Church have waxed and waned over time. For a treatment of the increased intimacy of relations in the period after the Spanish Civil War, see Andrew Dowling, "For Christ and Catalonia: Catholic Catalanism and Nationalist Revival in Late Francoism," *Journal of Contemporary History* 47 (2012): 594   610.

33 Josep Maria Garcia Fuentes, "Dissecting Montserrat: On the Cultural, Religious, Touristic, and Identity related Construction of the Modern Montserrat," *Tourism, Religion, and Culture: Regional Development through Meaningful Tourism Experiences: Proceedings of the International Conference, Lecce, Poggiardo, 27ᵗʰ 29ᵗʰ October 2009*, ed. Ana Trono. Dipartimento dei beni delle arti e della storia. Saggi e testi, 43 (Lecce: Congedo Editore, 2009), 239   60.

of the Catalan imaginary. Catalan identity was, from the Catalan perspective, built upon the firmest foundations. And, like a palimpsest is a rewriting over an earlier script, or, better, like the foundations of an early Christian Church reused in Romanesque, Gothic, and later constructions, the Catalan community's geographic imagination has become sustainable and renewable, even as it changes with the times.

Barcelona and other Catalan cities offer similar physical points of reference to the medieval past. One is the Basílica de Santa Maria del Mar, built over the course of the fourteenth century at what was then Barcelona's waterfront. Its financing came from seafarers, who wanted to thank their heavenly patroness and to provide themselves with a self-congratulatory reminder of their corporate maritime and mercantile success. Another is the medieval shipyard, the *Drassanes*, located on the opposite side of the medieval center of Barcelona's Barri Gòtic, the recent rehabilitation of which as a seafaring museum has reclaimed it as one of the major attractions for local, regional, and international tourists even as it effectively reminds its visitors of Catalonia's integral connection to the medieval Mediterranean.[34]

Beyond Barcelona, towns in the Catalan interior are home to their own artifacts and sites of memory. These include walls and bridges in towns like Girona and Besalú and the *cascs antics* (old centers) of towns like Súria and Vilafranca. Such sites have become part of an extensive network promoted by regional tourism boards to Catalans as sites of historic national importance. While the organization of these sites as destinations for local history tourism, and the very large sums of money devoted to restoring some of them, follows trends in the economics of tourism globally, these sites nonetheless do the work of signaling to Catalans the depth of their historical presence and power.

I have aimed to demonstrate that Catalans enjoy a deep and veritable medieval past intimately connected to the landscape, although it is also true that the desire to connect place and past leads to invention. Many references to modern Barcelona's "medieval grandeur" work upon the imagination, usually for the purpose of enhancing Catalan identity or promoting tourism. They are not entire-

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34 As an example of historical reflections on important medieval sites produced for Catalan general readers, see Vicente Moreno Cullell, "La Barcelona medieval i Santa Maria del Mar," *Sàpiens* (blog), February 2, 2013, blogs.sapiens.cat/socialsenxarxa/categoria/historia/4 histor ia medieval/6 historia medieval de catalunya/ (last accessed on Dec. 11, 2021). And on Barcelo na Gothic as an imaginary: "Cròniques de Barcelona   Una ciutat fosca?," Dir. Xiana Siccardi (Beteve, 2018), youtube.com/watch?v=OeHz45dziqE (last accessed on Dec. 15, 2021). These and other locations have become the subjects of intensive promotion dedicated to local and interna tional tourism.

ly false, but not altogether true. Take for instance the façade of Barcelona's ca-
thedral. In the pre-modern period it was flat, plain, and dull, in keeping with
the austerity of Catalan Gothic. In the years around 1900 it was remade with
added towers and more tracery, sculptures, and stained glass, to achieve a
more medieval look; that is, it was remodeled in keeping with early twentieth-
century visions of what medieval cathedrals worthy of tourist visits should
look like. The whole of the city's *Barri Gòtic* is a fantasy made real. Several me-
dieval buildings, or what was left of medieval buildings, got moved and then
modified to create a combination of outdoor museum and imagination discovery
zone. What visitors see when they visit the monastery of Pedralbes on the out-
skirts of the city is largely "invented." Beyond Barcelona's limits many "medie-
val" attractions are similarly staged. The bridge into the town of Besalú, so high-
ly regarded as a medieval artifact, had to be entirely rebuilt after it was destroyed
during the Spanish Civil War.[35]

The Myth That Does Not Lie

I promised to mention Catalonia's quintessential national myth, which associates
Wilfred the Hairy with the Catalan flag, the *Senyera*. We can do that now for the
purpose of making a couple of points about the nature of myth.

Legend has it that a Frankish king, the nominal Christian lord of the frontier
zone south of the Pyrenees, arrived late to a battle at which Wilfred was wound-
ed. The French king is Charlemagne in some tellings, Charles the Bald or Louis
the Pious in others (all died before Wilfred rose to prominence). Wilfred is mor-
tally wounded in some accounts, badly bleeding but not dying in others. All of
the versions have Wilfred showing such a selfless defense of his Christian people
against Muslim foes that the astonished king acknowledges Wilfred's heroism by
giving him suzerainty over the Pyrenean frontier. The king signaled the perpetu-

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35 On the Barcelona cathedral, see Agustín Cocola Gant, "Tourism, Simulacra and Architectur
al Reconstruction: Selling an Idealized Past," and the other essays in *Tourism Fictions, Simulacra
and Virtualities*, ed. Maria Gravari Barbas, Nelson Graburn, and Jean François Staszak. Contem
porary Geographies of Leisure, Tourism and Mobility (Abington and New York: Routledge, 2020).
On Pedralbes, see Anna Castellano, Ajuntament de Barcelona, Museu d'Història de la Ciutat,
Museu Monestir de Pedralbes, Barcelona Sector d'Urbanisme, *El Monestir de Pedralbes: La recu
peració d'una joia de l'art català* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, Institut de Cultura,
2003), 61. For the history of the transformations of the Besalú bridge, see José Maria Corominas
Planellas and Jaime Marqués Casanovas, *La Comarca de Besalú*. Catalogo monumental de la
provincial de Gerona, fasc. 4 (Girona: Excma. Diputación provincial, 1976), 53 56.

ity of his compensatory gift by plunging his hand into Wilfred's bloody chest wound and drawing it over a nearby shield, thereby creating the symbol of the newly independent lands, the alternating gold and crimson stripes of the Catalan flag, the *Senyera*.

Legends involving Wilfred have a medieval provenance extending at least as far back as the *Gesta* produced at Ripoll in the twelfth century. Explicit association of Wilfred with the blood-stained shield date to the sixteenth century, although the puzzle pieces assembled then had been accumulating over centuries. Legends about other leaders, some real and some pure invention, like Otger Cataló, have a similarly ancient provenance. The earliest elaborators of the stories intended to address Catalonia's origins and assert Catalan solidarities. They raised or reconciled conflicting notions of constitutional legitimacy, independence, Christianity, and liberty, or they promoted one view of Catalan collectivity at the expense of another. Ramon Berenguer IV used the gold and red bars of the Catalan insignia in the mid-twelfth century, near the time when legends about its origins were first promulgated.

The point here is plain: the stories and symbols meant explicitly to recognize Catalonia and to shape Catalan identity predate the period of modern nationalisms and nation states. They are not the creations of Romanticist and *Renaixença* intellectuals, although nineteenth-century nationalists certainly sought to promote them. They are evidence not only of medieval preoccupations with the origins of Catalonia and Catalan identity but with the elaboration of Catalan identity from then to now.[36]

Catalans have known for more than two centuries that the myth of Wilfred and the Senyera is false. Today it is so broadly recognized as bogus that it has become a useful vehicle for political satire on Catalan TV.[37] Still, the myth is

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[36] Paul Freedman, "Cowardice, Heroism, and the Legendary Origins of Catalonia," *Past & Present* 121 (1988): 3 28. Pere Anguera, "La Cuatro Barras: de bandera a señera," *Revista de Historia Jerónimo Zurita* 82 (2007): 253 71.

[37] Pablo Piferrer pointed out in 1839 that observers long before him had deemed it a fabrication; see Anguera, "La Cuatro Barras" (see note 36), 258. For a historical view of Wilfred made for a Catalan general audience, at the end of which the historian Josep Maria Salrachs declares that the story of Wilfred and the flag is clearly no more than a legend, see "Comtes 1. Al inicis dels inicis, amb Guifré el Pelos" (Xarxa Audiovisual, 2017), online at youtube.com/watch?v=Q9sX47Fzjjc (last accessed on Dec. 20, 2021). For a comedic representation, see the segment of the TV3 program *Polònia* "La veritable història de Guifré 'el Pilos'," Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals, November 16, 2012, youtube.com/watch?v=aQrSIfBnMDM (last accessed on Dec. 20, 2021).

not a lie.[38] It confirms two important realities, a ninth-century count and a twelfth-century insignia, and identifies the two as co-conspirators in Catalan collective self-awareness. As such it conveys into the present and future two truths that might otherwise be lost. The myth, moreover, strengthens other imaginative connections in an entire network of signs and symbols of Catalan identity: to see Wilfred and the Senyera on t-shirts or flip-flops or pacifiers for nursing babies is to witness pro-Catalan sentiments at their most elemental.[39]

Catalonia's quintessential national myth is perhaps not unlike Spain's myths meant to fire up in the minds of Spaniards a long view of Spanish history – Pelayo at Covadonga, the apparitions of Santiago, the Reconquest prowess and Catholic zeal of El Cid.[40] Spain's myths bring hope that its relevance as a nation among nations might be restored; that defeat, decadence, and the marriage of political hubris, ineptitude and violence might be a thing of the past; that the future might restore empire, wealth and potent monarchy (or modern democratic equivalents). The quintessential Catalan national myth, like other national myths, is a testament to the power of a good story to convey desire. Catalans, like other people in other places, look to the past as a way to respond to the disjointed present and seek a better future.

38 This accords with the views of Eli Wiesel, Michel Foucault, Joan Scott, and others. In partic ular, see Hayden White, "The value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," *Critical In quiry* 7 (1980): 6 27.

39 For links to popular material culture: Michael Vargas, "Wilfred Returns: From Flag to Fin gers," *Making it Medieval* (blog), August 2, 2019, pastinthepresent.blog/2019/08/02/from flag to fingers/; "El disseny definitiu de la nova samarreta de la Senyera del Barça," *Mónesport.cat* (blog), May 17, 2019, monesport.cat/barca/disseny definitiu samarreta senyera guifre pilos 7781/; and @Fredy ajs, "La estética es lo de memos." *Twitter*, May 31, 2016, twitter.com/Fre dy ajs/status/737752322672078848 (all last accessed on Dec. 20, 2021).

40 To dispel the myths: Pelayo got lucky during an earthquake; that Santiago appeared on a ghostly steed to lead a Christian army is pure invention; El Cid, by early accounts, was a merce nary, freebooter, outlaw, and scammer. An example from a site that combines loose history and a tourism promoting present mindedness to the imagined past: Consorcio Camino del Cid, "El Cid, History and Legend of the Spanish Medieval Knight and Hero," *Camino del Cid: A journey through the Middle Ages* (blog), n.d., en.caminodelcid.org/cid history legend/ (last accessed on Dec. 15, 2021). For a nuanced discussion of the hybridization of Spanish myths, Mark Jano vich, "The Purest Knight of All: Nation, History, and Representation in 'El Cid' (1960)," *Cinema Journal* 40 (2000): 79 103.

Conclusion

The past is an actor in all efforts to construct the present and future – a truth that applies to Catalans and non-Catalan Spaniards, just as it does to all people in all places. All social groups have a past, and they tell it in ways that serve them. Certain things get left out, others are embellished. But those who ignore the truths activated by various and sometimes contradictory stories because some of the stories' constituent parts are fictive hold to the false assumption that it is possible to discover and apply truth in a pure form. Empires and dictators have tried to do just that, but their efforts, built on ideological ignorance and corporate self-deception, opened them up to becoming perpetrators of violence against those who do not go it their way. A modern democratic Spain probably wants to avoid taking that path, since historic Spain has already been on it several times; the rewards on that path are few, short-lived, and narrowly distributed.

Biographies of the Contributors

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Chiara Benati is Full Professor of Germanic Philology at the University of Genoa, Italy. She has published extensively on the earliest (Low) German surgical treatises and their specialized terminology (*Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye und der niederdeutsche chirurgische Fach wortschatz*, 2012; *Die niederdeutsche Fassung des Feldtbuchs der Wundarzney in Kopenha gen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1663 4º. Edition und Kommentar*, 2017; and a series of articles published in journals such as *Linguistica e Filologia* 33, 2013; *Filologia germanica – German ic Philology* 6, 2014; and in volumes such as *Words across History: Advances in Historical Lexicography and Lexicology*, ed. M.V. Domínguez-Rodríguez, 2016; *Medieval German Tristan and Trojan War Stories: Interpretations, Interpolations, and Adaptations*, ed. S. Jefferis, 2017; *Bodily and Spiritual Hygiene in Medieval and Early Modern Literature. Explorations of Textual Presentations of Filth and Water*, ed. A. Classen, 2017; *Languages for Specific Purporses in History*, ed. N. Monnier, 2018; *Literature, Science and Religion: Textual Transmission and Translation in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. M. Bellmunt Serrano and J. Mihiques Climent, 2020. She has also the interest in charms and blessings, which are often included in medical compendia (articles on this topic have appeared in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alter tum und deutsche Literatur* 145, 2016; *Revista Brathair* 17.1, 2017; *Mediaevistik* 31, 2018; *Filo logia germanica – Germanic Philology* 11, 2019; and in volumes such as *Magic and Magi cians in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time. The Occult in Pre Modern Sciences, Medicine, Literature, Religion, and Astrology*, ed. A. Classen, 2017; *Combates e Concórdías. Temporalidades do conflito e da conciliação na tradição medieval*, ed. M. Baccega, 2018; *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time. Explorations of World Per ceptions and Processes of Identity Formation*, ed. A. Classen, 2018).

Linda Burke received a Ph.D. in medieval English literature from Columbia University in 1982. Since 1983, she has been a member of the English faculty at Elmhurst University, Illinois, where she has served as Faculty Mentor for individual student research at the Annual Student Research and Performance Showcase. Most recently, she published a comparative study "The Personal as Political: John Gower's *Cinkante balades* as English Response to the *Cent ba lades* of Christine de Pizan" (2021), and "As Told by Women: St. Elizabeth of Hungary, Her Four Handmaids, and the Iconography of the Elizabeth Medallion Window, Elizabeth Church, Marburg, Germany" (2020). Her bilingual edition and translation of a fifteenth century French parodic love poem was published as "The "*Girl's confession of love:* A Bilingual Edition and Translation of the Early Fifteenth-Century *La Confession de la belle fille*, Also Known as *La Confession d'amours*, with introduction and notes," in *Mediaevistik* 30 (2018). Beginning in 1976, Burke has published articles and book reviews on John Gower, Christine de Pizan, me dieval Franciscan women, medieval Franciscan art, the *Golden Legend*, Guillaume de Ma chaut, and the Bible in medieval literature. She is author-translator of *The Book of Gladness/ Le Livre de Leesce*, a translation with introduction and notes of Jehan Le Fèvre's influential late fourteenth-century French defense of women (2013). Honors include Translation of the Month awarded to *The Book of Gladness* for September 2014 on the website *Feminae: Medie val Women and Gender Index* http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/Feminae/MonthTranslationPreviou s.aspx

Albrecht Classen is University Distinguished Professor of German Studies at The University of Arizona. He has published currently hundred and sixteen books, most recently *The Forest in Medieval German Literature* (2015), *Water in Medieval Literature* (2018), *Toleration and Toler ance in Medieval and Early Modern European Literature* (2018), *Travel, Time, and Space in*

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Amany El-Sawy is an Associate Professor of English literature and the chairperson of the Eng- lish Department, Faculty of Education, Alexandria University, Egypt. Her doctoral dissertation was entitled "Violence and Cruelty in Sarah Kane's Theatre" (2013). She has presented her research papers at various conferences held in Spain, Chile, and the USA. She has a number of publications on gender studies, feminism, border studies, and postcolonial literature. Amongst her publications are "The Re-Creation of the Past in Edward Bond's *The Woman*"; "Zoe Wicomb's *You Can't get lost in Cape Town:* An Attempt to Reclaim One's Heritage and Identity" (2016); "The Relations of Power in Wole Soyinka's *The Beatification of Area B*o*y*" (2018); "Encountering Shakespeare's Cleopatra: The Subversion of The Occident's Threat of Objectification" (2016); and "Heather Raffo's Solo Performance *Nine Parts of Desire:* The Story of Political Crisis" (2019). She is a reviewer for several international journals including *Revista de Estudios Norteamericanos*, Seville, Spain. El-Sawy is a playwright and participated with her first play *The Sun* in the 2015 *Women Playwrights International Conference* held in Cape Town, South Africa. Her second play, *Eclipse*, was performed in Santiago de Chile in 2018. Her other plays are *Eve's Voice; The Apple Tree; Paradise Lost*; and *The Scars* (2020). Her field of specialty in literature has focused on human relationships, especially the condi- tions of the powerless.

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David Tomíček completed his studies of history and Czech language at the John Evangelista Purkyně University in Ústí nad Labem with a Master of Arts (Mgr.) in 2004, and in 2008 his postgraduate studies of the history of medicine (Ph.D.) at the Institute for the History of Medicine and Foreign Languages at the First Medical Faculty of Charles University in Prague. Presently, he works as an Assistant Professor at the John Evangelista Purkyně University in Ústí nad Labem and at the Charles University in Prague. His main topic of scientific interest is the history of science, especially medicine in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He has published the following monographs: together with Jana Englová, *Jan Evangelista Purkyně* (Ústí nad Labem 2009; English); *Víra, rozum a zkušenost v lidovém lékařství pozdně středověkých Čech* (Belief, Reason, and Experience in Folk Medicine of Late Medieval Bohemia, Ústí nad Labem 2010; in Czech); together with Milada Říhová and Dana Stehlíková, *Lékaři na dvoře Karla IV. a Jana Lucemburského* (Physicians at the Court of Charles IVth and John of Luxembourg, Prague 2010; commented edition of medieval *regimina sanitatis* with Czech translation).

Christa A. Tuczay began her academic career with a doctoral thesis on "The External Soul in Folktales" (in Vienna, 1981, in German). Since then she has been working as a researcher at the Austrian Academy of Science for the project "Motif-Index of the Secular German Narrative Literature from the Beginnings to 1400." In 1991 she began to lecture on medieval literature at the Department of German at the University of Vienna and has published monographs on medieval magic, divination, witchcraft, and superstition (*Magie im Mittelalter*, 1992 and 2003; *Kulturgeschichte der Wahrsagerei*, 2012; *Geister, Dämonen, Phantasmen*, 2015), and numerous articles in several renowned journals and anthologies. Her habilitation thesis on "Ecstasy in Context" aimed at a cultural history of the topic and was completed and printed in 2009 (*Ekstase im Kontext: Mittelalterliche und neuere Diskurse einer Entgrenzungserfahrung*). In her research she has focused on medieval literature from a cultural-social perspective, history of magic, divination and superstition, historical anthropology and psychology. She has edited the volumes *Poetische Wiedergänger – Deutschsprachige Vampirismus Diskurse vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (2004, together with Julia Bertschik), *Tierverwandlungen: Codierungen und Diskurse* (2011, together with Willem de Blécourt), and *Jenseits – Eine mittelalterliche und mediävistische Imagination* (2015). Since 2009 she has been Associate Professor of medieval German literature at the University of Vienna.

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Anti-Jewish Fantasies in Christian Imagination in the Middle Ages," *Imagination and Fantasy in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time*, ed. Albrecht Classen (2020).

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Index

Every index represents an intensive selection process concerning the relevant terms, names, titles, or words to be included. Many times, the issue is how far we should go in the micro-analysis that the index represents. I have tried to incorporate as many names as reasonable, even if they stand only for witnesses in documents or minor figures in political events. Many times, this volume rescues individuals heretofore mostly or completely ignored, but within the larger context of communication, translation, and community, we need to consider as many contributors to the historical events as possible. Since this volume consists of studies addressing many different languages, peoples, regions, and religions, it was often quite tricky how to place the names correctly, fitting them in according to the Latin alphabet, particularly with respect to Arabic names. I have not, however, distinguished between primary and secondary sources or documents. Some contributors trace a phenomenon from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, and it was difficult to decide whether even names of modern-day actors, for instance, should be considered. Even though the focus of this volume rests on those three topics of communication, translation, and community, I have widened the perspective for the purpose of this index and included as many terms or names as possible. However, the information in the footnotes was mostly not consulted although many times they contain extensive comments. The central terms guiding this book, however, are not included for obvious reasons.